HISTORY
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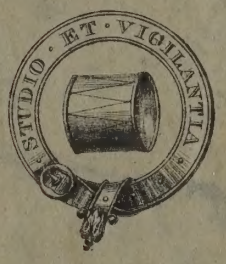

CAR. I. TABORIS.

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THE HISTORY

OF THAT

Most Victorious Monarch

EDWARD IIId.

KING of

ENGLAND and *FRANCE*, and LORD of *IRELAND*.

AND

First Founder of the Most Noble

Order of the GARTER:

Being a Full and Exact Account

Of the LIFE and DEATH of the said KING,

Together with That of His Most Renowned SON

EDWARD, *Prince of WALES* and of *AQUITAIN*,

Sirnamed the

BLACK-PRINCE

Faithfully and Carefully Collected from the Best and most Antient Authors DOMESTICK *and* FOREIGN, *Printed Books, Manuscripts and Records.*

By *JOSHUA BARNES* Batchelor of Divinity, and One of the Senior Fellows of *Emmanuel College* in *Cambridge*.

Licensed by Authority.

Pulchrum imprimis videtur, Non pati occidere, Quibus Æternitas debeatur.
C. Plin. Cæc. Secundi *Epist. l. 5. Ep. 8. p. 210.*

CAMBRIDGE,
Printed by *John Hayes* for the Author.
MDCLXXXVIII.

1688
1736

THE

HISTORY

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MDCLXXXVIII.

TO

The Most Serene Majesty

OF

JAMES the Second,

KING of

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE *and* IRELAND, *&c.*

AND

SOVERAIGN

OF

The most Noble Order

OF THE

GARTER.

GREAT SIR,

HAving, under the Happy Influence of Your Majesty's Gracious Government, had the leisure to write the History of the Life of One of the most Glorious of Your Royal Predecessors, King EDWARD *the* Third, *to whom should I dedicate the same, but to Your Majesty; who are the Inheritor of those Realms which He governed; the Soveraign of that most Noble* ORDER *which he Founded; and the lively Resemblance of all those Vertues which He so eminently possessed. Whose Immense Goodness to all Your Subjects in general, whose Heroick*

Inclinations to Military Honour, and whose Princely Love and Respect to Learning, do render You as Gracious at Home, and as Terrible abroad, as King EDWARD *was in his Days.*

It is Your Majesty's Delight and Glory Graciously to accept of the well-intended Endeavours of the meanest of Your Subjects, particularly of those, which are employed in Recollecting the Glorious Memoires of Your Renowned Ancestors, Monarchs of this Isle. And no doubt succeeding Generations will rise up to the Memory of that Prince, by whose Favour and Liberality the Remembrance of former Ages hath been brought to Light.

Wherefore heartily wishing unto Your Sacred Majesty a Fruitfull Consort, a Flourishing Family, a Long Life, a Quiet and Secure Government, Victorious Armies, Obedient Subjects, and Wise and Loyal Parliaments, besides Eternal Felicities, I humbly Dedicate this Work to Your Great Name, as being

GREAT SIR,

Your Majesty's

Most

Humble

and

Loyal Subject

JOSHUA BARNES.

THE PREFACE.

I Undertake a Work of ſo much Difficulty, that nothing but a Senſe of the Honour and real advantage thereof could animate me to it. For the Obſcurity of our Hiſtories being ſo great, and the Miſtakes and Oppoſition of them one with another being ſo frequent, it muſt needs ſeem a Labour not ſmall, to go about to give a Juſt account of the whole Series of all Publique Actions for the continuance of Fifty Years and upwards, at ſuch a long diſtance of Time, as more than Three Centuries.

But my Reſolution hath been to ſhew ſo much diligence in the Collecting, and ſo much integrity in the Compoſing; that if I cannot obtain to know all the moſt Momentous Truths, yet I ſhall purpoſely decline all Fabulous Narrations, all Groundleſs Opinions, all Popular Errors, Partiality and Prejudice, and ſeriouſly conform my ſelf to thoſe Rules and decencies, which belong to a Faithfull Hiſtorian.

The Subject Matter of my Diſcourſe is the Honour of my Country, the Life and Actions of one of the Greateſt Kings, that perhaps the World ever ſaw; the Rights of the *Engliſh* Crown, and how well our Anceſtors were able to vindicate them.

Nor ſhall I confine my ſelf wholly to the Relation of King *Edward's* Exploits, or to thoſe of his Invincible Son the *Black-Prince*, and the reſt of his Noble and Victorious Children; but whatever Name I find memorable of his Subjects in either of his Kingdoms, whether they were fam'd for Arts of War or Peace, I ſhall endeavour to pay them that juſt duty, which it ſhall ſeem to me they deſerve: Becauſe I think it altogether fit, that thoſe, who then ſhared with their Sovereign in his Grand affairs of War or Government, ſhould by no means now be deprived of a Participation with Him in his Glorious Memoires. Eſpecially ſince not a Few are ſtill remaining, derived from thoſe Famous Anceſtors, whoſe Minds may be more ſtrongly affected with due Incentives of Honour, when they ſhall underſtand by what Methods their Forefathers attain'd ſuch Eſtates or Titles, which They now as worthily enjoy.

It is an old Obſervation; *That Subjects uſually conform themſelves to their Prince:* And here certainly, if ever any Great and Martial Monarch was Lord of any like Himſelf, We ſhall find this King to have been ſo; Many Great and Renowned Heroes and Captains, Bold in Attempts, Wiſe in Conduct, and Fortunate in Succeſs, being Thick almoſt in every Page of this Hiſtory. Wherein will appear the greateſt Variety of Adventures, the moſt hazardous Enterpriſes of War, the moſt exact Counſels and Politick Negotiations, and the moſt frequent Inſtances of Courage, Piety, Generoſity and Princely Conduct, with

the

the most Wholsom Laws and Rules of Government, that perhaps the whole World can furnish us withall in so short a Period of Time.

Of which Work I shall say no more, than that if it suffer not for the sake of the Authors Meanness, it is like to Live, and to prove not unpleasing to those, who have any Love or Veneration for *England* or *English* Heroes; or who indeed delight either to do Bravely themselves, or to read the Account of Noble Actions faithfully, painfully and accurately recorded to Posterity.

From *Emmanuel* College, *Easter-Monday*, i. e. 16 *April* 1688.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF King Edward IIId.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAPTER the First.

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I. KING *Edward*, the Third of that Name from the Conquest, was the first Son of King *Edward* the Second of *England* (firnamed *Caernarvon)* by his Queen *Isabella* the Daughter of *Philip* the Fair, King of *France*, [a] accounted in her time one of the most Beautifull Ladies in the world. He was born at the Castle of *Windsor*, whence he had his firname (after the manner of that Age) on the [b] thirteenth day of *November*, at [c] fourty Minutes past Five in the Morning, being the [d] *Monday* next after the Feast of S[t] *Martin* the Bishop, and the very day [e] after the day of S[t] *Brice* Bishop, and Disciple of S[t] *Martin*, in the sixth year of his Fathers Reign, and the year of our Lord God MCCCXII. Prince [f] *Lewis*, eldest Son to the King of *France*, and Brother to the Queen of *England*, being then with many of the *French* Nobility at the *English* Court, labour'd earnestly, that this Princely Infant might be named after King *Philip*; but against this motion the *English* Nobility prevail'd, and so on the *Thursday* after, he was Baptised by the Name of *Edward*, after his Father and Grandfather, the Ceremony being performed by the hands of [g] *Arnold*, [h] Priest-Cardinal *titulo Sanctæ Priscæ*, in the old Chappel, then of St *Edward*, in the said Castle of *Windsor*, his Godfathers being [i] *Richard* Bishop of *Poictiers*, *John* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *William* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Lewis* Earl of *Eureux* the Queens Brother, *John* Duke of *Bretagne* and Earl of *Richmond*, *Emery* of *Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Hugh* le *Despencer*, alias *Spencer*, a Great Man in those Days.

The News of his Birth was [k] an occasion of great Rejoycing over all *England*, and the

AN. DOM. 1312.

[a] *Froiss. c. 3. fol. 2.*
[b] *Sandford p. 158.*
[c] *Ashmole p. 644.*
[d] *Claus. 6. Ed. 2. m. 22. Dorso.* Lit. Dom. B. A.
[e] *H. Knighton p. 2533. n. 10.*
[f] *Walsingh. hist. p. 77.*
[g] *Victorellus p. 839. ad hunc annum.*
[h] *Claus. 6. Ed. 2.*
[i] Ibid. & *Ashmole p. 644.*
[k] *Walsingh.* ibid.

the

An. Dom. 1312. the only thing [l] able to cheer up the mind of his Royal Father from that exceſſive ſorrow, which the late Death of his Favourite *Piers Gaveſton* had flung upon it, and from that Day the King forgot by Degrees his former loſs, rejoycing in his preſent Happineſs. For [m] ſo pleaſing to his Father was the Birth of this Hopefull Prince, that on the Sixteenth of *December* following, he gave to *John Launge*, Valet to the Queen, and to *Iſabel* his Wife, and to the longer liver of them, for bringing to him ſo deſireable News, twenty four pounds *per annum*, to be paid out of the Farm of *London*.

[l] *Speed p.* 556.

[m] *Pat. 6. Ed 2.*

Within [n] few days after this Prince's Birth, the King his Father granted him the County of *Cheſter*, except the Mannors of *Mecklesfield* and *Shotwike*, to hold to him and his Heirs, Kings of *England*, for ever: And likewiſe the County of *Flint* and *Rothelan*, to hold, as before; except the Mannor of *Overton*, the Lands of *Mailor*, *Seyſnoke*, and the Caſtle and Mannor of *Holt*; after which he was thus ſtiled by the King, *Edvardus* Comes *Ceſtriæ filius noſter Chariſſimus*.

[n] *Pat.* ibid. *Par. 2. m. 5. & Aſhmole* ibid.

But leaving his Infancy, we will now proceed to his Youth, and the occurrences that attended his Ripening years; when we ſhall firſt have given ſome ſmall taſte of his Character, the fulneſs thereof being purpoſely remitted, till the end of his Life and this our Work; becauſe then it may better be conſider'd from the whole tenour of his Hiſtory. From his Birth he was carefully bred up in all things, that ſeem'd neceſſary or proper for Princes to excell in; ſo that, thrô the Vigour of his Parts, being rendred very apt to imbibe the beſt Principles, he made a ſpeedy and extraordinary improvement in all Noble Qualities: For he was of a very [o] pierceing Judgment, Sweet-nature and Good Diſcretion, and conſidering the many weighty affairs, that employ'd his whole Life, not only kind to the Muſes, but much befriended by them, as appears by thoſe Learned Writings, of which *Pitſæus* ſays he was the Author. When he was capable of receiving more ingenuous Education, a Man of Great Reading, Erudition and Honour, was provided from *Oxford* to be his Tutor, who thô commonly called [p] *Richard Bury*, from the place of his Birth, was indeed Son to one Sr *Richard Aungervile* Knight, but was afterwards by this his Royal Pupil, made Privy-ſeal, and [q] Treaſurer of *England*, then Dean of *Wells*, and laſtly, Lord Chancellour of *England* and Biſhop of *Durham*.

[o] *Pitſæus de Illuſtr. Angl. ſcript. p.* 517.

[p] *Godwin Catal. Biſhops p.* 661.

[q] *Philipot's Catal. Chancellors and Treaſurers p.* 32.

1322. II. In a Parliament holden at *York* in the Sixteenth of the King his Father, He was by him created [r] Prince of *Wales*, as ſome ſay; thô he is no where found to have uſed that Title: The occaſion perhaps being, becauſe he was not long after inveſted with a Greater. King *Edward* his Father [s] being often ſummon'd to the Court of *France*, to do homage for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and ſtill upon ſome account or other delaying, till the *French* King had ſiezed thereon, it was at length concluded that he ſhould give unto this Prince, his Son, the ſaid Dukedom, for which he doing Homage ſhould enjoy the Lands: Whereupon preparation was made for his paſſing into *France*. But before he went, being then at *Langedon* Abbey, near *Dover*, the King his Father, [t] on the ſecond of *September*, in the nineteenth year of his Reign, gave unto him, his Heirs and Succeſſours Kings of *England*, *jure hæreditario in perpetuum*, the Counties of *Ponthieu* and *Mutterel*, or *Monſtroile*, and on the tenth of the ſame Moneth, he being then at *Dover*, granted unto him the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and all the Lands he had, or ought to have in the Kingdom of *France*, *Habendum*, as before: Two [u] days after which our new Duke took ſhipping at *Dover*, thence paſſed into *France* and performed his Homage to King *Charles* of *France*, his Uncle. In this his Journey, it was thought fit, that the Queen his Mother ſhould bear him company, in regard her Lands in that Kingdom had alſo been ſeized on: From which Sr *Roger Mortimer*, Lord of *Wigmore*, who having been clap'd into the Tower for Treaſon, had made his eſcape into *France*, as he was a moſt Politick and Vindicative Perſon, took occaſion to inſinuate himſelf into the Queens Favour, and by pretending to take her part againſt the *Spencers* (the great Favourites of her Husband, whom ſhe extreamly hated) involved her, before ſhe was aware, into a Rebellion, from which ſhe could never extricate her ſelf, till ſhe had ruin'd the King her Husband. It is no way pleaſant to me to relate the whole progreſs of that execrable Treaſon, nor how the King of *France*, being warned by King *Edward*, durſt not entertain any longer within his Dominions, the Queen his Siſter, with this her Son *Edward*; ſo that ſhe was forced to flee to ſtrangers for ſuccour; who, being won by her charming tears, adventur'd, thô but a Few, into this Kingdom; where quickly encreaſing their Numbers by a raſh defection of the Giddy multitude, they proceeded to the utmoſt Violations of Faith and Honour. In ſhort the old King at laſt was violently and illegally

[r] *Speed p.* 564. *Holinſhead p.* 869. *Catal. Honor. p.* 315. *by Tho. Milles.*

[s] *Aſhmole p.* 644.

[t] *Pat. 19. Ed. 2. p. 1. m. 25. Aſhmole* ibid.

[u] *Clauſ. 19. Ed. 2. m. 28. Dorſo.*

gally Depos'd and impriſon'd, thô with promiſe of ſecurity to himſelf, and the allowance of an Honourable Penſion during life: And our young *Edward*, his eldeſt Son (thô he could never be [x] perſwaded even to a Crown, till he was made to believe his Father had deſired it) being at laſt won by the ſight of his Father's ſeeming-voluntary Reſignation (which yet was extorted by fraudulent Promiſes and ſevere menaces) took upon him the Crown and Government of this Kingdom. AN. DOM. 1325.

[x] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 105. *Holinſhead p.* 881.

III. Before this, while the Realm was yet unſetled, and the old King lay as then conceal'd in *Wales*, [y] He was by an Uſurped Authority in an Aſſembly [z] of Lords met at *Hereford*, (the Queen and S[r] *Roger Mortimer* being preſent) made *Cuſtos*, or Lord Warden of the Kingdom by a common Decree bearing date the 20 of *October*, whereupon all the Lords made him Homage and took an Oath of Allegiance to be Loyal to him, as Lord Warden of *England*: And on the twenty ſixth of *November* following, the Great Seal ſent from the King his Father, was deliver'd unto him at *Martley*.

[y] *Sandford p.* 158.
[z] *Speed p.* 564. *Aſhmole p.* 644.

Whereupon a [a] Parliament was ſummon'd to meet at *Weſtminſter* about the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, being called indeed in the old King's Name, but the Briefs of Citation were ſigned by the Prince, as Lord Warden of *England*. In this Parliament, thus called, by his own Authority, was the old King illegally depos'd; when they had extorted his own conſent to it, by fair and foul means, making ſo the young Prince believe, that his Father had freely and willingly reſign'd the Government; of which matter we ſhall ſpeak more largely when we come to relate the Murther of the ſaid King *Edward* the Second. 1326.

[a] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 106. S[r] *Thc. de la More p.* 8. *l.* 41.

But becauſe many of our Hiſtorians lay ſome imputation upon the Name of King *Edward* the Third, as if he was not wholly innocent of theſe Proceedings againſt his Father; we are to conſider the tenderneſs of his Age, he being not then fourteen years old; whereby he might very eaſily be impos'd upon by the treacherous ſubtlety of *Mortimer* and his Complices, who were always about him; alſo we ſhould caſt our eyes upon the ſeverity he ſhew'd this ſame *Mortimer*, when he underſtood the whole Treaſon; nor is it a ſmall ſign of his innocence, as to this point, that he himſelf lived long and Reigned happily, being bleſt with many Dutifull Children, and that no other circumſtance of his whole life can furniſh us with any thing, from whence we may ſuſpect, that he could be capable of ſo black and unnatural a Treaſon.

However [b] now the old King having reſign'd the Crown, great Preparations were made for this young Prince's Coronation, he being on the 25 of *January*, or the Converſion of S[t] *Paul*, and a [c] Sunday, proclaimed King of *England* by Order and Conſent of Parliament; and Proclamations [d] were iſſued out in his Name, declaring to the People, that his Father the late King had made a Voluntary and free Reſignation of his Regal Dignity to him, as being his Eldeſt Son. And a week after, by the direction of thoſe who were Contrivers of this Revolution, he was advis'd to Publiſh his Peace to the whole Kingdom, which was done in theſe words.

[b] *Aſhmole p.* 644
[c] Lit. Dom. D.
[d] *Dugd. Warw. p.* 165. *a.*

"*Edward* [e] by the grace of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland* and Duke of "*Aquitain* to N. Sheriff of S. Greeting: Whereas the Lord *Edward*, our Father, late "King of *England*, by Common Council and Aſſent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons "and other Lords, as well as that of the whole Commonalty of the Realm, did volun- "tarily reſign the Government thereof; willing and granting, that We, as his Eldeſt Son "and Heir, ſhould take upon Us the Rule and Government of the Kingdom: And We "by the conſent and advice of the Prelates, Earls and Barons aforeſaid, yeelding herein to "our Fathers good Pleaſure, have taken upon Us the Government of the ſaid Realm, "and received, as the manner is, the Fealties and Homages of the ſaid Prelates and Ba- "rons: Deſiring therefore, that our Peace ſhould be inviolably kept, to the quiet and "benefit of our Liege People, We will and command; that preſently upon ſight of theſe "Preſents, you cauſe our Peace to be Proclaim'd thrô all your Bailywick, charging all "and every one in our Name, under pain and peril of Diſheriſon and loſs of life and "limb, not to preſume to infringe or violate our ſaid Peace, but every one to proſecute "his Actions and Cauſes without any outrage whatſoever, according to the laws and "cuſtoms of our Kingdom. For We are ready and ever ſhall be to exhibit and afford "to all and ſingular Plaintiffs, as well poor as rich, full Juſtice in our Courts according "to due Courſe of Law. Witneſs Our Self at *Weſtminſter*, 1mo *Februarii*, *Annóque Regni noſtri Primo*.

[e] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 105. *Speed p.* 565. *Clauſ.* 1. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 28.

On the [f] ſame day being Sunday, and the Vigil of the *Purification*, was the young King by the hands of his Cozen *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, firſt girded with the Sword of Knighthood, at which time the King himſelf Knighted many others; among whom were three [g] Sons of the Lord *Mortimer*. That day he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by

[f] *Sandford p.* 158. *H. Knighton p.* 2550. *Pat.* 1. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 2. *n.* 13.
[g] *Sandford p.* 109. *Catal. Hono. p.* 575. *Dugd.* 1. *Vol. p.* 145. & 147.

An. Dom. 1326. the hands of [h] *Walter Reginald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and thereupon, as an Earneſt of the many Advantages his People were to reap from his proſperous Reign, a General Pardon is Proclaim'd; which gave occaſion to Succeeding Kings to grant a General Pardon at their firſt Coming to the Crown, after the example of ſo great a Precedent.

[h] *Aſhmole calls him* William *by miſtake. vid. Godw. Catal. Bps. &c.*

I do not think it neceſſary to make any exact Narration of the Coronation of this Young Monarch; becauſe ſuch things are ſo well known in general; and others, who delight in matters of leſs moment, have not omitted a full Deſcription thereof: but I ſhall not forget to mention * one Medal, which, with many other of ſeveral devices, was upon the Coronation Day flung among the People; becauſe we may thence make a gueſs at the ingenuity of that Age: On the Pile was the Young Prince Crowned, laying a Scepter on a heap of Hearts, with this Motto --POPULO DAT JURA VOLENTI. And on the Reverſe, an Hand held forth, as it were ſaving a Crown falling from on high with theſe words --NON RAPIT SED RECIPIT.

* *Penes Thom. Goldſmith ex Graii Hoſpitio.*

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IV. Now becauſe of the Kings Tender Age (for he was at that time but Fourteen Years, two Months and eighteen Days old) there were Twelve[i] Guardians appointed Him; to wit, Five Biſhops, Two Earls, and Five Barons; the Names of them were theſe, *Walter Reginald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William Melton* Archbiſhop of *York*, *John Stratford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas Cobham* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Adam Orleton* Biſhop of *Hereford*; the two Earls were *Thomas* of *Brotherton* Earl Marſhal, and *Edmund* of *Woodſtock* Earl of *Kent*, both the Kings Uncles: the Barons were *John* Lord *Warren*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Percy*, *Oliver* Lord *Ingham* and *John* Lord *Ros*. But [k] over and above all in eſpecial manner, by conſent of the Lords in Parliament, and the Twelve Guardians themſelves, the Thrice Noble *Henry de Torto Collo*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Lincoln*, *Leiceſter* and *Derby*, the Kings own Cozen was deputed to have the chief Care of the Kings Perſon; upon [l] Whom alſo and his Heirs, as Earls of *Leiceſter*, was ſettled at the ſame time the Stewardſhip of *England*: Nor let it be wondred, that this Earl the Kings Cozen ſhould be prefer'd to either of his Uncles in this matter; ſince, thô of great Nobility and Honour, they were both of leſs experience, being young men; nor was it ſo agreeable to Policy to give them the Greateſt Power, who were neareſt of Blood, as was afterwards ſufficiently experienced in the Protectorſhip of *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who made away his two Royal Nephews to obtain the Crown.

[i] *H. Knighton p. 2556. Leland Collect. 1. vol. p. 685. Sr Rich. Baker.*

[k] *Walſing. hiſt. p. 109.*

[l] *Sandford p. 109.*

All theſe were able Men and firm to the Kings Perſon and Intereſt, but little more than Shadows in this Station, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* overtopping all by his great Power, derived from the influence he had with the Queen Mother. By his means it was, that the ſaid Queen had ſo [m] exceſſive a Dowry now aſſigned her; that the King her Son had ſcarce one Third part of his Crown Lands remaining to Himſelf; of which yet *Mortimer* made good uſe to advance his Friends and eſtabliſh his own Authority and Greatneſs: The impriſon'd King this while being allow'd but one hundred Marks by the Month, nor was he long permitted to enjoy that neither: But we ſhall refer the proſecution of this to its proper place.

[m] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 108. & hypod. p. 110.*

V. And now immediately there ariſes matter to exerciſe the Genius of the Young King, whoſe Inclinations tend all to Glory, and we ſhall ſee, how eagerly He ſnatches at the firſt opportunity to obtain it. But here, before we enter upon the *Scotch* War, it will not be amiſs to ſet down a brief Account of the State of *Scotland* at that time. In the Year of our Lord [n] 1285. King *Alexander* the Third, dying ſuddenly without Iſſue, there aroſe ſeveral conſiderable Perſons, who being ſome way allied to the Royal Family, claim'd a Right to the Crown of that Kingdom. But all their Pretences were ſwallowed up in thoſe of the Lord *John Baliol* and of the Lord *Robert Bruce*, who had by far the Clearer Title. King *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, Grandfather to our *Edward*, by right of Superiority, which he claimed, became Umpire of the Cauſe, and he adjudged the Realm of *Scotland* to the Lord *John Baliol*, not only becauſe his Title was the beſt, he claiming in Right of his Wife *Dornagill*, eldeſt Daughter to the Lady *Margaret*, eldeſt Daughter to *David* Earl of *Huntington*, younger Brother to *William* King of *Scots* and Great Uncle to *Alexander* the Third; but alſo becauſe he offer'd to hold the Crown of *Scotland* of King *Edward*, as Superior Lord, which *Robert Bruce* abſolutely refuſed to do.

[n] *Buchan. p. 240. ſee Hect. Boet. f. 291. An. Dom. 1286.*

But the *Scots* were ſo diſguſted at *Baliol* for this his abjectneſs of mind; that they began to rebell againſt him and threatned to chooſe *Robert Bruce* for their King; whereby he being terrifi'd, renounced his Allegiance to *Edward* the Firſt and defi'd him: but he was too weak to make good his Defiance; both he and his ſon *Edward Baliol*, and ſhortly after the Lord *Robert Bruce*, being ſeized on, were put in cuſtody, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* lapſed to King *Edwards* hands.

But

But not long after this, the *Scots* being miraculouſly excited by the extraordinary courage of the famous *William Wallace*, and at laſt *Robert Bruce* [o] Earl of *Carrick* eſcaping from *London*, he was made King: thô he prov'd unable to do any great feat, but rather ſculked about, ſeeking advantages till the Days of King *Edward* the Second, a Prince of far leſs Fortune and Conduct in the War, than his Father *Long-ſhanks*. Againſt him he obtained the Memorable Battle at *Bannocksborn* near *Striveling*, where periſhed no leſs than 50000 *Engliſh* (if *Hector Boetius* may be credited) among whom fell [q] 42 Lords and Barons, and 67 Knights and Banerets, beſides 22 Great men, whom the *Scots* took priſoners. Upon which ſucceſs, as the *Engliſh* of the Borders were without meaſure dejected, ſo the *Scots* were inflamed with pride and diſdain; as may appear from this Rhyme (which among others) was ſang about their ſtreets,

Maidens of England, *ſore may you mourn*;
For your Lemans, ye have loſt at Bannocksborn,
With Heve a low!
What ho! weneth the King of England
So ſoon to have won all Scotland,
With a Rumby low.

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[o] *Dugd. 1. Vol. p. 451.*

[q] *Fabian p. 167*

From this time *Scotland* gather'd ſtrength and reputation, and eaſily obtain'd a Peace with *England* on very good Terms: King *Robert* hereby was more firmly ſettled in his Throne, being a Father of one Son, named *David*, a Prince of great hope, and of two Daughters, the Lady *Margaret* wife to the Lord *Walter Stuart*, and by him Mother to the young Lord *Robert Stuart*, a perſon of rare endowments and expectation; beſides that, the other Lady, her younger Siſter, had then or ſhortly after a Son too by her Husband, the Earl of *Southerland*. As for the former King, *John Baliol*, he liv'd at this time a retired life in *France*, having only two Sons, the Lord *Edward* and *Henry*, who as yet had no Iſſue, and therefore their Father had on certain conſiderations reſigned and quitted and given over to King *Robert* his Right and Title to the Crown of *Scotland*; ſo that *Robert* was now quit of all fear on that part, and otherwiſe very ſtrong in the affections of his People, who were then a great and flouriſhing Nation: And this was the ſtate of *Scotland*, when King *Edward* the Third of *England* came to the Crown: wherefore encouraged with their former ſucceſs, and deſpiſing King *Edwards* Youth, [r] on the very night of that day, whereon King *Edward* was Crowned, the *Scots* had intended to take the Caſtle of *Norham*, [ſ] between the Marches of *England* and *Scotland*, by ſurprize, and ſo well they managed their deſign, that about [t] ſixteen of them had already mounted the Walls: but the Captain S[r] *Robert Manners* being warned of the Matter before-hand, by one of his Garriſon, who was a *Scotchman*, had ſo well provided to receive them, that of thoſe, who had mounted, he took five or ſix, and put the reſt to the ſword; their Companions below upon this diſappointment retiring. This ſeem'd a good Omen of King *Edward's* future Victories over the *Scots* by occaſion of the Lord *Edward Baliol*, who was himſelf a *Scotchman*. Preſently after King *Robert Bruce*, ſuppoſing it now a very fit ſeaſon to take ſome advantage againſt his old Enemies the *Engliſh*, during this their Kings Minority, ſends about [u] *Eaſter* a ſhort and brisk Defiance to King *Edward* and all his Realm, "telling them that he would ſhortly with his "Power invade the Realm of *England* with Fire and Sword, and there do, as he had done "before in his Fathers Reign at the Battle of *Bannocksborn* near *Striveling* (or *Ster-*"*ling*) where the *Engliſh* received that mighty Overthrow we ſpake of, by reaſon of thoſe [x] Pits, into which the *Scots* had intrapt them unawares. I muſt not omit, that the *Scotch* Writers attribute the occaſion of this Defiance to ſome fraud or other, wherewith the *Engliſh* had lately endeavour'd to enſnare them by foul Colluſion of their Ambaſſadours; but neither can it be imagin'd, what neceſſity the King of *England* ſhould have, either by fraud or force to attempt to injure the King of *Scots*, (with whom he ſtood on no ill Terms) before his own Affairs were in any poſture of Settlement; nor do any of their own Hiſtorians aſſign, what this fraud or injury was; nor indeed was ever the *Engliſh* Nation noted ſo much for fineneſs or ſubtlety, as for down-right Honeſty and blunt valour. Nor is the conſideration of King *Robert's* Age and ſickneſs ſufficient to conclude; that of neceſſity there muſt be ſome great Cauſe given, that could provoke ſo decrepit a Man to begin a War, toward the End of his Life: ſince, thô his Perſon was weak, his Mind was ſtrong and vigorous, and *Scotland* was never in better caſe, than at that time: and the Generals he intended to employ, were Barons of great Fidelity, Conduct and Reſolution; and he might reaſonably hope

[r] *Rich. Southwell.*

[ſ] *Grafton p. 173.*

[t] *Holinſhead Hiſt. Scot. p. 225*

[u] *Froiſ. c. 15. Grafton p. 218.*

[x] *Sr Tho. de la More Ed. 2. p. 2. Holingſhead hiſt. Scotl. p. 217. Hector and Buchan.*

to

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to have (at leaſt) as much advantage over this Young King, as he had over his Father, in his Full Age, when attended with a moſt flouriſhing Army. Nor is any great Captain, thô never ſo ſatiate with Lawrels, ſo unambitious after all, but that in his weakeſt condition, he would lay hold on any occaſion of ſo probable ſucceſs againſt a profeſſed Enemy. 'Tis ſweet to an old Warrior to end his days among Triumphs and Victories. This is certain, King *Edward* the Third neither did, nor could ſend any Ambaſſadors to him before his Coronation: yet even then we ſhew'd before, that the *Scots* began to break the Peace by attempting to ſurprize a Caſtle, thô no leſs than [y] Nine years were to come of the laſt Thirteen years Truce, ſtruck up between this Kings Father, and King *Robert* of *Scotland*, four years before. And beſides we find, that there had been, ſince the Coronation of this Young King, an Agreement for a further Treaty of Peace (to be held in the Marches) on the Sunday next before *Aſcenſion* Day then enſuing. But, as I ſaid before, King *Robert* imagining to make an eaſie prey of the young Monarch, neither much valued the old Truce, not yet ended, nor the new Agreement, not yet perfected, but reſolves upon War. Hereupon ſoon after he invades the North Borders, with an [z] Army of Twenty five thouſand Men, [a] all Horſe, that they might do miſchief more ſpeedily, and retire with more expedition, if by any neceſſity they ſhould be ſo obliged.

[y] *Holinſhead hiſt. Scot. p. 224. Aſhmole p. 645. ex Clauſ. 1. Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 2. Dorſ.*

[z] *Hector p. 307 b. n. 60.*

[a] *Buchan. p. 273*

VI. The mean while King *Edward* conceives an high indignation at this unprovoked Defiance, and to ſecure himſelf for the future from the like Contempt, immediately with all his Power addreſſes himſelf to defend his Reputation. And firſt he [b] ſends his Uncle *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, Earl of *Norfolk* and Marſhal of *England*, with a choice number of Soldiers to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, who there made his Muſters (as he was appointed) on the [c] *Monday* next before the *Aſcenſion*; in like manner the Lord *Robert Hufford* and the Lord *John Moubray*, were commanded away to the Reinforcement of the Lord *Anthony Lucy* of *Cockermouth*, then [d] Governour of the Caſtle and Town of *Carlile*. At the ſame time the King iſſued out his General ſummons to his own People, and moreover by kind letters invited his noble Friend, *John* Lord of *Beaumont* in *Heinalt*, and brother to *William* Earl of *Heinalt*, (by whoſe aid chiefly the Queen had depoſed her Husband, and who was but newly return'd home again) to come over to his aſſiſtance about the time of the *Aſcenſion*. Sr *John* Lord *Beaumont* hereupon came over to the King to the City of *York* (the place appointed for the general Rendezvous, thô *Newcaſtle* alſo was pitch'd upon for the aſſembly of other Forces a week before) within three days of *Whitſuntide*, accompanied with more than fourty Lords and Knights of *Heinalt*, *Flanders* and *Bohemia*, with other Knights from *Cambray* and *Artois*, to the number of Five hundred Men of Arms, all well Arm'd and gallantly Mounted. Soon after *Whitſuntide* follow'd (for the ſake of this *John* of *Heinalt*) the Lord *William* Son to the Duke of *Juliers* (or *Gulick*) and Sr *Henry Thyrry*, afterwards Earl of *Lewis*, and with them another goodly Company, all expecting to purchaſe much honour under this hopefull Young King, and no leſs profit, as well from his Royal bounty, as from the Spoil of the Field, which they accounted their own. The whole number of the Strangers was about [e] two Thouſand Men of Arms; beſides the great Numbers of *Engliſh*, that came in as Voluntiers, above the appointed Muſters, ſuch hopes had they conceived of their Prince's Conduct and Fortune.

[b] *Froiſ. c. 17.*

[c] *Aſhmole p. 645.*

[d] *Dugd. Baron. 1 Vol. 565. a.*

[e] *H. Knighton p. 2551.*

[f] *Froiſ. c. 16. Grafton p. 219.*

The King [f] aſſigned the Strangers convenient lodgings in the Suburbs of *York*, but to Sr *John* himſelf and his Servants he allotted an Abby of White Monks in the ſaid City, He himſelf and the Queen his Mother, being lodged in the ſtately Building, called the Fryers, where each of them kept houſe apart.

[g] *Froiſ. ibid.*

This [g] S *John* of *Heinalt* was one of the moſt Gallant Knights in the World, and he had firſt undertaken to defend the Queen and her Son againſt the Perſecutions of the two *Spencers*, even when her own Brother, the King of *France*, had deſerted her quarrel: ſo that he was very dear to the young King and his Mother, and they reſolv'd to entertain him in moſt Royal Manner.

Wherefore the King held all along a Great Court to do theſe Strangers Honour, and there was every where much Plenty of Proviſion, Good and Cheap, for the City and Country were Rich and flouriſh'd with abundance. For full ſix weeks did the King lie there with more than 60000 men, yet all that while the price of Proviſion was nothing enhanced, but every thing was ſold as reaſonable, as before the Army came thither. There was plenty of *Rheniſh*, *Gaſcoign* and *Anjovan* Wines, with Pullen and other Proviſion at very ordinary Rates, and Hay, Oats and other neceſſaries for Horſes were daily brought to the Strangers lodgings, ſo that they were all extreamly ſatisfied with their entertainment.

But

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But yet even this their Prosperity had like to have proved more fatal unto them then a Rout in Battel might have done: For [h] presuming much hereby on the King's favour, they carried themselves too Magisterially toward his Subjects, whence arose such Contention, as brought forth many sad effects, and was not at last stinted without much bloodshed on both sides.

[h] *Knighton p.* 2551.

On Trinity [i] *Sunday*, the King for the sake of these Lords Strangers held a Solemn and Magnificent Feast at the *Fryers* aforesaid, himself being attended with 500 of his Knights (to which he then added 15 more) and the Queen, his Mother, having more than threescore Fair Ladies, of the greatest Nobility and Beauty in *England*, about her Person, to pleasure the young Lord of *Beaumont* and his Company. There was that day a most Splendid Entertainment and a truly Royal shew of whatsoever was choice and excellent. And now the Ladies themselves, with many Noble Virgins, were meditating the various Measures their skilfull Feet were to make, the pleasant Aires their sweet Voices should warble, and those soft Divisions their tender Fingers should strike on the yielding strings; when suddenly, as soon as ever the Feast was ended, a strange and hideous noise confounded the Minds of the whole Court. For the Servants and Pages of these Foreign Auxiliaries, had by their [k] insolence so exasperated the minds of some *English* Archers, who lodged among them in the Suburbs, that immediately a great Fray began among them, which continually rose higher, new abettors successively flowing in on each side; till near 3000 of the Archers being gather'd together, many of the poor *Heinalders* were slain, and the rest betaking themselves to flight, were fain to enter their lodgings and there to fortifie them in the best manner they could, against the Fury of their enemies. Most part of the Knights their Commanders were then at Court, but on the first noise of the Fray, they hasted to their lodgings to defend themselves and their People. Some part of the City of *York* in the Hurlyburly was fired, many of the *Heinalders* slain, and more hurt, nor less on the *English* side, than [l] 80 Archers, most of them *Lincolnshire* men, fell that day, who were all buried in St *Clement's* Churchyard in *Fosegate*. But at last by the Authority of the King, with the earnest endeavours of the Queen Mother, who loved the *Heinalders* dearly, and by the ready assistance of the Great Men, who charitably took the Strangers parts, the Archers thirst of blood was slaked, and the quarrel ceased for that time. But that Night the Strangers who had suffer'd most, not so [m] much thinking of sleep, as revenge, being now headed by Commanders, rose privately, and joyning all together, set suddenly upon the Archers of *Lincolnshire* and *Northampton* (for the Men of each County were Marshall'd and lodged together by themselves) where they slew about 300 of them. Nor in the Morning had they paid cheaply for that desperate action (for more than [n] 6000 Archers had combined together to burn or kill them every man in their lodgings, or without, by Night or by Day, when ever they should obtain an Opportunity) But that the King to secure the Strangers from their Fury, had set strong Guards about them, displacing the Archers from their former Quarters, they themselves hardly ever daring to sleep without good Watch, their Horses ready saddled, and their Arms always near at hand, or upon their Backs: so well they knew it behoved them to look to themselves after such a Provocation of the Common Soldiers of *England*.

[i] *Froiss. c. 16. & M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantabr. c. 213.*

[k] *Knighton p.* 2551.

[l] *Stow p. 228. & M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C.* ibid.

[m] *Knighton p.* 2551.

[n] *Froiss. c. 16. fol. 7, 8.*

Now had King [o] *Edward* lain at *York* with all this Great Army in and about the City, for the space of three Weeks, and when, in about three Weeks more after this sedition, no final agreement could be made between the King's Council and the *Scotch* Ambassadors, [p] who came thither after *Trinity Sunday* to treat of a Peace; the Marshals of the Host by the King's Command Proclaimed thrô all the Army, that by the next Week every Man should be ready to March against the Enemy: and that such, to whom the Care was left, should provide Carts and Wagons for Carriages, and Tents and Pavilions to lie in the field, with all other matters, necessary for the King's journey toward *Scotland*. All things therefore being by the said time provided accordingly, the King and all his Barons began their March from the City of *York* in good Order, and gallantly armed with Trumpets sounding, and Banners waving in the wind. In this Expedition (besides those at *Newcastle* and *Carlile*, already sent thither to defend the Frontiers) we have made shift to recover the Names of these Worthies, [q] *Edmund* of *Woodstock* Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle, *John* [r] *Bohune* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, and Constable of *England*, *Roger* [s] *Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmore*, *William* [t] Lord *Montagu*, *Robert* [u] Lord *Morley*, *John* [x] Lord *Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, *John* Lord *Ros*, younger Brother to *William* Lord *Ros* of *Hamlake* in *Yorkshire*, with his other Brother *Thomas Ros*, the Lord *William Clinton*, afterwards Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Roger* le *Strange* and Sr *Ebulo* le *Strange*, his Kinsman, the Lord *Hugh Audeley* junior

[o] *Froiss. c. 16 & 17.*

[p] *Caxton.*

[q] *Dugd. Bar. 2 Vol. p. 93.*

[r] *Id. 1 Vol. p. 184.*

[s] *Id. ibid. p. 145.*

[t] *Id. p. 633.*

[u] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 26.*

[x] *Id. 1 Vol. p. 81.*

quem vid. ad singula hæc nomina.

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junior, and Sr *James Audeley*, his younger Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Braoſe*, the Lord *Fulk Fitz-Warine*, the Lord *John* St *Philibert*, the Lord *Peter* de *Malolacu*, or *Mauley*, the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, the Lord *Ralph Baſſet* of *Drayton*, the Lord *Thomas Haſtang*, *the* Lord *Robert Pierpoint*, the Lord *Thomas Furnival*, the Lord *Robert Fitz-Walter*, Sr *Walter Beauchamp* of *Alceſter* in *Warwickſhire*, with his Brother *William Beauchamp*, Sr *Nicolas Cantilupe* and many other Barons of *England*.

[y] *Froiſ. c.* 17. S^r [y] *John* of *Heinalt* and all the Lords Strangers with their troops, both in their March and when they took up their Lodgings, were always placed immediately next the King's own Guards, as well to ſecure them from the Archers, who ſtill breathed after Revenge, as for their greater Honour, and to let the whole Army know, that whoever ſought their damage, would at the ſame time highly treſpaſs upon the King himſelf.

The firſt Night the Hoſt reached ſixteen mile onward of their way, and there the King tarried two Days and three Nights, partly to expect, till the whole Army was come up, but chiefly to examine by himſelf and his Officers, whether any thing neceſſary for ſuch an Expedition was wanting, before they ſhould be brought to a Pinch. Early on the fourth day they began their March toward *Durham*, which was diſtant in all from *York* about fourty eight or fifty Miles, but from *Topcliffe*, whereabout they had lodged, little more than Thirty. The ſecond Night after they reach'd the City of *Durham*, encamping thereabout, till further notice of the Enemy: of whom they had heard no News, as yet.

The King had before this, as we remembred, to hinder their Progreſs in the Borders, ſent the Earl of *Norfolk*, Marſhal of *England*, to *Newcaſtle*, and the Lords *Hufford* and *Mowbray* to *Carlile*, with conſiderable Forces. They for their part ſlack'd nothing of their Duty, for they were Perſons of great Worth and Honour: But the ſubtle *Scot*, e're the King could reach *Newcaſtle*, which was but about [z] twelve or fourteen Miles beyond *Durham*, had paſs'd the River of *Tine* ſo privately, that they were neither perciev'd by the Garriſons of *New-caſtle*, nor *Carlile*; and ſo for a while they waſted and robb'd the Country wherever they came, and yet could never be overtaken or found by thoſe who ſought to encounter them; but only [a] once at *Darlington*, where being met by a diſorder'd number of the Country *Militia*, who came to oppoſe them, they ſoon overcame them, putting many to the ſword and the reſt to flight. Their King *Robert* himſelf was not there at that time, thô he was the moſt Valiant and moſt Succeſsfull Prince, that had reign'd in *Scotland* of many years: For being now oppreſſed with age and ſickneſs, he was forced to ſend in his ſtead two the moſt Famous and Expert of his Captains, the Lord *Thomas Randulph*, Earl of *Murray*, and the Lord *James Douglas*, the latter greatly in thoſe days Renowned for Hardineſs above all the *Scotchmen*, as the former was for Wiſdom and Conduct. Their Forces were [b] twenty or twenty five thouſand Men, all nimble and expedite for ſuddain Invaſion or quick Retreat; for they were all mounted, [c] the Better Sort on good ſtrong Courſers, and the Common Soldiers on little, but approved Hackneys and Geldings. They brought with them no Carts nor Wagons, becauſe of the inequality of the Mountainous Countries, thrô which they ſhould paſs: nor had they with them much purveyance of Bread or Wine; for in thoſe days the *Scots* were ſo abſtemious and patient in time of War, that for a good while they could endure with fleſh half-boiled, and drink out of the Rivers: Nor yet had they any Pans or Cauldrons to dreſs their meat in; for what Beaſts they found (as they always did good ſtore in thoſe Northern parts) they would ſeeth them in their own skins, ſtretch'd out bellying on ſtakes, in the manner of Cauldrons: And having thus ſod their meat, they would take a little Plate of Metal, which they us'd to truſs ſomewhere in, or under their ſaddles, and laying it on the fire, take forth ſome Oatmeal (which they carried in little bags behind them for that purpoſe) and having kneaded and temper'd it with water, ſpread that thereon: This, being thus baked, they us'd for Bread, to comfort and ſtrengthen their ſtomachs a little, when they eat fleſh.

[z] *Ferrar. in Orrhea.*

[a] *Holinſhead Hiſt. Scotl. p.* 225

[b] *Hector & Buchan.*

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 17 *f.* 8.

That ſuch hard Farers ſhould prove good Souldiers, is no wonder, and that ſometimes they ſhould be able to baffle a great Army, more encombred than themſelves, may very lightly be granted. And now had the *Engliſh* been ſeveral days in thoſe Parts, before they had any knowledge where their Enemies were, thô they dayly ſaw the effects of their cruelty, and met with many of the Borderers, who fled before them to avoid it. But at laſt they ſaw great ſmokes and fires about the Country, which plainly enough declared where they were, and what was their Employment.

[d] *Froiſ. c.* 18. *fol.* 8.

Immediately hereupon [d] the Alarum is given and a March ſounded, every Man being com-

commanded to diſlodge, and in the Order before appointed, to follow the Marſhals Battail. There were three great Battalions on Foot, and to each Battail two Wings of 500 Men of Arms, Knights and Eſquires; and 20000 others, well-arm'd and provided, the one half on little Hackneys, and the other ranged on Foot, who fought for Wages, to be paid by thoſe Towns, Cities and Corporations, that ſent them to the Kings Service. The *Scotch* Writers make the whole number of the *Engliſh* Forces to be more than an Hundred Thouſand Men effective; and *Froiſard* himſelf, beſides thoſe three Battails mention'd, ſpeaks of 24000 Archers, (if the figures are not miſtaken) and *Graſton* and *Speed* reckon up 30000 Archers in All: Thô I believe, if there were ſuch a Number, they were diſtributed proportionably among the foreſaid Battalions, according to the Uſual Method of the Captains of thoſe days, and that there was no ſuch great Battail of Archers diſtinct from all the reſt: And this Opinion agrees better with our Hiſtorians and *Froiſard's* own Account of the Number in another place, where he reckons the Whole, but to ſomething more than [e] 60000 Men of War: Thô [f] others (whoſe Authority I ſhall not here examin) make them no more than 54000 Men; which were thus diſpoſed, in the Main Battail with the King were two and twenty Thouſand, that is, 10000 Foot, 4000 Men of Arms, and 8000 Archers and Dragoons on Horſeback; in the other two Battails, were to each 10000 Foot, 1000 Men of Arms, (500 on each Wing) and 3000 others on Horſeback, and the Marſhals Battail conſiſting of 4000 Horſe, Men of Arms and Others well mounted, rod on before the Army.

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[e] *Froiſ. c.* 16 *fol* 7. *b.*

[f] *R. Burtons Engl. Monarchs p.* 104.

In this Order they marched after the [g] *Scots*, as the ſmoak directed them all that day, till almoſt night; when by good Advice they took up their lodging in a Wood by the ſide of a little River, as well to refreſh themſelves, as to give time for their Carriages to come up, which drove after them more heavily. By this time had the *Scots* waſted and burnt and plundered all before them, within five Miles of the *Engliſh* Army, but as yet they could by no means be overtaken. The next morning they marched again with Banner diſplai'd, every one in his Order as before, thrô mountains and Valleys all day long without any Diſorder; and yet they overtook not the Enemy, who ſped on before, leaving nothing but ruine and deſolation behind. The Country was ſo full of Mariſhes and wild Deſerts, Mountains and Dales, that the *Engliſh* could by no means equal the Pace of the *Scots*, who were better us'd to that kind of making War, and were not ſo encumbred with Carriages, and had beſide a great ſtart before them. Moreover the King and his Council conſidering the ſubtlety of the Enemy, and that the Country favour'd any deſign of Ambuſcade, commanded on pain of death, that none ſhould ride before the Marſhals Banners: For otherwiſe many would have follow'd upon the ſpur, to detain the *Scots* by light Skirmiſhes, till the Main Body of the Army might reach them. Toward the declining of the day therefore, the Men of Arms with their Horſes, and all the horſes of Carriage, but eſpecially the Foot grew ſo weary, the Men with the weight of their Armour, and all in general with the length of their March; that they could by no means endure any further Travail the remainder of that day.

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 18. *fol.* 8.

The King and his Lords well conſider'd the Fatigues of the Army; for they themſelves were almoſt tir'd out of all patience at this unaccuſtomed way of Chaſing. They plainly ſaw their labour in purſuit was all in vain, and they aſſur'd themſelves, that if the Enemy did ſtay for them, it would be in a place which ſhould make to their own advantage. Hereupon at the Kings Command, the Marſhals of the Hoſt proclaim'd, that there they ſhould reſt for that night, where now they were, which was in a Wood alſo, and by a river ſide. The King was lodged in a little poor Abby hard by, whither the chief of his Council came to him, to advize what was beſt to be done in this exigence. Their Conſiderations were theſe, "That 'twas not poſſible, while things continued thus, to overtake the Enemy; that if they could, 'twas too hazardous to engage them thereabouts, ſince they were by the uſe of their own Country rendred more expert and accuſtomed to ſuch mountainous and hilly Places: That they could not go far into the Land without dangerous oppoſition; and that they had no way of returning, but over the river *Tyne*: The Reſult therefore was, That it was beſt to March directly that way, either to oblige the *Scots* to come after them (if they deſired to preſerve their own Country) or at leaſt to make full Amends by putting *Scotland* to the ſame ſufferance of Fire and Sword. It was alſo here ordain'd, That all their leſs neceſſary Carriages ſhould be left behind them there in the wood, with all their looſe Harneſs, and moſt of their Proviſion, but what was abſolutely neceſſary for a few Days: for they expected within a day or two to have Battle, whatever

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"might happen, and they resolved to have it, if they might, despair and vexation "making them desirous to win or loose all at once. This Resolution was published to the Army before supper, every Man being warned to rise from sleep at the first sound of the Trumpet, at the second, to Arm without delay; and at the third, to take horse in his due place under his Colours.

About midnight they arose, and by break of day, they were all ready ranged in Battail; so vigorous in their Resolution, that with a nimble pace (thô not without a world of difficulty) they travail'd that Day twenty four, or as [h] One saies twenty eight Miles; many being forced to lag behind, thrô wearines, others falling among the Marishes and dangerous places, thrô which the Army was forced to go, were held there, till they could get out of themselves, or else they were like to be lost. For all that could, hasted forward with all speed, not caring for Father, Brother, or Friend, because hearing great noise of Shouting from the main Host, they imagin'd the Armies were joyning, and so clapping on their Helmets, rode forth with Spear and Shield, as fast as they might toward the First Battail, so great was their desire to fight; but when with much labour they were come, they found themselves deceived, for all the Noise was made only at the raising of Stags, Harts, and Hinds, that were first seen by those in the Front. Thus the King rode that day, till toward the evening he came to the same part of the river *Tyne*, where the *Scots* had passed upon their Invasion, and where, it was thought, they must needs repass upon their Return. And on that side the [i] *Tyne*, they found it more commodious to give or receive Battle upon occasion, as being more plain and open Ground, and so fitter for a Champaign. Wherefore to be beforehand with the Enemy, or at least by entring *Scotland*, to draw them back out of *England*, King *Edward* now resolv'd to pass the *Tine*. But here all the Troubles of the *English* were not ended: For that River is full of great, round and slippery Stones, which much offended the Horse in their passage over: However (thô with much ado) they had all got over by Sun set, but the Foot could not pass that Night, nor were they all there in any good time, many not appearing till the Morning, and some few never after seen. As for those that had passed with the King and the Lords, 'twas but here and there, that any of them had a Hatchet to cut down Wood; so that they could neither make Stakes to fasten their Horses too, nor Arbours to shrowd themselves withall (their Tents being left behind among the Carriages) nor had they, or their horses any great matter to eat, either the day past, or the night now coming on; except that every Man brought a loaf or so, behind him, which yet was almost spoil'd with dust and the sweat of their Horses. Drink they had little or none, but what the River afforded them, and that not so clear as it should be, having been disturbed with the passage of so many over it: Only some of the better Sort had their bottles of Wine, or other good liquors with them. Nor had they any thing to give them light, except a few Torches, which the Lords Servants had brought with them. As for their Tents and Pavilions, they, as we said before, were most of them left among the Baggage. Wherefore they were fain to lie on the bare ground in their Armour, with their Horses ready sadled in their hands. The next Morning came slowly on, to men in their Condition, but upon the appearance of Day, they put on vigorous hopes, that they should find some better means of Refreshment.

[h] *Buchan. p. 275*

[i] *Buchan. p. 274.*

Had it rain'd in the Night, they must have endured much more misery; but however in the Morning it rain'd so plentifully, that before noon the River was risen too high to admit of any repassing. Which, thô bad to them, who were already over, proved better for the Foot, who otherwise must have had a difficult Passage among the stones in so strong a Current. It was a great terror to all, that were of either side the River, to see and hear, how the Stream, which is naturally violent, (being rendred more impetuous by the large accession of Rain) ran swooping down, hurrying along in its course huge Flints, and other stones, precipitantly rowling down with an hideous noise and roaring.

The valourous Young King was extreamly perplex'd at all these casual impediments; but bold and full of hope, (as he was) he assured himself, that the *Scots* must needs shortly return that way: Thereabout therefore he resolv'd to remain, till he might understand what further course was taken by his Enemies. They yet knew of no other Town or Place near, that might afford them shelter or comfort, and far they could not travel, both They and their Horses being in such evil case. So for one day and night more both They and their Beasts were in a manner fain to fast, but for some little bread for themselves, and a few leaves of trees for their horses; but now they had time to cut down boughs with their swords for Stakes to tie their Horses too, and to make lit-

tle

tle ſheds for themſelves. They knew not yet whereabouts they were, nor how far off from any Town, becauſe they had left the beaten Roads, when firſt they began to follow the *Scots*, and had not ſince return'd into them. But about Noon the next day, they found ſome poor People, who told them that they were about twenty [k] ſix Miles from *Newcaſtle*, and twenty two from *Carlile*, and that no conſiderable Town was nearer, to furniſh them with any thing they wanted. The King and his Council having heard this good News, ſent immediately Horſes and Sumpters to both Towns, and Proclamation therewith, that whoever would bring Bread, Wine, or other Victuals with Fodder and Litter for Horſes, ſhould receive abundant ſatisfaction with thanks of the King. For it had been openly declared, that for all this the King would not ſtir a foot, till he heard what was become of his Enemies. Some Proviſion was brought next day by Noon (but that not overmuch) by the Kings ſutlers; many alſo of the Country People thereabout came with little Nags, laden with Bread in Panniers, and ſmall Perry Wine, with other Victuals to ſell in the Army; which pretty well refreſhed them for a time.

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[k] *Holinſhead hiſt. Scotl. p. 225.*

Thus they continued the ſpace of five or ſix days in all, expecting ever the Return of the *Scots*, who had fortifi'd themſelves the mean while upon a Hill, waiting for them alſo; but neither party knew where the other was. The *Engliſh* were but very indifferently purvey'd, for when the Country came in to them with Proviſion, [l] a loaf of Bread, worth but a penny, was ſold for ſixpence, and a gallon of Wine, which was worth but ſixpence, as money then went, was ſold for two ſhillings; and yet there was ſuch ſcarcity, that they were ready to fight with one another for what they had. And beſides all this, for near a week together, it hardly ever ceaſed raining; ſo that much hurt was done to their Beaſts, their girts being broken, their backs ſore, and their feet unſhod; againſt which there was no remedy in that place. All theſe things conſider'd, the King began to change his mind, and at laſt reſolved to part thence, leaving the more barren Country of *Northumberland*, and repaſſing the River about ſeven Miles lower, where the paſſage might be more eaſie, to re-enter the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. It was alſo proclaim'd thrô the Hoſt, that whoever could bring the King certain knowledge where the *Scots* were encamped (for that they were not then ſtirring abroad, was known) ſhould be rewarded with an hundred pounds *per annum* for him and his heirs for ever, and himſelf receive the honour of Knighthood from the Kings own hands. Upon this encouragement about fifteen or ſixteen Knights and Eſquires (theſe for the Money alone, thoſe for the Title and the Money too) undertook the Adventure, and immediately paſſed the River in great danger, and rode abroad all ſeverally to ſeek their Fortune. The next Morning the King and all the Horſe with him diſlodg'd and rode on fair and ſoftly (the Foot on the other ſide the River keeping pace with them) till they came to a place more ſhallow and eaſie, and there they ventur'd to repaſs the *Tyne*, which notwithſtanding gave them much trouble; for many were fain to ſwim (the water was ſtill ſo deep with the late fall of ſo much rain) and ſome few were drowned. Thus was this Council of the *Engliſh* ſadly diſappointed; otherwiſe it could not but have proved fatal to the *Scots*, who had then no other Forces in readineſs at home, ſufficient to receive ſo well formed an Army; and thoſe in *England*, if they had been forced to a Battel, muſt in all probability have paid dearly for their Robberies. But God, in Mercy to the *Scots*, or in Judgement to the *Engliſh* for their late Rebellion, or with deſign by Adverſity to form our young *Edward* for a perfect Captain, or leſt *Robert Bruce*, their only Fortunate King, ſhould juſt before his Death be deprived of that Name, order'd, that all this Council and Courage of the Kings ſhould thus be fruſtrate.

[l] *Froiſ.* ibid.

Now when the Horſe had all paſſed the River, they took up their Quarters in the Neighbouring Meadows, for there was good Paſturage and fruitfull Fields about a little Village: But the Village it ſelf had felt the fury of the *Scots*, being by them burnt down to the ground, as they paſſed that way. The next day they marched thence over Hills and Dales, till Noon; at which time they found ſeveral Villages newly burnt to the ground by the *Scots*, about which there lay a good Champaigne Country with Corn fields and Meadows, which the Enemy had not deſtroy'd for their own ſakes chiefly, leſt they ſhould loſe the benefit thereof upon their Return. There therefore they reſolv'd to ſtay that Night, for their Horſes wanted refreſhment ſtill, they had been ſo haraſſed. But the next day and part of the day following they rode on, ſtill ignorant where the *Scots* were, till at laſt there came up haſtily an Eſquire of *Yorkſhire*, named [m] *Thomas Rokeby*, riding toward the King, who doing his Obeiſance, ſaid theſe Words, "May it pleaſe your Majeſty, I have now brought certain tidings "of

[m] *Holinſhead hiſt. Scotl. p. 225*

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" of the *Scots* your Enemies: They are not above [n] three Miles from hence, lodged ſtrongly " on a great Hill in *Weredale*, beyond the River *Were*, where they have been theſe Eight " days, expecting our coming. Dread S[r], what I ſay, I'll maintain for Truth, for I ventur'd " ſo near to take the better view of them, that falling into their hands, I was carried be- " fore their Leaders; where being queſtion'd, I declared how deſirous your Majeſty has " been all along to find them out; but when I mention'd the Eſtate your Majeſty had pro- " miſed, beſide the Honour of Knighthood, as a Reward to him that ſhould firſt bring ti- " dings of them to your Majeſty, the Lords that command their Army, having made me " promiſe to diſcover, where they were to your Majeſty, freely quitted me my Ranſome, " and gave me full Liberty. For they ſaid they were every whit as deſirous to fight with " you, and if it pleaſe your Majeſty, I ſhall ſhew you the Faces of them preſently.

[n] *Hector p.*308. & *Froiſ.* ibid.

The King having received this exact account, immediately aſſign'd unto the Eſquire an hundred pound ſterling for him and his heirs *in perpetuum*, and therewith Knighted him with his own Sword before the whole Army. And this S[r] *Thomas Rokeby* by his Valiant and Noble carriage in time following, ſhew'd how well he deſerved this good Fortune; as will appear in the Proceſs of this Hiſtory. After this the King drew out all his Men into a fair Meadow, where, while their Beaſts refreſhed themſelves, the [o] King and thoſe that were piouſly diſpos'd, went to a Neighbouring Abbey (which the *Scots* had burnt) to Confeſſion, as expecting without fail to have Battel now. This done, they all made themſelves ready, and having taken a little Reſt and convenient Repaſt, the Trumpets ſounded to Horſe, and the Marſhals Banners follow'd the New-made Knight Sr *Thomas Rokeby*; after whom came every Battail by it ſelf in good cloſe Order (becauſe of the nearneſs of the Enemy) thrô Mountains and Valleys with ſome difficulty; yet they made ſuch good ſpeed, that about Noon they came ſo near the *Scots*, that each Hoſt might plainly ſee the other. The *Scots* beholding their Reſolute approach, as readily iſſued out of their Trenches, and ranged themſelves in three Bat-tails on foot [p] at the deſcent of the Mountain.

[o] *Froiſ. c.*18. *fol.* 9. *b.*

[p] *Hector p.*308.

A little beneath the [q] foot of this Hill, there ran a great River, called *Were*, full of huge flints and other ſtones, like the *Tyne*, ſo that it was very hazardous to paſs over, even had there been no Enemy oppos'd to impeach the Paſſage. And yet, had the *Scots* permitted the *Engliſh* to come over quietly, they had found no ſufficient room to draw themſelves up in, between the River and this Mountain: But they muſt have been fain to come in Parties, and all diſorder'd upon a compleat Army, well and regularly ranged. This made the *Engliſh* lay by all hopes of forcing them from that advanta-gious Station; but yet to try, whether they might not be provoked to break their pre-ſent Order, the King commanded all men to alight from their Horſes, and pull off their Spurs, preſenting themſelves in three Great Battails before the Enemy; at which time he made ſome new Knights, and then to give courage to his Soldiers, rode leiſurely be-fore the [r] Battails, praying and exhorting them all with much ſweetneſs, to be carefull that day of his Crown and Dignity, and of the Honour of their Country. After which it was commanded on pain of Death, that none ſhould go before the Marſhals Banners, nor by any means break their array without particular Order. And now fair and ſoftly they all advance forward, till they came ſo near to the Enemy, that the Front of either Hoſt might perfectly view each others Arms and Cognizance.

[q] *Froiſ. c.*18. *&c.*

[r] *Froiſ.* ibid.

Here the *Engliſh* perceived that their Adverſaries, as ſecure in their preſent condi-tion, were fully reſolv'd no way to alter it, either by moving forward to meet them, or by retiring back to give them ſpace to approach, wherefore here they made an Halt to adviſe further. In the mean time ſome of the ſtout Barons and Knights of the Hoſt, mounting their great Courſers, reſolv'd to skirmiſh with the *Scots*, and to view well the paſſage of the River, as alſo to behold the Face of the Enemy nearer, if by any means they might find a way to join Battel. The King having this while been at Council, ſent Heralds to the *Scots*, to aſſure them " That if they were willing to come " and paſs the River, towards obtaining a Battel, he would freely retire back, till he " had left them ſufficient ſpace to range themſelves in; either then, or if they pleaſed, " the next day; or elſe let them allow the ſame to *England*, and the King would with-" out fail come over to them. Upon this the *Scots* took Council, and there, thô the Lord *James Douglas* with equal Courage approved of the Propoſal, and was ready to embrace the offer, yet the Prudent Lord *Thomas Randulph* overſway'd his Heat by good and weighty Reaſons; and ſo they ſent this [s] Anſwer by the Heralds, " The *Scotch* " Lords are better adviſ'd, than to follow the Counſel of an Enemy: Your King and " his Barons are not ignorant, where now we are, and what we have done in coming " hither: If they are diſpleaſed, let them correct us, when they can; For here we are

[s] *Froiſ. c.*18. *fol.* 10.

" reſol-

"reſolved to maintain our Poſt, as long as we ſhall think fitting, and when we ſee oc- AN. DOM.
"caſion, we may give them Battel to their Coſt: But as for the Offers, we reject 1327.
"them both. After the delivery of this Anſwer, it was by Order from the King pro- AN. REGNI
claim'd, that all men ſhould there take up their reſt for that Night, without retiring I.
to the Camp: and ſo there they lay all Night on the hard ground with their armour on, having neither ſtakes to tie their Horſes to, nor much Forage to give them, nor fuel to make any fire. But the *Scots* on the other hand, leaving good Watch in the place where they ſtood ranged before, went every one elſe to their former encampment, where they made ſo many and ſo great Fires of *Engliſh* wood, as if they deſign'd thereby to provoke their Enemies, by waſting ſo prodigally that fuel, of which they themſelves had ſo little. But from Midnight, till Morning, they made ſuch a noiſe, with perpetual and univerſal ſhoutings, and cries, and winding of Horns and Clarions, as if they deſign'd not only to daunt their Enemies, but to rend Heaven it ſelf: Thus were both the Hoſts lodged that Night, which was in the beginning of *Auguſt*, a full Month after the *Engliſh* had firſt ſet out from *York*. The next Morning both Armies faced each other, as before, till Noon; but neither Party ſeem'd yet diſpos'd to move forward, there was ſuch apparent diſadvantage in the attempt. However ſeveral *Engliſh* Youth ventur'd to paſs the River on Horſeback, and ſome alſo on Foot to skirmiſh, againſt whom came certain *Scots* iſſuing out of their Battails: ſo that divers were ſlain, wounded and taken Priſoners on both ſides. But for all this, neither Army brake their Order; till afternoon it was proclaim'd, that all men ſhould draw back to their Camp: For now it appear'd for certain, that the *Scots* would by no means come to a pitch'd Battel.

Thus for three Days they faced each other, but neither would move firſt to paſs the River, there was ſuch hazard in the matter. The King of *England* was yet too young to undertake of himſelf ſo great an Enterpriſe, as afterwards he did many far greater with ſucceſs; and the *Engliſh* Lords, however gallant they were, durſt not be the Authors unto him of ſuch Counſel, which for ought they knew, by its doubtfull Event might hazard their Heads. Yet not a day paſſed without ſundry adventures on either ſide, and ſeveral were interchangeably ſlain, wounded or taken Priſoners. And ſtill the *Scots* kept their barbarous Cuſtom every Night of Crying, ſhouting and winding of Horns moſt diſmally, keeping all the while rouſing Fires thrô all the Hoſt, but eſpecially between themſelves and the Enemy, that the *Engliſh* might not be able from far to obſerve their Behaviour.

King *Edward*'s intent was to hold the *Scots* thus after the manner of a ſiege; for if they came over, they were apparently loſt, and if they fled, his Horſe was to purſue and entertain them till the Groſs of his Army might come up, and ſo force them to an Engagement. One of theſe things they muſt do, or be famiſhed: For he underſtood by Priſoners that had been taken, that they had neither Bread, Wine, nor ſalt left, nor any thing elſe, but Fleſh; of which they had enough; for thoſe Parts abounded with Cattel; but now their Oatmeal, of which they made their Cakes, being ſpent, Fleſh alone was not good Diet. The *Scots* on the other ſide hoped, that this Carriage of theirs would ſoon weary the young King out; but they were miſtaken: for as for him, his Reſolution was much greater than might be expected from his Age; and for his Army, that was now well enough furniſhed with Victuals by the Purveyers, which he continually ſent out over all the Northern Parts, as well as by others his Friends and Subjects. Now on the fourth day, as ſoon as it was light, the *Engliſh* directing their Eyes towards the Camp of their Enemies, beheld the Mountain whereon they had Poſted themſelves, quite void and naked: For about Midnight they had retreated thence to another more ſtrong Mountain by the ſame River ſide, which was alſo advantaged by a great Wood on the one ſide, thrô which they might paſs and repaſs ſecretly, when they pleaſed, this place alſo being in *Weredale*, near *Stanhop*-Park in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*.

This account of the *Scots* was brought back to the King about Noon, by certain Horſemen who had been ſent to ſcout after them. Hereupon the Army began to diſlodge and march after them in Battel array: Being come over againſt them, they found another Mountain, where they alſo encamped, as the *Scots* had done on the other, oppoſite to them. But the way to come to handy ſtroaks, was ſtill as difficult to either Part, as before: Only this advantage the *Scots* had; that they were ſomething the nearer on their way homeward, and the Wood by them was very fit to lay an Ambuſcado, or to favour a Retreat. Thus here they faced each other after the old manner, for [y] fifteen days together more, to the great vexation of the *Engliſh*, but much more

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[t] *Walſingh. hiſt.* p. 108.
[u] *Knighton* p. 2551.
[x] *Tinemouth Aur. hiſt. fol.* 229.
[y] *Knighton* p. 2551. & *M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C.* c. 214.

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to the trouble and misery of the *Scots*, who knew not well what to do in this condition: The *English* so well watched them both by Night and by Day, ever since that Desperate attempt of Earl *Douglas*, one of the first Nights, after they had come to this second Mountain; which, thô the action of an Enemy, must not by any means be forgotten by Us, who resolve to write impartially and rob no man of his just Honour.

[z] *Knighton p.* 2552. [a] *Froiss. c.* 18. *fol.* 10. [b] *Hector p.* 308

Whether by Treason of some *English* or no, I will not affirm, thô [z] that has been said, and the Lord *Mortimer* was afterwards question'd for such matters, but the [a] first night that the *Scots* were come to the second Mountain, Earl *Douglas* understanding the *English* kept but slender watch, either, as being over-wearied with this troublesome Journey, or as the nature of man is, [b] contemning their Numbers, and growing secure upon this their late Flight, understanding this, I say, the adventerous Lord passes over the River far beyond the *English* Camp with 200 Men of Arms well mounted, and marches with great caution and silence toward the *English* Host. The *Scotch* Writers and *Froisard* also affirms, that just as he came to the first Watches, he and his men with great fury and outcries dashing their spurs to their Horses, rushed into the midst of their Camp, still crying a *Douglas*, a *Douglas*, Ye shall all die, ye Thieves of *England*! And that so he slew 300 e're he ceased, some in their beds, and others ill prepared for Resistance, by reason of the sudden surprize. That thus he proceeded even to the Kings Tent, always crying a *Douglas*; that he strake in sunder two or three Cords of the Royal Pavilion, and so got off safe; only in the Retreat some few of his Men were lost, as *Froisard* confesses, [c] *Hector p.* 308 who lived about that time, but not one saies honest [c] *Hector* and his sworn Friend [d] *Buchan. p.* 276 [d] *Buchanan*, the former whereof lived about two hundred, and the other almost three hundred Years after. I profess to be desirous of telling the Truth, but can by no means admit this Action to have been done in this manner; because the Undertaking is utterly improbable, and the Success much more incredible, and Authorities are not wanting to prove the Relation erroneous. For who will believe, that so well-formed an Army should be thus openly despised by a Man who knew their Strength very well, but could not be suppos'd to know the Avenues of the Camp so well? Besides the choicest Knights and Barons of the Army lay most of them about the Kings Person, not to mention his ordinary Guards, nor to insist on the *Heinalders*, near two Thousand in number, whose place we shew'd to be near the Kings Person, and who were all valiant Men and could not be surpris'd; because they durst not yet take their rest without very good Watch and a strong Guard, as well for doubt of the Common Enemy, as for fear of the *English* Archers, whom they had so incens'd as we shew'd before. Let any man of Reason consider, whether it be possible, for such a Company of Horsemen to pass even to the heart of such an Army, and repass again with little or no dammage, being all the while attended with such Noise and Tumult. What? no Trenches to hinder their Progress? No Troops appointed to secure the Watch, and to walk the Rounds? None ready to draw a Sword, or to let an Arrow slip from a Bow? If not one was slain, what made *Douglas* go off with so small an Execution; when *Leonidas* and his three hundred *Spartans* made shift to kill twenty thousand *Persians* in one night? Or why did he not come with the whole strength of his Army; then as *Hector* saies, he might have slain them every Mothers Son? But having made this Tryal, which succeeded better than he could imagin, and finding the Army began to be Roused, he sav'd his own Men and went off! Why? Even the Womanlike Army of [e] *Herod. l.* 7. *Justin. l.* 2. *Orosius l.* 2. *c.* 9. [e] *Xerxes* (to which an enemy cannot compare the *English*) could make a shift to stop the return of as noble a General as *Douglas*, thô attended with three hundred *Spartans* and seven hundred Others (as brave Fellows, no doubt, as those *Scotchmen*) who yet fell silently upon the *Persians* without any noise or warning at all. It cannot be, that the *English* should then be either so effeminate, or so negligent, or so overcome with surfits at that time, that they could not with half this Noise be allarm'd, so as to rouze up and rally together, and intercept these bold Intruders. I rather therefore believe, that Earl *Douglas* intended a crafty and more probable, and no less honourable Undertaking of destroying the Kings own Person, whose Tent he might easily have observed by some Penon or Cognisance, and so hoped to put the *English* Army to the rout upon loss of their General, as the *Assyrians* fled upon the Death of *Holofernes*: That he intended to secure his Retreat by these select and fleet Horses, which were sufficient to skirmish with any Troop that should suddenly pursue after him. And it [f] *Knighton p.* 2552. [g] *Id. p.* 2627. is [f] said by a diligent Historian of those very Days, who had seen and known, and [g] heard King *Edward* discourse, that *Douglas* came into the Camp by stealth, aiming to find out the Kings Pavilion, and that being descried by some of the Watch, he said always

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in *Engliſh*, as if he had been one of the Rounds, "*No Ward? Ha! St. George.* And ſo not being queſtion'd, he came at laſt to the Tent Royal, where he ſlew the Kings [i] Chamberlain, and after that a ſtout loyal Soul his Chaplain, who ran toward the King to wake him, but was ſlain in the endeavour; as he alſo interpos'd his own Body to prevent the blow aim'd at the King. With this rude ſhock the Valourous Young King awakes, and immediatly ſnatches his good Sword, which hung ready-naked at his Beds head, and leaps out on the other ſide the Bed to oppoſe this bold Adventurer: who ſeeing now his work not likely to be clearly performed, and doubting there had been too great noiſe already, retires; but juſt before, the Kings Tent was filled with his faithfull Subjects: by many of whom he is ſtrait perſu'd on all hands. But whether by ſome connivance of *Mortimers*, or that himſelf had well conſider'd all the Avenues of the Camp, being a moſt expert Commander, or that his readineſs in *Engliſh* made him not perceived, or that Fortune loves to be propitious to them that court her gallantly; *Douglas* himſelf eſcapes clear off, thô very [k] hardly, but many of his Men were left behind. Either of theſe ways in my opinion makes equally for the honour of that valiant *Scotch* Lord; but this latter, as it wants not good and ancient Atteſtors, ſo to me it ſeems upon many accounts much more probable than the other.

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[i] *Tinemouth Aur. Hiſtor. in ædibus Lambeth f.* 229.

[k] *Tinemouth ibid. Knighton p.* 2552. *n.* 10.

However the Action of this night, taught the *Engliſh* to keep more ſure Watch and Ward for the future, and ſome certain Troops held their appointed Poſts, ſtanding in Harneſs all night by turns; but every day they skirmiſhed, each Part dividing their loſſes and gains almoſt equally. For the *Scots* never came over to the *Engliſh*, otherwiſe they had been ſurrounded with good Bands of Men, and ſo all taken or ſlain, but the *Engliſh* ever ventur'd over with Gallantry enough, and generally they had the better, but when the *Scots* ſent out more numerous Detachments from their Main Body, which becauſe they were fewer in number than the *Engliſh*, they did not often, for they doubted, if too much they broke their Array, that the whole *Engliſh* Forces would follow the Skirmiſhers. This was the manner of both Armies for about twenty four [l] days in all, when it chanced a *Scotch* Knight of ſome quality was taken priſoner, and brought before the King and his Barons, where being roughly menaced, and ſtrictly examin'd, he at laſt with much ado, confeſſed in what evil Condition the *Scots* at that time were, and being preſt yet further, he told them how their Generals had ordain'd, that the ſame night every one ſhould be ready arm'd and follow the Banners of the Lord *Douglas*, but what to doe, as it was by the Council kept ſecret, ſo the Knight ingenuouſly proteſted that he was wholly ignorant. Upon this the King withdrawing to Council, it was concluded by all, becauſe the Lord *Douglas* was now the Leader of this Enterprize, that they certainly intended to give them a general Onſet as that night on each Flank of the Army, as expecting to find Succeſs anſwerable to the late Undertaking; their Diſpair thrô ſo long a ſiege attended with ſuch difficulties, making them reſolve at one Blow to hazard all: For the Knight had confeſſed a great Famine among them. Then three great Battails were ordain'd, the One to ſtand before the Camp, toward the Enemy, the other Two, facing about on each ſide to receive them both on right and left, if occaſion ſhould be: Great Fires alſo were appointed to be kindled on all Parts, that they might avoid confuſion or ſurprize the better, and the Watches were placed at ſeveral diſtances, and Scouts ſent out to inform the Hoſt of the Enemies motions; the Watch-word was given, and the Servants and Pages were order'd the while to keep their Maſters Lodgings, with their Horſes ready Sadled in their hands. And thus accordingly they ſtood all Night in Battle Array, till the firſt approach of Morning, when two *Scotch* Trumpeters being taken by the Scout-watch, and by them brought to the King and Council, ſpake freely (for they were taken voluntarily) in this manner, "Ye Lords of *England*, why do you ſtand thus to your Arms watching here to no purpoſe? For on peril of our heads your Enemies are marched clear off: Before Midnight "they began ſilently to leave their Camp, being not deſcried by you, by reaſon of the "dark Moonleſs night, advantaged with the Covert of a Wood. So that by this, we believe them no leſs than three or four Miles onward of their way; only they left us "two behind to ſhew you what courſe they had taken.

[l] *Aſhmole p.* 645

Upon this it was concluded but folly to think of purſuing them any farther, ſince they had got ſuch a Start, and were much more expedite for Travail, but chiefly becauſe they underſtood that the *Scots* were in ſuch want, that of neceſſity they muſt haſten back into their own Country, and that by reaſon of the approach of Winter, (for Harveſt was done even in thoſe Parts) they could not make another Expedition that year. Nor was it the leaſt conſideration, that their former Troubles had coſt them more [m] Men, and

[m] *Buchan. p.* 277.

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and Horſes, than ſome juſt Battels might have done; beſides their late continual Watchings, and other hardſhips had rendred them all unfit to purſue ſuch [n] Vagabonds. To theſe Reaſons all agreed, but for fear of any deceit, they ſtill detain'd the two Trumpeters, and held on their former Order, till near Prime. But when it plainly appeared, that the *Scots* were indeed eſcaped, then every Man had leave to retire to his Lodgings, while the Lords went to counſel with the King, there to adviſe how to proceed further.

[n] *Prædones vagos* Buch.

In the mean time many of the *Engliſh* out of curioſity or hopes of Prey mounted their Horſes, and paſſing the River, came and view'd the *Scotch* Camp: Thoſe who expected prey, were much deceived, but they who came out of curioſity, were well ſatisfied. For there they found more than [o] five hundred Oxen and Deer ready kill'd, becauſe they themſelves could not drive them before the Hoſt at that rate, as their Flight required, and that they might do little good to the *Engliſh*. There were alſo ready ſtretch'd on ſtakes over fire-places three hundred Caldrons made after their way, of skins, with the hair ſtill on them, all full of Water and Fleſh, ready to be boiled, and more than a thouſand Spits with meat, ready to be roaſted on them; there were alſo found ten thouſand Pair of old Shoes in this rich Camp, all made of raw Leather, with hair on them, which the *Scots* in their haſt had left behind. Among the reſt there were [p] five poor *Engliſh* Priſoners (thô *Buchanan* after his qualifying manner ſays but two) faſt bound to Trees with their Legs broken, but yet alive, of whom now their Countrymen took charitable care.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 18. *fol.*10.*b.* *Hector p.*308 *lin.*42. *Buchan.p.*277.

[p] *Froiſ. ibid.* & *Hector ibid.*

John [q] *Harding* agrees with many, and ſays, that the *Scots* were held in manner of a Siege by the *Engliſh*; but in the way of their Eſcape he is more particular, and tells us, that on one Part there lay a broad and wide mooriſh Ground, ſo deep with mire, and ſo broad, that the *Engliſh* (whether by the management of ſome, or overſight of all) wholly neglected to guard that Place, as accounting it impaſſable. That the wily *Scots* provided ſecretly Planks laid upon Faggots, and joyn'd cloſe, over which they went in the Night, ſtill drawing them up as they paſſed, and thoſe that follow'd, laying down freſh ones, and then in like manner drawing them after, that the *Engliſh* might not purſue them by the ſame means; ſo that according to the *French* Proverb, [r] *Ils ſe ſont ſauvé par les Marets*, with much ado they came off thrô the Mariſhes. I determin not, how they ſhould be ſo well provided of ſo much matter, or how ſo great a Work could be done in ſo ſmall a Time (thô no Man can tell, how long before this Deſign might be reſolv'd on) becauſe the Author we follow in this, underſtood the nature of thoſe Northern Parts as perfectly as any Man living, and ſo his Authority herein is no way contemptible.

[q] *Harding c.* 177. *fol.*176.

[r] *Cotgrave in Marets.*

The [s] *Scots*, that very day after a great journey of two and twenty Miles, thrô a wild Country, without any ſtay or reſt for fear of an Encounter, repaſſed the River of *Tyne* near *Carlile*, and the next day leaving *Northumberland* on their Right hand, they rode thrô a ſmall part of *Cumberland*, into their own Country, where they preſently disbanded.

[s] *Froiſ. c.* 20. *fol.*11. *b.*

Thus befell of this Expedition, with all the vaſt expence, and theſe great and formidable Preparations. Our Hiſtorians (as many of them following the vain opinions of the Vulgar, betray much weakneſs and paſſion) are angry with this bad ſucceſs, and find ſome diſhonour hereby to reflect on the King, wholly attributing all to the Treaſon of *Mortimer*, and others. But whoever ſeriouſly reflects upon this account of it here given, which is the moſt exact and full that I could any ways diſcover, may rather ſee it was the Hand of God, and the ſubtlety of the Enemy, created all this trouble. Nor can I imagine, how by any means, *Mortimer* could hold intelligence with the *Scots*, unleſs he truſted many of thoſe who kept watch, which was too hazardous a matter for any man in his right ſenſes to do; ſince if but one or two of many had diſcover'd it, notwithſtanding his great Credit with the Queen Mother and the King, he muſt needs have been torn in pieces. But becauſe [t] *Walſingham* and others among other Articles lay this to his Charge that he was an Impediment to the Kings Honour at *Stanhop*-Park, in reſtraining the *Engliſh* from falling on the *Scots*; I ſhall not omit ſuch circumſtances as I have met with, that ſeem to make againſt him as to that point. And firſt it is ſaid, that he the [u] ſaid *Roger Mortimer*, with Queen *Iſabel* and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, being then in *France*, upon certain Conditions, made ſome certain Covenant with the *Scotch* Miniſters there then reſiding; upon which encouragement the *Scots* proceeded to this War; and that Earl *Douglas* perform'd that bold action by Night in the *Engliſh* Camp, by the [x] connivance and underhand aſſiſtance of certain in the Kings army, of whom *Mortimer* ought to be accounted Chief; and that

[t] *Wolſing. hiſt. p.*112. *n.*30. & *MS. C.C.C. Dug.* 1. *vol. p.*146. *b.*

[u] *Knighton p.* 2551. *n.*40.

[x] *Id. p.*2552. *n.* 16.

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the *Scots* escaped away not without the Treason of certain of the *English* Army; and lastly, in the [y] Eleventh Article laid afterwards to his Charge in Parliament; 'tis said that he converted the whole sum of Money, which the *Scots* gave afterwards upon the Establishment of a Peace, to his own use, the King not enjoying any part thereof. [z] Others add to this, that a little before their flight, the King resolving to send two considerable Detachments from his Army to intercept the passage of the *Scots* on each Flank, himself intending to pass over against them by that time the rest might be up with the Enemy, certain (from the Lord *Mortimer* be like) gave them a sign of their Danger, which might have been privately agreed on before, whereupon they escaped, as we have declared. However King *Edward* had such good Advice, and such Success, even in this unhappy Journey, as to be able to rid the Land of its Enemy without any considerable Loss; but what no humane Industry or Wisdom could foresee or prevent.

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[y] *Id. p. 2558. n. 10. ex Rot. 4. Ed. 3. &c.*

[z] *Polyd. Virg. l. 19. p. 360. n. 10.*

I confess (to use the words of Mr [a] *Ashmole*) that the first Actions of Princes are Generally look'd upon by all Eyes, and not seldom by many Critical Observators, taken as the Radix, whence to calculate their future, either Successes or Miscarriages. Now (as he goes on) if a full age entitle them to the sole management of Affairs, we are enclin'd to think, that a judicious Eye may partly discern the strength of their Fortune from such their beginnings. But while they remain under Tutorage, and their Designs are carried on by the Conduct of others, the Event of things will manifest a dependency upon the strength or weakness of the genius of those Persons, who are the Chief Managers of their Concerns. And this was fully made out in this Prince, whose Martial undertakings succeeded little or nothing, while the Government of the Kingdom remain'd in other Hands, (and sometimes after also, when he was tyed up and hamper'd by his Allies in *Flanders*) but He no sooner arrived at full Age, and had the Dispose of publique Affairs in his own Hands, but all things shew'd themselves as disposed by his own Happy Genius: And the first remarkable Experiment hereof was verified even upon the *Scots* themselves, from whom before He had received some affronts and indignities, as we shall see hereafter.

[a] *p. 645.*

Thus (this Expedition ended as it was) the [b] next day the *English* Army return'd homeward, and about noon they came to a great Abby within two miles of *Durham*, where the King lodged with all his Host about him in the Field. Here they found good forage for their Horses, and refreshment for Themselves. Next day the King (leaving the Gross of the Army there still) went to *Durham* to visit the famous Church of St. *Cuthbert* and to offer at his Shrine. In this City were found all the Carriages, which were left by the Army about a Month ago in the Wood one Morning, when they marched towards the *Tyne*, to intercept the *Scots*, as we [c] shew'd before. For the Mayor and Burgesses of *Durham* having found them, order'd them for their better security to be brought into the City at their own costs and charges, where they were placed safe in empty Barnes and Granges, the Name, or Arms, or other Cognisance of each Owner, being before left on every Man's Carriage, that the several Proprietors might be known. It extreamly satisfied the Lords and Gentlemen, when thus unexpectedly they had recover'd what they lately looked on as no better than lost. Here, and about the City the whole Army refreshed themselves well for two days, all the Horses were new shod, and what was amiss corrected. The third day they marched towards the City of *York*, which they easily reached in three days after; and there the King found his Lady-Mother, who received him with great joy, with all her Ladies and the whole City. Here, after great thanks given to all the Barons and Knights that had attended the King, for their prompt Advice and loyal Assistance in this Expedition, he dismist the greater part of the Army; but Sr. *John* of *Heinalt* with his Company was still retained, because they had not as yet their promised Wages.

[b] *Froiss. c. 18. fol. 10.*

[c] *p. 9.*

After some time spent in Jollity and Feasting (for the Queen and her Ladies made them very good Cheer) the Lords and Captains of Sr. *Johns* Retinue drew up Bills of what was due unto them, reckoning in also the Horses and other Stuff they had lost or spoiled in this Journey, and deliver'd them in to the Kings Council. But then the noble *John* Lord *Beaumont*, out of the Trust he reposed in the Kings Promise, bound himself freely to all his Followers, undertaking to content them as to all their particulars within a certain time, for all their Losses and Charges, contained in the said Bills, besides their promised Wages; For he well saw, that the King could not possibly at that time spare so much Mony: Thô with much ado he made shift to allow them for their present Charges, and what might be sufficient to carry them handsomly into their own several Countries: Yet before the Year was quite ended, they were all satisfied in full.

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Then they provided little Naggs for their Lacquies and Pages to ride on, and two Ships were lent them by the King to convey their Servants and Stuff to *Sluce* in *Flanders*: After which the Lord *John* of *Heinalt* and his Warlike Company took their leave of the King and the Queen his Mother, of the Earls of *Norfolk*, and of *Kent* the Kings Uncles, and of the Earl of *Lancaster* his Cozen, with the Lord *Mortimer* and the rest of the Barons, all whom he found very courteous and honourable to Him and his Followers; especially the Queen and her Confident, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*; for these, besides their open Gratuities, privately heaped upon Sr. *John* and his Retinue, [d] such and so many rich Presents, as proved much to the detriment of the King, and the impoverishing of his Kingdom. But upon their parting (for fear of the *English* Archers, whom they had in this War so highly incensed,) the King appointed the [e] Lord *William Clinton* and eleven other Knights with two [f] hundred Men of Arms, to bear them company thrô *Lincolnshire* Thus at last they all came safe to *Dover*, where they found Vessels ready provided for them and theirs, whereby they were carried with a prosperous wind to the place they were bound for.

[d] *Knighton p.* 2552. *n.* 40.

[e] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 530.
[f] *Froiss. c.* 18. *fol.* 11.

VII. But now 'tis time to look nearer home, and enquire what becomes of the Old King, whom we left deposed and imprison'd, with the promise of an honourable Pension during life. He was not so unhappy in the want of his Subjects affections as some imagine, and indeed almost all Writers seem to averr: For in very truth he was rather depos'd, by the deep contrivances of a few subtle Enemies; and the despair, to which their trayterous Demeanour had already reduc'd them, together with his own oversight, than thrô any Ill-will, that the Generality of his People had to his Person or Government. And therefore his Queen and her partakers to gain Popularity upon their first coming into *England*, [g] revok'd all Fugitives and Exuls, setting at Liberty all Prisoners and Malefactours thrô the Realm, who themselves and their Friends flocking to *London*, made no small addition to her Forces. Moreover the Politick Queen [h] gave out, that the Pope had curst all her Enemies and their Abettors, and for that end, there were then with her in her Camp two Cardinals, his Legates; thô in truth there was no such matter: But however this Report served to amuse those who were to be aw'd by Devotion; and as for others, whom terrour might dismay, her Numbers were made formidable, and her [i] Forces excessively enhanced by Rumour; beside, 'twas given out, that the King of *France* was ready to follow with innumerable Forces to his Sisters aid. And after all this, (which is the usual Method of Treason) only Reformation and the publique Good was pretended: For the Queen caused to be proclaim'd, that none should fear the least harm or injury; but only those who were known to be the Common Enemies of the King or Kingdom, to wit, the two *Spencers*, Father and Son; *Robert Baldock*, [k] then Bishop of *Norwich*, and the King's Chancellour, *Walter Stapleton* Bishop of *Exceter*, with their Favourers; who were called the Authours of these present Troubles. And to take away all fear or jealousie from those who were willing to be quiet, it was further proclaim'd, that none of all her Army should presume to touch [l] to the Value of three pence, without the Owners leave, on pain of loosing a Finger; nor to the Value of six pence, on pain of loosing a Hand; nor to the Value of twelve pence, on Peril of his Head. By these and the like fair Pretences, the King's Friends were either wholly lull'd asleep, or durst not shew their Heads for fear; nor indeed could any (not concern'd in the Plot) imagine at that time, that the Queen and the King's Son should ever prove so dangerous to the King's own Person. Wherefore not being able to provide for any probable Resistance (after a few vain attempts to escape, and to lye conceal'd) he was taken and secur'd in *Kenelworth* Castle, where he remain'd that Winter, without knowing what would happen to him. But in the Parliament met at *Westminster* in *January*, he was depos'd, as we shew'd before, and his Son, as his next Heir, by the Consent of the Lords and Commons, admitted to the Crown; the Disloyal and ungratefull [m] Archbishop of *Canterbury* thereupon preaching to the Assembly from these Words, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, which Text hath since in our Days been resum'd to the same ungodly Purpose. But yet even this Assembly, which consisted mostly of such as had offended beyond hopes of Mercy, ([n] the few Honest not daring to contradict them) Publiquely and Solemnly protested, that the Depos'd King should no ways be violated or injur'd in his Person; but attended as a Prince all his Days, with an Honourable and Sufficient allowance. And thus indeed he lived for a while with good Comfort, saving that he wanted the Company of his Queen, whom he intirely loved, but [o] all his sweet Invitations by Letter were frustrated by the Vigilance of *Mortimer*, who perswaded the Queen, that his intent was only to Murther her, if once he could get her

[g] *Speed ex M.S. p.* 562. §. 60. & *Sr Tho. de la More p.* 7. *l.* 28.
[h] *Sr Th. de la More p.* 6. *l.* 44. *Speed* ibid. §. 59.

[i] *Sr Tho. de la More p.* 6. *l.* 40. *Speed* ibid.

[k] *Ità Philipot's Catal. Chancel. p.* 34. *Speed p.* 562. *Bp. Godwin dubitat, sed non negat. Catal. Bps. p.* 425.
[l] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 101. *Fox Acts &c. p.* 486.

[m] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 107. *n.* 10. *Churchill's Divi Britan.* 38. *Holinshead Engl. Chron. p.* 881.
[n] *Holinshead* ibid.

[o] *Sr Tho. de la More. vid. Article* 9. *contra Mortimer. Rot.* 4. *Ed.* 3. *&c.*

her into his power. And oftentimes the Old King [p] would say to his Keepers, "Where- "in have I offended *Isabella* my Wife, or *Edward* my Son, whom they have now made "King; that neither of them will let me speak with them, or so much as see their Fa- "ces? And still those who waited on him, [q] (being then Persons of Honour and good Fashion) answered him, "Most worthy Lord, be not displeased, if we declare the "Truth unto your Highness; it is because they are Both made to beleeve, that You "intend to stabb or strangle, or some other way to destroy the Queen your Lady, and "your Son, if you can get them into your hands. "Alas, Alas! reply'd the King, "Am not I here as a Prisoner, and not in my own power, but at your disposal? God "is my Witness, I never had so bad a thought; but I would to God, I might leave "this World, that so I might end all my Fears and Troubles together. This was the greatest of his Miseries, and which he laid most to heart; that he was never visited either by his Wife or any of his Children: But even this Affliction the Distressed Prince bore with Christian Courage and Equanimity; and by accustoming his Mind to Patience and Contemplation, he began now to be in love with that easie and retired Life, the Sweets whereof he ne're before had tasted.

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[p] *Grafton p. 217. & M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. c. 215.*
[q] *Id. p. 213. & M. S. id.* ibid.

The very Verses, which he is [r] said to have composed himself in this his Confinement (for honour of that Princes both Learning and Piety, and to satisfie the Curious) I have hereunto annexed, faithfully Translated from his Own, which were Latine, and in Rhyme, after the manner of that Age.

[r] *Daniels Hist. p. 218. & Ant. Wood Antiqu. Ox. l. 1. p. 101. & l. 2. p. 103. & Catal. Hono. p. 158. & Fabian p. 185. sic incipiunt,*

What time rough Winters blasts the Earth did tame,
Storms of ill Fortune shook my Glorious Frame!
There's none so wise, so mercifull and fair,
Prudent and shining with all Vertues rare;
But he's by abject Wretches trampled down,
If Fortune once on his Endeavours frown.
That Hand, that once did Grace to all dispence,
Can move no Heart to a Remorsefull Sense:
That Royal Face, whose Smiles afforded Bliss,
With Clouds of dark Dishonour blackned is:
My Vassals-once, do spurn me now: And those,
Whom I esteem'd my Friends, do prove my Foes.
Oh! who, that heard how once they prais'd my Name,
Would think that from those Tongues these Slanders came?
But sinfull Soul, why dost thou thus repine,
When justly humbled by the Hand Divine?
A Father's scourge is for our profit meant:
I see thy Rod, and Lord, I am content.
Chide me, my Father, till thou wilt give o're;
Afflict, till thou art pleased to restore:
Thy Son submits and doth thy Will obey;
But grieves, thus long he did this Work delay.
Now then, my Father, view my wretched Case;
And shine upon me with a smiling Face.
Forgive what's past: For what's to come assist;
Then I'le take gladly, what my Murd'rers list:
I've lost my Kingdome; yet I sha'nt repine,
If (after all) I gain but that of Thine.
To thee, sweet Jesus, humbly here I bend:
I loath my sins, do thou thy Pardon send:
Fountain of Love, allow my hearty Prayers;
Remember thine own Blood, thô not my Tears.
When Man afflicts, then, Lord, do thou forgive:
And when I die, grant, that my Soul may live.

Damnum mihi contulit tempore Brumali
Fortuna satis aspera vehementis mali!
Nullus est tam sapiens, mitis, aut formosus,
Tam prudens, Virtutibúsque cæteris famosus,
Quin stultus reputabitur, satis & despectus,
Si Fortuna prosperos avertat effectus. *&c.*

Thus did this poor King [s] repent all his former Vanities most heartily, no way repining at this punishment and heavy stroak of Gods Hand; but made so good use of these Afflictions; that 'tis more than hoped, he fitted himself for a Kingdom more durable: to which his Enemies long'd to send him.

[s] *Fabian* ibid. *& p. 194. Speed p. 566. Fox Acts &c. p. 486.*

For now, when the first Heats were over, and the vizard taken off from all these fair Pretences, the embers of Loyalty, that seem'd before extinct, began to kindle a great

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great flame in the Hearts of his abuſed Subjects: the late Proceedings of Parliament were look'd upon as traiterous, and contrary to the Laws of God and the Land, and the Young King was murmur'd againſt, as too ſoon invading his Fathers Throne. And ſundry [t] great Perſons and others, particularly the whole Order of Fryars Preachers, began to take pity of his Unworthy captivity, and to conſult, how beſt they might work his Deliverance. But his watchfull Enemies having ſome way or other intimation of theſe matters, ſince they ſaw in his Recovery their own Downfall, reſolv'd rather by deſtroying him to ſecure themſelves. Eſpecially the Queen was perpetually alarm'd with fears of being call'd ſhortly to an account by her Husband, whom ſhe had ſo wronged, and whoſe Reſtoration ſhe now greatly dreaded. *Mortimer* had all along put it into her head, that if e're the King ſhould get at liberty, he would be ſure to burn her to death; and that neither ſhe nor they could be ſecure, while Revenge from him was poſſible. And ſhe her ſelf being extreamly terrified with theſe thoughts [u] complain'd of diſmall and frightfull Dreams to her Counſellor, the traiterous and crafty Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Adam Orleton*, who cunningly took occaſion thence to urge her on to that, which by this time, ſhe her ſelf, 'tis thought too much deſired. In ſhort, his Death is reſolv'd on, but the Execution put off till this *Scotch* Expedition, which we have related, that the Authors might not lie ſo obnoxious to ſuſpicion, being ſo far off, at *York*, and about the Borders.

[t] *Speed p. 564. a. §. 4. & M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. c. 213.*

[u] *Sr. Th. de la More.*

But now *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, his Cozen, who was a Man of much Honour, and began alſo greatly to commiſerate his Royal Kinſmans Condition, is therefore thought too good a Keeper for him: wherefore on [x] *Palm-Sunday*, which was then the [y] fifth of *April*, he was by Indentures deliver'd to the Cuſtody of Sr. *John Maltravers* ſenior, and Sr. *John Gournay* (two blemiſhes of Knighthood) but the worſe Men, the better for their Purpoſe. Theſe two ungracious Villains with their Attendants [z] had Commiſſion to enter at any time into any Caſtle or Fortreſs within the Kingdom, and there to abide during their pleaſure, commanding all within the place. By them therefore he is ſoon after removed from *Kenelworth* Caſtle in *Warwickſhire*, and hurried about in the night from one Place to another, that no body might know certainly of his aboad. Firſt they brought him with all ſecrecy imaginable to the Caſtle of *Corfe* in *Dorſetſhire*; thence a while after to *Briſtow*-Caſtle; where they kept him privately in hardſhip and fear enough: Till it being [a] ſcented by ſome of the chief Citizens, out of a due Commiſeration of his undeſerved Troubles, and a juſt ſenſe of the Duty they ow'd him, putting their lives in their hands, they ſecretly combin'd to deliver him from theſe his inhumane Keepers, and ſo to convey him to ſome place of ſafety beyond the Seas, which was the utmoſt the diſtreſſed King did deſire. But his hard Deſtiny permitted this Counſel to take wind, or however cauſed ſuch a Suſpition to enter the minds of theſe Ungracious Wretches, his Keepers; in ſo much, that on that very night, wherein his Deliverance was to be effected, they very ſecretly remov'd him from *Briſtow* and convey'd him to [b] *Barkley* Caſtle in *Gloceſterſhire*.

[x] *Dugd. Warw. p. 165. a.*

[y] *D. Lit. Dom. Paſcha 12. Apr. Labbe.*

[z] *Sr. Th. de la More.*

[a] *Sr. Tho. de la More.*

[b] *Dugd. Warw. p. 165.*

And here they ſhew'd the Baſeneſs and Barbarity of their Mungrel Minds, by inhumanly inſulting over that Majeſty in adverſity, which lately by all Men was honour'd next to Adoration. They made him ride on an ill-favour'd Beaſt, thô nimble and ſtrong enough for their purpoſe, very meanly clad, who of late was Lord of a great Kingdom, Bare-headed, in whoſe preſence Princes were uſed to ſtand ſo; and ſtill they [c] took by-ways, croſſing the Country, leſt he ſhould be met by any and reſcued.

[c] *Sr. Tho. de la More.*

In this paſſage to *Barkley*-Caſtle, as they went by ſome Granges, near *Briſtow*, the Villain *Gournay* (for I will not diſgrace Knighthood by giving him the honourable title of Sr. *Thomas*) clapt on the Head of his Maſter, the Lords Anointed, a Crown made of a wiſp of Hay, adding this bitter and ſarcaſticall Jeer, [d] "*Fare forth, Sr. King.* Nor did the inſolent Indignities they put upon him end here; for having a mind by and by to cut off the Hair of his Head and Beard, that he might be more diſguis'd from the knowledge of any they ſhould chance to meet; they made him alight at a certain Ditch in their way, whence an inſolent Barber fetch'd him cold and dirty Water in an old ruſty Helmet, as he ſat on a Mole-hill to be Trimm'd, ſaying, as others alſo did, "That cold Water ſhould ſerve him for that time, to which the abuſed Prince reply'd [e] meekly, "But whether you will allow it or no, I will have warm "Water for my Beard; and therewith he let fall a ſhowre of warm Tears, that overflow'd his Face and Beard. This Story was atteſted to Sr. *Thomas de la More*, who liv'd in his Days, and wrote his Life and Death, by *William Biſhop*, one of the Ac-

[d] *Sr. Tho. de la More. The words are old Engl. and are as much as*; Set forward Sr. King.

[e] *Sr. Tho. de la More p. penult. lin. 34. &c.*

complices,

complices, who was preſent at the doing thereof, and afterwards heartily repented that ever he had a hand in ſo wicked a Concern. AN. DOM. 1327. AN. REGNI I.

And thus at laſt they brought him to *Barkley*-Caſtle, where they would create horrid noiſes to interrupt his Natural Repoſe, either make him faſt, or give him meats, not ſuch as he deſired, but quite Contrary; often unſavoury; always unwholeſome; and ſometimes temper'd with loathſome Sauces, and even Poiſon it ſelf: But the ſtrength of his Excellent Conſtitution preſerv'd him vigorous, healthy and entire among all theſe Attempts and Difficulties: For it is the Opinion of *Galen*, that ſome ſtrong Bodies may by the courſe of Nature evacuate ſuch poiſons, as uſually deſtroy thoſe of a leſs firm and ſolid Vigour and contexture. Howbeit we had rather attribute this to the Goodneſs of God, leſt had he died thrô exceſs of Grief and Melancholy, or by theſe ſecret and lingring Poiſons, their Cruel Treaſon had not been ſo apparent to humane Notice. Beſides all this, that they might the ſooner provoke him to deſpair, or impatience (for theſe Devils incarnate, not content to put him to a ſimple Death, delighted alſo to torment his Soul) whatever he ſaid, they would contradict, or deride and ſcoff at, telling him that he was a doting Fool and [f] diſtracted; which might well have been true in theſe his Vexatious Sufferings, but that the Divine Grace gave him Strength and Patience proportionable to his Miſeries.

[f] *St Tho. de la More.*

When therefore 'twas underſtood at Court; that his Health was not impair'd by all theſe hard Uſages, and that what was already done, ſecluded the Authors from Mercy, if by any means he ſhould ever recover Liberty; they ſend very ſmart Letters to his Keepers, blaming them for giving him too much freedom, and for allowing him too coſtly and delicate Fare, adding ſome ſlight intimations; "that how-"ever he ſhould be taken off, it would not be unacceptable to thoſe, whoſe Lives "were not ſafe; till his Death was certain: But, who were of Power ſufficient to "requite any conſiderable Service. And here that ſubtle Biſhop of *Hereford*, the ungracious *Adam Orleton*, made uſe of that Famous Sophiſtical Sentence,

[g] *Kill* Edward *never fear 'tis Good.*

Which being pointed thus-- *Kill* Edward; *never fear*: *'tis Good.*--Commands his Death;
But if thus------- *Kill* Edward *never*; *fear*: *'tis Good.*--It Deterrs them from it.

[g] *St Tho. de la More. Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt.* Quâ tamen eandem ſententiam contra Johannam Philippi Pulchri uxorem ante hæc tempora uſurpatam memorat *Gaguin. l. 7 p. 125. Reginam occidere nolite timere bonum eſt.*

For by this ambiguous, while unpointed, Phraſe he hop'd, as indeed he did, to give ſufficient Confidence to theſe Impolitick Villains to work his Death; but yet to leave Room for his own Defence, if ever he ſhould be call'd in queſtion. Without this Sentence to intimate what they were to do, and an Epiſtle from [h] *Mortimer* himſelf, who directed them how and in what manner they ſhould diſpatch him, together with broad Intimations from the Queen, *Hereford* and other Grandees (whoſe concern it was to haſten the impriſon'd King's Death) with all their Seals annexed thereto, they durſt never have undertaken violently to have rid him of his Life; ſince it was his Son that now Reign'd; and that very Parliament that depos'd him, had Enacted, that no Violence ſhould be offer'd to his Perſon. But when his Keepers had theſe Authentick Abettors on their ſide, they imagin'd all was ſafe, and are preſently poſſeſs'd with Diabolical Reſolutions. Firſt they command the Lord *Barkley* to withdraw from his own Caſtle with all his Servants, and whomſoever they were not well aſſured of. Then they remove the poor Prince (who was now well aware of his End, and 'tis reaſonably preſum'd by his Patience and Chriſtianlike Deportment, as well prepared for it) into an high Turret of the ſaid Caſtle: This [i] Room they ſurrounded with all ſorts of Carrion and ſtinking Carcaſes, piled upon the Leads and round about his Windows, and on the Battlements, either ſo by corrupting the Air, (he drew in) to diſpatch him, or at leaſt, to keep their hands in by theſe Deviliſh Exercitations, till they had pitch'd on ſome more exquiſite way to deſtroy him. Nor was this a poor Invention neither, but argues the wicked Ingenuity of his Murderers, who ſaw that nothing could be more loathſome to one of ſo refined and delicate a ſenſe and Education: And accordingly ſeveral Workmen, who were labouring about the Caſtle, heard him often with moſt paſſionate bewailings complain of this, as the moſt inſupportable affliction he ever yet had met with in all his Life. But when the Tormentors ſaw, that none of theſe Methods had any power to impair his Health, or break his Patience, much leſs to take him off, they now ſet about the work in good Earneſt. On the 11 Calends of *October*, that is, after our Account, the 21 of *September*, and St. *Matthews* day, when they had the moſt barbarous Deſign in the World againſt

[h] *M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. c. 215.*

[i] *St Tho. de la More. p. ult. l. 22.*

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against his Life, they put on the best Countenance, that ever they had yet shew'd him before: They not only, as on a Festival, treated him well at Dinner, but also [k] made very good cheer with him at Supper, to make him less apprehensive of their intended Treason. But at midnight they came softly into his Chamber, where they found the Innocent Prince lying half asleep in his Bed. Here no less than fifteen sturdy fellows suddenly clap an huge Table upon his upper parts, at the first apprehension whereof the affrighted King awaking, turned his body, so that then he lay groveling, being in this manner held forcibly down by these wretches. The mean while others raised the Bedcloaths from the Feetward up to his Body, when they go about such an Execrable Fact, that I am both sorry and asham'd to declare, that ever this Nation could produce such Monsters. For [l] first they force a certain smooth hollow Pipe or Horn into his Secret Parts, thrô which they immediately thrust a long red-hot Instrument of Iron, which they turned and rowled about to his most inexpressible torment, as his loud and bitter groanings, which were heard by many, did testifie, till they had in this manner forced his Royal Soul to seek for quiet in another World. This they did, to the intent, that no wound should appear outwardly in the Princely Body, whereby they, or those who set them on, might be lyable to any question. And indeed none, as yet appeared, thô they had the Impudence to expose the Royal Corps to publique View; many [n] Abbots, Priors, Knights and Burgesses of *Bristow* and *Gloceſter* being sent for to see the same: Such confidence had they in this their new-contrived Art of Murder. But thô the Ordinary sort, who saw the skin all over whole and unbroke, concluded his Death to be no other, than Natural; yet Wise men could not but observe by the Colour of his Face, that his Death was not without many violent struglings; and several that heard his dying Groans, did easily guess how things were Acted. But it was not then time to mutter any thing; and indeed it should seem but vain to attempt to Revenge him, when Dead, whom they durst do no more than pitty, while alive.

[k] *Grafton p.218 & M.S. Vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. in Cantab. c. 215*

[l] *M.S. ibid. c. 215. John Harding c. 177. Sr Tho. de la More & omnes.*

[n] *Speed p. 566. b*

He had done many Worthy things in his Time, and might have done more, had he not been so miserably interrupted: He founded [o] *Oriel* College in *Oxford*, whereof *Adam Broom* his Almoner was the first Provost; together with * St *Mary-Hall* in the said University, whereof Mr. [p] *Richard Barnes*, Vice-president of *Magdalene* College, was first Principal; besides the House which he gave there for twenty four *Carmelite Fryers*, Divines, according to a Vow he had made in his Escape from the defeat at *Sterling*. At his Mannor also at *Langley* in *Hertfordshire*, he built a Church called the *Fryers-Preachers*; where he Ordain'd, that the Soul of his Friend *Gaveston* should be for ever pray'd for. And where since hath been laid (beside many other Princes) the Body of *Edmund Plantaginet*, Sirnamed of this *Langley*, the place also of his Birth; which *Edmund*, was Fifth Son to our King *Edward* the Third, and in his Time [q] Duke of *York*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Lord of *Tividale*; together with his Lady *Isabell*, Second Daughter to Don *Pedro* King of *Castille* & *Leon*, from whom proceeded *Edward* the Fourth. But this Murder'd Prince, having been exposed to publique View, was Buried [r] without any Funeral Pomp, by the *Benedictine Monks*, in their Abbey of S *Peter* in *Gloceſter*: Where [s] afterwards (when the manner of his Death was found out, and the Principal Actors thereof had been brought to Condign Punishment) his Son King *Edward* the Third erected to his Memory a Fair Monument of White Stone, with his Portraiture thereon of Alabaster, in the second Arch, and on the Northside the Altar, betwixt two Pillars of the *Tuscan* Order: About which (near to the Capitals) are several Figures of Stags; with which they report, his Corps was drawn thither from *Berkley*-Castle. He lies there in his Robes, with his Crown on his Head (however in his Life it was taken from him) his Scepter in his Right Hand, and his Globe with a Cross thereon in his Left; An Angel sitting on each side at his Head, and a Lion at his Feet.

[o] *Antiqu. Oxon. l. 2. p. 103.*
* *Daniel p. 218.*
[p] *Antiqu. Oxon. p. 370. Sandford Geneal. Hist. p. 153. & Antiqu. Oxon. l. 1. p. 100 & 101.*

[q] *Dugd. 2 Vol. Bar. p. 155.*

[r] *Speed p. 566. Polyd. Virgil. Baker, &c.*
[s] *Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p. 152, &c.*

After this Manner about the end of the forementioned *Scotch* Expedition was this Miserable King more than barbarously Murder'd in the Midst of his Age; for he was hardly Fourty three Years old: A Man, that surely deserv'd a better end; but that he had the Unhappiness to trust too much in Prosperity, and to fix his Love on those, who were least Worthy of it; while he too rashly quarrel'd with his nearest Relations, before he had made any provision against them. His own Nature was very good; but Evil men made a bad Use of it: *Mortimer* and *Adam Orleton*, that Bishop of *Hereford*, were the Chief Causers of his Downfall; for having both been guilty of High Treason against him before, they were resolv'd now by any means to build

build their own ſecurity upon his Ruine: ſo under the pretence of befriending the Queen, they wrought her to be as much concern'd in the Treaſon, as themſelves. AN. DOM. 1327. AN. REGNI I.

He was of a [t] very Elegant Compoſure of Body, of a goodly Stature, of a firm and healthy Conſtitution; of great Strength and Activity; Devout, Noble, and full of Natural good Propenſions; Liberal and Magnificent, Merciſull and Generous; Witty and Learned for that Age, as the Verſes he wrote, teſtifie; but not ſo ſoft as 'tis imagin'd; for no Man was more Stern and High-ſpirited to the Obſtinate: Yet we muſt allow him to have been more weak, then wicked; for he always deſign'd well, but was deceived by Appearances. He was a firm and conſtant Friend, and a flexible Enemy; a [u] ſtrict Obſerver of his Conjugal Faith; however ill requited. In War he was not Fortunate, by reaſon of the Envy among his Courtiers: ſome evil he did, but he ſuffer'd much more: No King ever had fewer Taxes, yet none found his People more Ungratefull: ſo that as one well obſerves, [x] how far he wrong'd his Subjects, doth not appear; but how rude and unjuſt they were toward him, is but too Manifeſt. He was a Man every way Worthy to be a King, had his Counſellours been Men of Integrity; but their ill Actions made him Odious; which becauſe he would not puniſh in their Perſons, he was fain to pay Dearly for it in his own: So little avails the Sacred Majeſty of a King, when the Multitude is too much exaſperated. He left behind him [y] Four Children, *Edward* his Eldeſt Son, that then Reign'd; *John* ſirnamed of *Eltham*, afterwards Earl of *Cornwall*; the Lady *Joan* of the Tower, in time Queen of *Scotland*; and the Lady *Eleanora*, who was given in Marriage to *Reginald* Earl of *Guelders*. His Death was ſoon greatly pittied, and at laſt ſeverely Revenged: But eſpecially the *Welch* [z] Nation (who in Regard of his Birth among them, had always held him for one of their own) as in his Life time they expreſſed a Wonderfull Love and Loyal Affection to him, ſo now they proſecuted his Unfortunate Death with Dolefull Elegies, which neither the fear of his Murderers, nor length of time could ever make them to forget. The Young King, his Son, firſt heard that he was Dead at *Lincoln*, being then upon his Return from *York* after the *Scotch* Expedition; but the Manner was not yet known, till his own Riper judgement diſcover'd the Myſtery. He [a] mourn'd at the News with more ſincerity than his Mother, who notwithſtanding bore a very troubled Countenance: And ſhe and *Adam Orleton* and *Mortimer* did ſo terrifie his Murderers, for all their producing the Letters of Commiſſion, that they were fain to fly the Land. Which many were willing they ſhould do, rather then be brought to a Tryal, where they might talk more, than ſome were willing to hear. Sr *Thomas Gourney* three years after, being taken at *Marſeilles* in *France*, and deliver'd up to be brought over for *England*, in order to his Tryal, was beheaded on the Sea (before he came hither) by private Inſtructions, as was thought, from ſome Grandees at Court, whoſe Intereſt it was that he ſhould not be brought to Examination. Sr *John Maltravers* had the Grace to ſee his ſin, and repent heartily of it: Howbeit, as he lived long after, he lived but Miſerably: The Principal Authors in due Seaſon we ſhall ſee brought to Condign Puniſhment.

[t] *Catal. Honor. p.* 158. & *Knighton p.* 2531. & *Speed p.* 560.

[u] Sr *Tho. de la More p.* 9. *l.* 43.

[x] *Churchill p.* 239.

[y] *Speed p.* 564. &c.

[z] *Speed p.* 549. *a.* § 40.

[a] *Knighton p.* 2552.

VIII. The young [b] King in his return to *London* was heartily welcomed by the Mayor and Aldermen, and the whole City: For he was a Prince of great hope, and had much vivacity in his Countenance, and courage in his Breaſt; upon which account all his Subjects lov'd him entirely. The gratefull Prince to ſet a Mark of his Royal favour upon that famous *Metropolis*, in a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter*, [c] which began on St. *Brices* Day, of his own accord, confirmed unto them their former Liberties, and granted new ones, which they never had before: Ordaining, that the Mayor of *London* for the time being, ſhould ſit in all Places within the Liberties, as the Kings Chief Juſtice; and that every Alderman, who had been Mayor, ſhould, while he continued true to the King and his Laws, be always Juſtice of the Peace within his own Ward. He alſo granted unto the Citizens the Fee Farm of *London* for three hundred Pounds *per annum*: And that the lawfull Franchiſes of the City ſhould not be ſeized into the Kings Hands, but only on Occaſion [d] of Abuſe or Miſuſe, or for Treaſon or Rebellion countenanced, or done, by the whole City. Further he ordain'd, that *Southwark* ſhould be under the government of the City; and that the Mayor of *London* as Bailiff of *Southwark*, ſhould depute after his own pleaſure, the Bailiff of that *Burrough*, under him. About the ſame time alſo he made the Company of *Skinners* in *London*, a Corporation; as they have ever ſince honourably continued even to this day: Himſelf for their greater Honour vouchſafing to be of their Brotherhood, as afterwards other Kings did in imitation of ſo great a Precedent; namely *Richard*

[b] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 109. *n.* 20. & *Fox Acts and Monuments p.* 345.

[c] *Joh. Tinemouth Aur. hiſt. p.* 229. *a. in Bibl. Lambeth.*

[d] *Inſt. par.* 2. *f.* 20. *Mirror c.* 5. § 2 *Fleta l.* 2. *c.* 48. *Plowd. com. fol.* 40. *Inſtit. par.* 4. *f.* 253 *Rich. Grafton p.* 217.

[e] *Stow's Survey London p.* 248. & *p.* 604.

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chard the Second, *Henry* the *Fifth*, *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fourth: Nor hath this Honourable and Ancient Company been ungratefull to the Memory of this their Glorious Founder, but take all occaſions to teſtifie their Reſpect to his Name, and to preſerve his Glory to Poſterity. Particularly of late, they have at their own proper coſts and charges erected his Statue among the Kings of this Land in the Royal Exchange in *London*.

To accompany the late unhappy King of *England* to his Grave, there died about this time many other Potentates, Princes and Prelates, thô none ſo unfortunately, and by ſuch treacherous Cruelty, as our *Edward* of *Caernarvon*. And firſt there died *Charles* Earl of *Valois*, younger Brother to *Philip* the Fair, late King of *France*, and Uncle to *Charles* the Fair, then King of *France*, and Father to *Philip* of *Valois* afterwards in Oppoſition to King *Edward* the Third, made King of France. He had been all his time a right *Frenchman*, that is, an inveterate Enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation.

Nor did his Nephew, *Charles* King of *France*, himſelf long ſurvive him: But departed this life without Iſſue, being then about 32 years of Age, on the Kalends of *February*, *Anno Dom.* MCCCXXVIII, when he had Reigned ſix Years and one Month, leaving his Queen big with Child; which notwithſtanding died ſhortly after the Birth. So that the Right to the Crown devolved thereupon to our King *Edward*, the Eldeſt Son and Heir of *Iſabella*, the ſaid *Charles* his only Siſter ſurviving, and the Daughter of *Philip* the Fair. But the *French* Nation either deſpiſing King *Edwards* Youth, or moved by their own evil Genius (for it was afterwards the occaſion of unſpeakable Calamities to that Kingdom) prefer'd *Philip* of *Valois*, the Nephew of *Philip* the Fair, before King *Edward* the Son of *Philip's* Daughter, to the Throne of *France*. Accordingly on the 29 day of *May* following, * being then *Trinity-Sunday*, he was Crowned at *Rheimes*, [f] where the Holy Oyl, (wherewith *Cloüis* their Firſt Chriſtian King was anointed) is ſtill kept with great Veneration: But the ill conſequences of this his Coronation will abundantly appear hereafter.

* Lit. Dom. CB. Paſcha 3 April

[f] *D' Avila l. 2. ad An. 1561.*

There died alſo this Year the Lord [g] *Walter Stuart* of *Scotland*, Son in Law to King *Robert Bruce* and by the Lady *Margaret*, Father to *Robert Stuart*, who was afterwards King of *Scotland*, the Firſt of that Glorious Family: From whom is deſcended our Preſent Gracious Soveraign, King *James* the Second, whom God grant long and happily to Reign. About the ſame time *Elizabeth*, Queen of *Scotland* deceaſed, and not [h] long after there departed this life the King himſelf, *Robert Bruce*, that valiant Captain, very old and (as was ſaid) infected with the Leproſie, leaving behind him *David* his only Son and Heir, a young Prince of about *Eight* Years old, of whom we ſhall ſay much in the Proceſs of this Hiſtory.

[g] *Buchan. p. 277.*

[h] *Id. Junii, An. 1328.*

This King [i] *Robert Bruce*, was by birth an *Engliſh* Baron (as was alſo *John* [k] *Baliol*, his Competitor) thô by Marriages of their Houſes with the Royal Line of *Scotland*, they Both at laſt had a Title to the Crown of that Kingdom. King *Robert* (beſide his Brother [l] *Edward*, who was ſlain in battle by the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*) had a younger Brother, named *Bernard Bruce*, from whom deſcended the Noble *Edward Bruce* of *Kinloſſe* in *Scotland*, a Perſon of great eſteem and Merit in the Court of our *Engliſh Solomon*, King *James* the Firſt. His Son [m] *Thomas* Lord *Bruce* was by Letters Patents dated the 21 of *June* in the *Ninth* of the ſaid King *James*, created Earl of *Elgin* in *Scotland*, and on the Firſt of *Auguſt*, the *Seventeenth* of King *Charles* the Firſt, advanced to the Degree of a Baron of this Realm (as his Anceſtors for many Ages before had been) by the Title of Lord *Bruce* of *Wharlton* in the County of *York*: Whoſe Son and Heir *Robert* Lord *Bruce* was a Perſon of ſuch eminent merits, as well for his ſignall Loyalty in the late unhappy Defection, as ſince the Happy Reſtoration of Monarchy, that for a further addition of Honour, King *Charles* the *Second* of Bleſſed Memory, by Letters Patents bearing Date the 18 of *March* in the *Sixteenth* Year of his Reign, advanced him to the Titles of Lord *Bruce* of *Skelton* in the County of *York*, Vicount *Bruce* of *Ampthill* in *Bedfordſhire*, and Earl of *Aylesbury* in the County of *Buckingham*: And being alſo Hereditary High-*Steward* of the Honour of *Ampthill*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Bedford*, *Huntington* and *Cambridge*, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Houſhold, and One of the Lords of His Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, he lately departed this life to the infinite regret of all good and Loyal Men, and particularly of the whole Clergy of *England*, and all other Sons of Learning. But the Memory of him and his vertues is again revived in his Noble Heir and Succeſſor, *Thomas* now Earl of *Aylesbury* and *Elgine*: Who together with the Honours his Father enjoy'd is now Lord Lieutenant of *Bedford* and *Huntington*, and Gentleman of

[i] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 447.*
[k] *Id. ibid. p. 523.*
[l] *Speed p. 558. §. 33.*
[m] *Wright's Hiſt. of the Antiq. of Rutlandſhire p. 50. &c.*

of the Bedchamber to the most Prudent and Heroick Monarch King *James* the Second: His two younger Brothers, *Robert* and *James*, whom I have had the honour to know here in *Queens* College in *Cambridge*, being most towardly Branches of that Ancient and Flourishing Family. AN. DOM. 1327. An. Regni I.

Nor is it altogether unworthy to mention the Great *Ottomans* Death, which [n] happen'd this year, being the 727th of the *Turkish Hegira*, after he had been rearing that vast Monarchy on the ruines of *Christian* Princes, for about 27 Years together. This Man was the first Founder of the Glorious Family of the *Ottomans*, which has ever since continued a Plague and Terrour to all *Christendom*: *Orchanes* his Son succeeded him in the *Turkish* Empire.

[n] *Labbei Chronologia Technica ad hunc annum.*

Also this Year departed three famous Prelates of this Nation, the one Dr. *James Barkley*, descended from the Noble House of the Lord *Barkley*, * who was consecrated Bishop of *Exceter* on the 15th of *March* 1327. by *Walter Reginald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at the Commandment of Queen *Isabell*, being reputed a very holy and discreet Person: But he enjoyed the Title not long, for about the 24 of *June* following he deceased, and was succeeded by one of equal wisdom and Nobility, Dr. *John Grandesson*, of whom, as also of his Family, more hereafter.

* *Bp. Godw. Catal. Bpp. p.* 406.

Dr. *Thomas Cobham* also, Bishop of *Worcester* died about the 20 of *August*; he was a very learned Man and a great Author, [o] as his Works declare; and by his wonderfull Meekness, Bounty, Sobriety and Modesty, obtain'd an universall love and respect, insomuch that he was commonly called the *Good-Clerk*: When he was Canon and Subdean of *Salisbury*, he was first, upon the vacancy of that See, elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but King *Edward* the Second in favour of Dr. *Walter Reginald*, vacating that Election, he was glad in the end to accept the Bishoprick of *Worcester*. He was now buried in the *North* Isle of the Body of *Worcester* Cathedral, which Isle he had Vaulted over at his own Expence. The Bloody Bishop of *Hereford* succeeded him; of whom, more in another place.

[o] *Pits. de illust. Angl. script. An.* 1316. *Bp. Godwin Catal. p.* 443.

Another that went off this Year was [p] Dr. *Walter Reginald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of whom something must be said for the Instruction of others. He had been Chaplain to King *Edward* the First, by whom he was made Parson of *Wimberton*, and after that, Schoolmaster to his Son, *Edward* the Second; who in the first Year of his Reign, *Anno* MCCCVII, advanced him to the place [q] of Lord Treasurer of *England*, and in the year following to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and two years after he made him Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Chancellor of *England*. After this King *Edward* was so good a Master to him, that upon the Death of the good and learned Dr. *Robert Winchelsey* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he vacated the Election of Dr. *Cobham* (as we shew'd before) and caused this Man to be prefer'd to that eminent Dignity. And accordingly he was with great Pomp and Solemnity [r] Installed on the 19 of *April Anno* MCCCXIII, the King himself with the Queen and many Nobles honouring him with their Presence. He is indeed [s] by some commended for his love to Learning and Vertue; I am sure, he wanted these three no mean Qualities, Loyalty, Constancy and Gratitude. For upon the Return of Queen *Isabell* into *England* in such Hostile manner, as was shew'd before, against her Lord and Husband; this Man at that time manifested himself to be indeed a good Politician, but (as Bishop *Godwin* too mildly phrases it) a very [t] weak Man. For thô a while he seem'd outwardly to adhere to the King his Master, yet even then privately he assisted the Queen with vast Sums of Mony, as resolving to play his own Game, whatever Conscience might perswade, or Religion teach to the contrary: But when the Kings downfall was now no longer doubtfull, then he openly play'd the Traitor, forsaking his Lawfull Prince, his good Lord and Patron, who had gradually advanced him from a mean Condition to the highest Titles of Honour. For which, thô he scap'd the publique censure of the Law, yet did he enjoy the fruits of this double-hearted Dealing but for one Year: For on the [u] 16 of *November* following, this first Year of King *Edwards* Reign, he died of grief and horror of mind at *Mortlack*, after he had held that Seat 13 years and about seaven Months from his Instalment. But here he shall stand mark'd out to Posterity for an Example and terror to all Traitors, whom neither the Sacred Function it self, nor any other either Dignity or Merit, ought (in my Opinion) to defend from deserved Infamy: Since Treason cannot proceed, but from the most unworthy and ignoble Minds in the World, or however it renders them so. Ingratitude of it self is the basest, most unjust, and ungenerous thing in Nature, but Ingratitude to our Natural Prince most abominable beyond all Expression; since to his Service we are most strictly obliged by Laws Divine and Humane: How much more then when he is unto us a Good and

[p] *Godwin Catal. p.* 129.

[q] *Philpot's Catal. Treas. and Chancel. p.* 24. & *p.* 37.

[r] *Godwin p* 129. *Walsingh. hist. p.* 78.

[s] *Pits. p.* 419.

[t] *Godw. p.* 130.

[u] *Godw. p.* 130. &c. *Thornes Chron. p.* 2039. *n.* 30.

An. Dom. 1327. Gracious Lord, and heapeth upon our Heads many ſignall and perſonal Favours? He was ſucceeded by a very Worthy and Learned Doctor in Divinity, [x] *Simon Mepham*, an *Oxford* Man by Education; by Birth of *Kent*, and Canon at that time of *Chicheſter*.

[x] *Thornes Chro. p.2039. Walſin. hiſt. p. 109. Godwin p. 131. & Pitſæ. p.429.*

This Year were ſeen [y] two Moons in the Firmament, the one was clear, and the other dark, as at times might be ſeen over all the World; and now the Quarrel was high between Pope *John* XXII. who kept his Court at *Avignon* in *Provence*, and *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Emperour of *Germany*; who in revenge of his being Excommunicated by the ſaid Pope, went to *Rome*, being invited thither [z] by the Faction of the *Gibellines*, where he ſet up an Antipope againſt Pope *John*, by whom he was crowned Emperour: But this new Pope was ſoon laid aſide; thô the Diſſention between the Emperour and the Pope was never fully made up. And becauſe of the foreſaid Prodigy, and others that happen'd about the ſame time, it was commonly ſaid, "*That the World was nigh at an End.*"

[y] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab. c.214. ad fin.*

[z] *Labb. Chron. Techn. ad hunc ann.*

In thoſe days one [a] *Cichus Aſculanus*, Dr. in Phyſick, a Philoſopher and publique Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at *Bologna* in *Italy*, being accuſed for a Necromancer, was burnt alive at *Florence*, in the Seaventieth year of his Age: Whoſe Learning in Judicial Aſtrology, meeting with an ignorant Age, might paſs for Conjuration, as a little after *Petrarch* himſelf was looked on for a Wizard, even by a Pope of *Rome*. Thô [b] indeed it was laid among other things to his Charge, that in a Treatiſe called *de Sphæra*, which he ſet forth at *Bologna*, he affirmed, that Spirits were generated in the Superior Orbes, which by Incantation could be compelled to wonderfull Operations; and that the Stars had Influence upon the Wills of men, and could enforce and determine them: And which ſeems moſt horrible, that our Saviour Chriſt being born under ſuch a Poſition, was thereby neceſſitated to live Meanly, and to die Miſerably: But that *Antichriſt* being to be born under a quite different Poſition, ſhould obtain immenſe Riches, Power, and Dominion. But we are not here to inquire, how true or untrue this Charge was; wherefore we ſhall end this firſt Year and Chapter together.

[a] *Sherburn. on Manilius his Spher. in Catal. Aſtron. p.35.*

[b] *Odoric. Rain. Anno Chr. 1327 §.46. & Joh. Villani l.10. c.41.*

CHAPTER the Second.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *takes to Wife the Lady* Philippa, *Youngeſt Daughter to* William *the Good Earl of* Heinalt. II. *The ſhamefull Peace ſtruck up with the* Scots *at* Northampton, *at which time all the Evidences, which Recorded the Subjection of that Nation to the Crown of* England, *are deliver'd up again.* III. *King* Edward *looſes hereby in the Opinion of his Neighbours, eſpecially, the* French *and* Scots. IV. *The Inſolence and Power of* Mortimer, *whereby he provokes certain Peers to Arms: A Parliament at* Salisbury, *the Lords reconcil'd to the King*, Mortimer *made Earl of* March. V. *The Pedigree of* Henry *Lord* Beaumont. VI. Mortimer *entertains the King.*

An. Regni II. I. A While [a] after the *Scotch* Expedition, King *Edward* by Advice of the Queen his Mother, with the Conſent of his Uncles, the Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Lord of *Wigmore*, and all the Barons of the Realm, ſent Dr [b] *Roger Northborough* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, with two Knights Banerets, and two Men Learned in the Laws, to the Lord *John* of *Heinalt*, to requeſt of him in way of Friendſhip, that he would join with them to require of his Brother the Earl of *Heinalt*, one of his Daughters in Marriage for the Young King of *England*, their Maſter. For the King and the Queen his Mother, had ſuch a kindneſs for that Family, that at this time no Lady in the World could have ſtood in Competition with one of Sr *John's* Neices, for King *Edwards* Affections. That ſome ſuch Motion had been formerly made, I will not abſolutely deny; thô it ſhould ſeem partly by this manner of requeſting, and partly by what follows, that as yet no bargain, or mutual affiance had been made, (as many ſuppoſe) perhaps not mention'd:

[a] *Froiſ. c.19.*

[b] *Aſhmoles Garter p. 669. ex Pat. 1. Ed. 3. p. 3. m. 15. Dat. 8. Octob.*

tion'd: since now they were fain to apply themselves to Sr *John's* Mediation, who seem'd hitherto ignorant of any such matter, thô himself so lately had left *England*. When the Ambassadors with an Honourable Equipage were come to *Valenciennes*, the chief City of *Heinalt*, the Earl *William* and his Lady *Jane* de *Valois* received them very gladly, and entertain'd them during their stay with great Splendour and Magnificence, 'Tis reported, that one day, [c] when the Earl brought forth all his Five Daughters to their View, while the others being amazed with the Beauties and delicate Shape of them all, stood in deep suspence, not knowing which to prefer; the piersing Eye of the Bishop, observing with good heed the Lady *Philippa* to be the best built about the Hips, and of a good Sanguine Complexion agreeing with the Kings, he secretly advis'd his Colleagues, that she was the Lady among them all that was most likely with her sweet Disposition to please the King, their Master, and also to bring forth a numerous and Hopefull Progeny. This, coming thus from a Bishop, whose Order was not then allow'd to Marry, gave occasion of much Diversion and Mirth to the Company: But however the Judgement prevail'd, and Madam *Philippa* (who was the very [d] youngest of the Ladies, and hardly fourteen years of age) was pitch'd upon to be their Queen. This Story, however unfit it may seem to some for the lightness of it, to appear in this place, I thought good to set down; not only because it bears some Reason with it, but because to those who consider the Event, it may rather seem a Work of Providence, the Bishop by Chance, or by some Impulse, or by his Skill in Nature, happening on what prov'd really a Truth.

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[c] *John Harding c.* 178. *fol.* 177. *Stanza* 2, 3, 4, *& c.* 182. *fol.* 184.

[d] *Sic in illius Epitaphio* Guilielmi Hannonis *soboles postrema* Philippa, *Hic roseo quondam Pulchra decore jacet. Stows Survey* London *p.* 505.

Upon this Conclusion, the Earl, who knew the Quality of the Ambassadors, and their full Instructions in the Affair; after many thanks, acknowledging the great Honours done to his House by the King of *England*, his Mother and his Council, said, "He was ready to allow the Consummation of the Business, provided his Holiness "the Pope would consent to give them a Dispensation: For indeed the Lady *Philippa's* Mother, *Jane* de *Valois*, was Daughter to *Charles* Earl of *Valois*, which *Charles* was Uncle to *Isabella*, King *Edward*'s Mother. The Ambassadors were well content with this Answer, and immediately dispatch'd away the two Knights, and the two Learned in the Law to *Avignon* (where at that time and long after the Popes resided) to obtain a Dispensation. The Pope at that time was *John* XXII, who having well consider'd the Equity of the Cause, with the Consent of the whole College of the Cardinals, granted their desire, and after a Splendid Entertainment dismist them. For these were fit Servants for a King: They dispatch'd their Masters business with great Discretion and Expedition, minding nothing, but how to finish this great Affair thoroughly and speedily. Upon this all the rest was concluded and agreed on between the Parties, and, while Preparations were making to Convey the young Lady into *England*, according to the Dignity of the House whence she came, and the weight of that Title she was going to receive, the Marriage [e] was first solemnized by a sufficient Proxy, sent to *Valenciennes* by the King of *England*.

[e] *Ashmole p.* 669.

Hereupon after some few enforced Delays of Feastings and Princely Entertainments among her Parents and Relations, the Ambassadors with their new Queen, her Uncle Sr. *John* & other honourable Company, in great satisfaction took the Sea at *Whitsan* near *Calais*, and so came all safe with a merry Gale to *Dover*.

In their Approach to *London*, [f] the Mayor and Aldermen went forth in their Habits well attended to meet their New Queen, and to do her honour: 'Twas about *Christmas*, when she came to *London*, and the whole City enlarged their Joys and Feastings in honour of so welcome a Guest. From *London* they all went to *York*, where the Court then was, and there [g] on the twenty fourth Day of *January*, being a Sunday, and the Eve of St. *Pauls* Conversion, the Marriage was Solemnized, at which Dr. [h] *William Melton* Archbishop of *York*, and Dr. *John Hotham* Bishop of *Ely*, sang the Mass: And afterward [i] on the first Sunday in *Lent* following was the Young Queen crown'd at *Westminster* with much Pomp and Glory. Upon these happy Nuptials there was great Joy over all *England*, but especially at Court, where there was nothing but Justs and Turnaments in the Day-time, Maskings, Revels and Interludes with Songs and Dances in the Evenings, and continual Feasting with great Magnificence for three Weeks together.

[f] *Knighton p.* 2552.

[g] *Id.* Ibid. & *Froiss. c.* 19. & *Fabian p.* 195. Lit. Dom. C. B.

[h] *M. S. Vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. c.* 216.

[i] *Sandford Geneal. hist. p.* 159.

Soon after the Queens Coronation; all, except a very few of her Attendants, Relations, and Countrymen, departed with her Uncle the Lord *John* of *Beaumont*, into their own Country, highly satisfied with their Entertainment, and well rewarded by the King of *England*. Among those few necessary Servants that stay'd here with her, there

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there was one a very proper and well-shap'd young Gentleman, of strong Limbs and exalted Courage, named Sr. *Walter Manny*, [k] Lord of the Town of *Manny* in the Diocess of *Cambray*; who was then Carver to the Queen, but after that became for his exceeding Valour, Generosity, and Eminence in all Vertue, One of the most Renowned and Gallant Knights in the whole World, as the Sequel of this History will abundantly declare.

[k] *Froiss. c.19.*
[l] *Ashmole p.669*

Now [l] there had been before in this King's Father's Days several other Matches proposed for him; thô none of them took but this last: And first his Father had design'd him for the Lady *Margaret*, Eldest Daughter to *William* the Good Earl of *Heinalt*, and Sister to this Queen *Philippa*, who was afterwards Married to *Lewis* the Emperour: Another time for *Sibylla*, a Kinswoman of the said Earls; and thirdly for *Iolant*, the Daughter of *James* King of *Aragon*; fourthly for the Lady *Eleanora*, Sister to *Alphonso* King of *Spain*; and while this Match was in Treaty, another *Alphonso* King of *Portugal*, propos'd his Daughter to the Prince; but neither this nor that came to any effect, because all former measures were broken by that great and sudden Alteration of Affairs in *England*.

II. And thus was King *Edward* a Married Man at the age of Fifteen; but not fully Lord of himself, being kept from the true Knowledge of Affairs by the Queen Dowager and her Minion, the Lord *Mortimer*; who by his great Power with her, so Lorded it over his Betters, that he began to grow insupportable to the Kings Uncles, and *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, which ill-will of their's was encreased by this Occasion.

[m] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. c. 216.*

In [m] *Whitsunday* Week, being the latter end of *May*, there was a Parliament held at *Northampton*, in which first King *Edward* began to stir about his Title to *France*: For *Charles* the Fair, King of *France*, and Brother to his Mother *Isabella*, Queen Dowager of *England*, being lately dead without Issue-Male; notwithstanding, that King *Edward* acknowledged their *Salic* Law, whereby an Infant Daughter of the said *Charles* was excluded, (wherefore neither did He claim the Crown for his Mother) yet he maintain'd this Point, [n] That the Sons of the Daughters, having no such Imbecillity of Sex, were not at all uncapable, and that so the Peers of *France* ought to prefer him, who was a Male, and Grandchild to King *Philip* the Fair, before *Philip* of *Valois* (another Pretender to that Crown) who was but a Nephew. These things [o] being discussed in Parliament, it was thereupon Ordained; That *Adam Orleton* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Roger Northborough* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* should go into *France*, and there in the Name of King *Edward* their Master, claim that Kingdom, and as much as in them lay, hinder the Coronation of the said *Philip* of *Valois*. But of this matter we shall say no more, till we are called to enter upon the Wars of *France*, which King *Edward* in his Riper Years undertook upon this Occasion. Now we must look upon him as influenced by others counsels, and so neither Formidable abroad, nor Powerfull at home; and one notable Instance thereof appeared in this very Parliament at *Northampton*; where not so much the Honour and Profit of the King and his Realm was respected, as the enriching, security and advancement of the Lord *Mortimer*.

[n] *Mezeray ad an. 1328.*
[o] *Antiq. Brit. p.228. n. 50.*

Here the two *Spencers*, Father and Son, *Edmund* late Earl of *Arundel* (who had been executed by the Queen Mothers Party without any legal Process made against them.) And *Walter Stapleton* late Bishop of *Excester* (whom for firmly adhering to his Master, King *Edward* the Second, against Queen *Isabell's* Pretensions, the Commons of *London* had in a seditious tumult illegally beheaded, together with his brother [p] Sr. *Richard Stapleton*, a valiant and loyal Knight, who died in the same manner at the same time;) all these now, thô dead, * were in this Parliament attainted of High Treason by the directions and influence of the Queen Mother, and the Lord *Mortimer*. Whether it proceeded of implacable Malice, which recked not to pursue them even into their Graves; or whether by this means they meant to cover their former unjustifiable Proceedings against those Persons by a subsequent countenancing of the Action in Parliament: Such pittifull shifts are Men put to, when once they deviate from the straight way of Justice and Vertue; thô at last all disguises must fall off, and Wickedness appear open in all its natural Turpitudes. From the same Influence also at this time, by very subtle dealing and precontrived Overtures (which the *Scots* were underhand dealt withall to propose) a base and dishonourable Peace was struck up with that Nation, profitable indeed to *Mortimer* and the Old Queen (who with *Adam Orleton* Bishop of *Worcester*, were the chief contrivers of it) but utterly inconsistent with the Honour of the Young King, or Profit of his Realm and People. The Reason that moved the *Scots* to part with so much Money, as was given by them upon the Establishing this Peace, was, because they were beforehand assured, that they should have a good Re-

[p] *Godw. Catal. Bishops p. 405.*
* *Martin Ed. 3. p. 104. M.S. Record. p. 12. & Sr Rob. Cottons Abridgm. p. 8.*

turn

turn made them in consideration thereof; beside they were sure to loose much more by the War next Year, if continued; because their King *Robert* lay now on his Death-bed and almost in his Grave; and his Young Son *David* was but little more than out of the Cradle: Their General the Lord *Randulph* began to be very sickly, and the other famous Captain the Lord *James Douglas* had undertaken a journey to *Palestine*, as soon as ever his Lord King *Robert* should depart this Life, to present his Heart in the Holy Land to the Sepulchre of his Saviour; as the King had adjur'd him on his Death-bed to do. AN. DOM. 1328. An. Regni II.

On all these Reasons, and because they had already sounded those who sway'd most in the Government of *England* (lest the Young King should this year revenge the Injuries of the last) the *Scots* with much seeming humility came to the foresaid Parliament at *Northampton*, desiring a lasting Peace between the two Kingdoms; which that they never meant in good earnest, this is an undoubted Argument; because their King *Robert* was ever of the mind and so declared on [q] his Death-bed, "That no perpetual Peace ought ever to be made with *England*; lest for want of use the *Scots* "should forget their skill in Arms; and that only sometimes to get an Advantage, "or to avoid an apparent Disadvantage, they might strike up a Temporary Peace, to "endure but for two or three Years at the farthest. But however, that the *Scots* now required Peace in so humble a manner, and by no less a Man than the Lord *Douglas* himself, this was wonderfully pleasing to those, who could not penetrate into the Design. And there it was demanded by the *English*, and with small adoe agreed unto by the *Scots*, that they should pay unto the King of *England* (thô it was meant to *Mortimer*) for the Dammages done by them last year in the *North*, [r] 20000 Marks, thô Others say 30000 Marks, and some as many Pounds. Upon which pretended large Allowance, the *Scots* cunningly proposed, That for their better Security, and to make the Amity more lasting, their Young Prince of *Scotland* might have the King's Sister, the Lady *Joan* of the Tower, in Marriage. Then with a pretended Zeal, it was put home to the *Scots*, that least new Quarrels should arise about Limits, they would now renounce all claim to the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, or any other Place or Places, which any of that Nation hath at any time held in *England*; which was readily by the *Scots* granted, as had before been privily agreed: But then again it was humbly motion'd by them at the same time, that all *English* Men should be prohibited from holding any Lands in *Scotland*, unless only those who should there personally reside. This was by the Contrivers acknowledged to be but just, in equivalence to those Pretensions the *Scots* had so readily relinquished in *England*: Only the Lord [s] *Henry Piercy* (who was one of the Twelve appointed to advise and guide the young King,) was utterly against that Clause; but he was born down by *Mortimer's* Party, and so this also was granted.

[q] *Hector p.* 399. *lin.* 60.

[r] *Knighton p.* 2558. *n.* 10. *in Artic.*

[s] *Dugd. Bar.* 1 *Vol.* 273.

Whereupon the Encroachment grew higher; so that now his Majesty himself was humbly requested to lay down his claim to all Superiority over that Crown and Kingdom; else how could they be secure, his Subjects would lay by their Pretensions? And also it must needs raise Heart-burnings between the two Realms, so long as One could shew Evidences and Trophies of the Others slavery. This, without much consideration, was look'd upon but as a consequence of the former; and so many ancient Deeds and Evidences of the *Scotch* Dependance on *England*, with all the Instruments of their former Homages and Fealties from the most Ancient Times, till the Days of *Edward* the First, this King's Grandfather, (to whom *John* [t] *Baliol* resign'd his Right to that Kingdom) as they are reckon'd up by [u] *Walsingham*, [x] *Grafton* and others, are all now rendred back again to *Scotland*: And besides this, many ancient Jewels and Muniments, among which the Sacred Black Cross of *Scotland*, with the famous Evidence, called the *Ragman* Roll, containing all the Homages and Fealties of the King of *Scotland*, and of all the Prelates, Earls and Barons of that Realm, with all their Seals [y] appendant thereto, and other Charters and Remembrances, that King *Edward* the *First* had of his Right to the Realm of *Scotland*; besides the Evidences of what his Barons held in that Kingdom: All these were now deliver'd up again. In consideration of all which Grants, the King of *Scotland* agrees to pay to King *Edward* the foresaid summ of 30000 Marks; of which be sure the Authors of this contrivance had their share.

[t] *Harding fol.* 232. *c.* 240. & 241.

[u] *Walsing. Hist. p.* 17. *&c. item p.* 49. *&c.*

[x] *Grafton p.* 172. *&c. item p.* 186. *&c.*

[y] *M. S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. c.* 217.

And yet however either of the Kings reserved to himself liberty (after a Truce of four Years) to refuse the Peace, if then he should not like the Conditions: To which the Councils of both Nations were willing to agree; for as much as the One expected the return of their great Commander *James Douglas* from the Holy Land by that time;

and

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and the Other were cautious of confirming the Peace for a longer time than the King's Minority; since they all perceived him very desirous already to get Honour on the *Scottish* Nation. This is that Famous (or rather Infamous) Peace, justly accounted so dishonourable to *England*, that the *Scots* themselves afterward by way of Triumph, Nick-named their Queen, *Joan Make-Peace*; as if the Realm of *England* had made that Match out of fear, to rid their hands of the War: However the Lady *Joan* of the Tower, King *Edward's* Sister, was accordingly on the [z] Twelfth of *July*, or as [a] others, on the 20, being the Festival of St. *Mary Magdalen*, taken in Marriage by *David Bruce* the Young King of *Scotland*, his Father being dead but the Month before.

[z] *Joh. Tinemouth aur. hist. p. 229. ex æd. Lambeth.*
[a] *Fabian p. 196. & M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantabr. c. 217.*

III. When these things were noised abroad, King *Edward* began to appear Contemptible in the eyes of his Neighbours; who did not at all consider, what Arts were used to mislead his Youth, by those who hop'd always to stand at the Helm. The *Scots* made many insulting Rhymes in derision of our Nation, one whereof is chiefly remembred, *viz.* [b]

[b] *Fabian p. 196. & M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. c. 213.*

Long Beards Heartless,
Painted Hoods Witless,
Gay Coats Graceless,
Make England *Thriftless.*

Even *Philip* of *Valois*, the *French* King, who held that Crown but by Injustice from our King *Edward*, is so far now from doubting to be called to any Account for it by him; that he begins to meditate a Resolution of summoning him to come and render him Homage, for his Lands in *France*, held of that Crown. But this matter he was forced for a while to delay, by reason of a War with the *Flemmings*, which about this time he undertook on the behalf of the Earl of *Flanders*, their Lord, whom they had seditiously expell'd. And indeed he found such [c] Success at *Cassell*; that he slew 16000 of them, and reduc'd all *Flanders* to his Obedience, obliging them by Bond, never to bear Arms against the King of *France*, and so having restored the Earl to his former Authority, being elevated with the conceit of this Success; he began to look at Higher things.

[c] *Froiss. c. 21. & 22. & Fabian p. 264, &c.*

But we are not yet called to Foreign Affairs: Wherefore for a while we shall be content to speak of matters at home, Inglorious truly for the most part, and therefore Ungratefull; but such, as may bring Profit to the Observant Reader, and are by no means to be omitted; being necessary for the making out the Series of this Story, and also very Usefull to inform Persons of High Condition, how to bear themselves, by the Example of others, who went before them in the like Honours.

IV. *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* [d] now does all, Influences all, and Personates all: He only places and displaces Great Officers, and wholly Assumes the King's Authority, and solely possesses his Ear. The [e] Earl of *Lancaster* himself cannot be permitted to approach his Lord and Master, to inform or advise him; nor any, either Uncle, or other Baron, how Great soever, unless of *Mortimer*'s Opinion; and even then, whatever they said, was watch'd by such as he had planted about the King for that purpose. Among other instances of his Towring Spirit, he presum'd to hold a [f] Round Table at *Bedford*, in imitation of King *Arthur*, that Famous *Breton*. Others confounding this *Mortimer* with a Former of the same Name; place this Round Table at *Kenelworth* Castle in *Warwickshire*, where they reckon up an hundred Knights, and as many Fair Ladies, besides other Guests and Spectators: Many other Knights and Gentlemen repairing thither from Foreign parts, for the Exercise of Arms, by Tiltings and Martial Tournements: While the Ladies sported themselves, and delighted the Presence, with the more feminine Diversion of Dancing; being all richly clad in silken Mantles, and other Ornaments agreeable to their Sex and Quality. But here the Lord *Mortimer* appeared, as the occasion, so the Chief of all that were there, both in the Ladies Eyes, and the Opinion of the Knights themselves. These Sports were begun on the Eve of St. *Matthew* the Apostle (*Mortimer* perhaps out of a vain and cruel Pride, insulting over the Ashes of the Dead King, whom he had caused a year before to be murder'd on that Festival) and so continued till the Morrow after St. *Michael*, being the space of 11 days. Let none conclude this last Reflection to be Malicious, since not only the Day seems to warrant my Opinion, but the place also of the Solemnity, being that very Castle, where that poor King first lost both his Crown and Liberty. But in very deed, this Round-Table at *Kenelworth*, was [g] another thing at another time, and held by another, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* in the days of King *Edward* the First: For thô a [h] Great Man calls that *Roger*,

[d] *Knighton p. 2553.*
[e] *John Tinemouth Aur. hist. ex Æd. Lamb. p. 229.*
[f] *Knighton p. 2553. n. 50.*
[g] *Monastic. Ang. p. 223. a.*
[h] *Dugd. Warw. p. 164. b.*

ger, Earl of *March*; 'tis done only by inadvertency; for even this *Roger* was not yet Earl of *March*, thô he was the * First of that name ever so called. But because the Round-Table is not only here mention'd, but must hereafter be much more spoken of, I shall here once for all observe, [i] that the Round-Table was devised to avoid Contention, about Precedency, and *Athenæus* observes it to have been Customary among the Ancient *Gauls* to sit at their Round Tables, their Esquires waiting behind with their Targets in their hands.

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* *Catal. Honor. p.* 574.

[i] *Cambden in Hantshire f.* 191 *& Dugd. Warw. p.* 164.

But to return to *Mortimer*, this his High Carriage was so greatly stomacked by the King's Uncles, and the Earl of *Lancaster*, that they resolv'd to pull down the Pride of this Man, or to die in the Undertaking: But as yet there could none of them come to the private Speech of the Young King, to lay before him the true State of Affairs, they were so well watched by *Mortimer*.

On the *Quindene* [k] of St *Michael*, a Parliament was called at *Salisbury*; whither (thô it had been Decreed, that no Person whatsoever should presume to come Armed) the Lord of *Wigmore* notwithstanding came with a great Rout of Armed Men at his Heels; so that the Earl of *Lancaster* durst not come; but for his own Defence put himself in Arms, and then sent to the King his Reasons, both of taking Arms, and absenting from Parliament: And it seems his Design was so apparently for the King's Honour, that it was countenanced with the Presence of the King's two Uncles, *Thomas* Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, *Stephen Gravesend* Bishop of *London*, and *John Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester* (who was afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, Governour of *Hertford* Castle, *Henry* Vicount *Beaumont*, Sr. *Thomas Rosselin*, Sr. *Hugh Audley* and others, several whereof were of the twelve, appointed to be the King's Guardians, and the rest all Persons of Worth and Nobility.

[k] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p.* 541. *& Catal. Honor. p.* 574. *Thô the year there is said to be* 1327. *by Mistake.*

The first occasion of this breach, besides the Insupportable Pride and Avarice of the Lord *Mortimer*, was this: The Lord [l] *Robert Holland*, who had in the days of King *Edward* the Second occasion'd the Death of *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, however he had thereby incurr'd the indignation of the people, upon Queen *Isabella*'s return into *England*, was not only deliver'd from Prison, but became very Gracious with the said Queen, and was of her Council, and of *Mortimer*'s: But for all that, being, about the Sessions of this Parliament, taken [m] in a Wood, near *Henley*-Park, as he was riding to Queen *Isabell*, then at *London*, by Sr. *Thomas Withers*; the said Sr. *Thomas* smote off his Head, and sent it to his Master *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, then at *Waltham*-Cross in *Essex*, as an acceptable present. This was not so well receiv'd by the said Earl of *Lancaster*, whose Brother had been betray'd by Sr. *Robert Holland*, as it was resented by the Queen Mother, who had a great Favour for him; and therefore she instantly urged the King her Son, to take vengeance of his Murtherers, especially of Sr. *Thomas Withers*. But him the Earl of *Lancaster* had concealed; till being therefore threatned by the Queen Mother, and also stirr'd up by the Publick Clamours of the People, who were extreamly oppress't by her and *Mortimer* (whereof the King bare all the blame, thô he was but young and of tender Age) as a Man zealous for his Masters Honour, of whom the Chief Care had been committed to him by Parliament, he began to Assemble his Friends and Retinue, unto whom he spake of the King's Honour, which was now expos'd to obloquy; and it seems the matter was so manifest, that the King's two Uncles, and many others of the Highest Quality, and the Chief Citizens of *London*, swore unto him, to stand by him in Opposition to *Mortimer*. And this was the substance of their Design, [n] 1. That the King should hold his Houshold, and his Meny, "according to the Dignity of a King, having all his Royalties entire to himself; "and that the Queen Mother should deliver up into the King's hands all manner of "Lordships, Rents, Towns and Castles, that pertained to the Crown of *England*; "and that she should live on the Third part of the Rents of *England*, as other "Queens before her had done, and on nothing else. 2. Also that Sr. *Roger Morti-*"*mer*, should live upon his own Lands, for which yet he had already disinherited many; "so that the Commons might not be destroyed thrô his wrongfull encroachments. "3. Also to make inquisition, how and by whom the King was betrayed and falsly "deceived at *Stanhop*, and thrô whose Counsel the *Scots* were suffer'd to escape by "Night out of the King's hands. 4. Also how, and by whose Counsel the Ordi-"nance that was made at the King's Coronation, was put down, *viz.* that the King "for the good of the Realm, and safety of his Person and Honour, should be Go-"verned and Ruled by Twelve the Greatest and Wisest Peers of the Realm, with-"out whom nothing should be Granted, nor done; which Order being neglected; "many

[l] *M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. c.* 218.

[m] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.* 73.

[n] *M.S. ibidem.*

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"many Harms, Grievances, and Scandals have happen'd unto the King, and to his "Realm: And that is to understand, Forasmuch as *Edward*, sometime King of *En-* "*gland*, was ordained by consent of the Community in full Parliament, to remain un- "der the Custody and Governance of *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, his Cozen, for safe- "ty of his Person, he was taken out of the Castle of *Kenelworth*, where he was in "Custody, and thrô Counsel of the Queen Mother and *Mortimer*, without consent "of any Parliament, they took and lead him, where none of his Kindred might come "to the speech or sight of him: And after traitrously took and murd'red him; for whose "Death a foul Slander arose thrô all Christendom. 5. Also all the Treasure, that "*Edward* of *Carnarvon* had left any where, either in *England*, or *Wales*, was wast- "ed and carried away without the Will or Knowledge of King *Edward* his Son, to "the great Detriment of him and his People. 6. Also, thrô whose Counsel it "was, that the King gave up the Kingdom of *Scotland*; for the which Realm the "King's Ancestors had full sore travailed, and so did many a Noble Man for their "Rights: But now all was deliver'd up unto *David*, the Son of *Robert Bruce*, "who had no Right unto that Realm, as all the World knows. 7. Also by whom "the Charters and Remembrances, that the King had of his Right to *Scotland*, were "taken out of the Treasury, and given to the *Scots*, the King's Enemies, to the "Disherison of him, and of his Successours, and to the great Loss of his Liege Peo- "ple, and the Reproof of all *English* men for evermore. 8. And lastly, wherefore "the Lady *Joan* of the Tower, the King's Sister, was disparag'd and Married unto "*David*, the Son of *Robert Bruce*, that was a Traytour, and Enemy unto *England*; "and through whose Counsel she was given into our Enemies hands out of *England*. While the Earl of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Kent*, with their Council, were contriving how to pursue this matter, the Parliament sat at *Salisbury*, to which they refus'd to come, because of *Mortimer*'s formidable Retinue, and put themselves in a Posture of Defence against the Queen Mother and *Mortimer*, being enforced with 600 men of Arms from *London*.

But certainly 'tis good for Great Men at Court (when they see a Favourite solely to possess their King) not therefore to be carried away with unjust and causless Envy, if they can perceive the Person to be notwithstanding blameless, or usefull to the King's Affairs: For Envy is a fierce, unbridled, and devouring Evil, always ungenerous and void of Equity, and withall, often thrô Precipitancy more hurtfull to its Owner, then its Object. But if the Favourite appears really Haughty beyond Sufferance, and dangerous to the Publique; a Man truly Loyal and Brave, ought by any means to consult the Interest of his Master: Yet this he must not think to perform well, by flying out first, for that makes his own Cause seem the worst; but rather by wisely concealing his Resentments, till a fit Occasion offers it self: For otherwise we do but rashly declare, we are Enemies to One, who is better provided than We our selves, and will be sure to make use of his present Advantage to our Ruine. The truth of this Aphorism, appears from the sequel of this Story; for by this publique Breach, which the Earls of *Kent* and *Lancaster*, with their Associates, seem'd first to make; *Mortimer* held the better appearance, and so lightly perswaded the young King, that these Men sought no less, then his Life and Kingdom: Whereupon he obliged him to ride out against them in Person, about [o] 24 miles in one Night, towards [p] *Bedford*, where they were assembled in Arms, thô only resolv'd to stand on the Defensive part: But by Mediation of Dr. *Simon Mepham* [q] Archbishop of *Canterbury* and others; upon their submission, *Mortimer* also cunningly pretending to befriend them therein, a formal Peace was huddled up, and all taken to Mercy; thô not without severe Fines imposed on them all, which for the most part were converted to the profit of *Mortimer*: And particularly the Earl [r] of *Lancaster* was then Fined at no less then 11000 pounds, thô that summe was never paid. We shall see notwithstanding shortly, by what subtle contrivances this aspiring Great One could find Occasion to destroy the Noble Earl of *Kent*, and perhaps he would have done as much to the Earl of *Lancaster*, had he not despis'd his Age, which by that time rendred him almost decrepit. On the contrary, he himself at this very Parliament, attain'd to greater Honour; for here the King's own Brother, *John* of *Eltham*, being made Earl of *Cornwall*, and Sr. *James* [s] *Butler* of *Ireland*, Earl of *Ormond*; this *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmore* (against the liking of many Great Men) was at the same time Created Earl of *March*, in the Marches of *Wales*. Thus did this notable Politician overreach all his Enemies, the King's Uncles and the Bishops being indeed taken to Favour, and seemingly pardon'd; but the Lord *Henry* *Beaumont*,

[o] *An non Bradford, legend. quod est in Wiltoniâ 24. Mill. à Sarisberiâ. Bedford immane quantum distat.*

[p] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 145. ex Leland. Collect. 1 Vol. p. 685.*

[q] *John Tinemouth p. 229.*

[r] *M.S. Vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. c. 215.*

[s] *Dugd. Warw. p. 445. a.*

Beaumont, Sr. *Thomas Roſſelin*, Sr. *William Truſſel*, and Sr. *Thomas Withers*, as not being included in this Pardon, or not daring to truſt to it, were fain to fly the Land, till the Death of *Mortimer*. For to theſe Men he was implacable, they being the firſt Perſons, who began boldly to challenge him for the Death of the Old King, (thô ſome of them had been concern'd in his Depoſal) for which this new Earl of *March* would gladly have had a full Revenge upon them: But however upon this their flight, he got many good parcels of their Lands and Poſſeſſions to be ſieſed on for the King's Uſe, in name; but for his own, in reality. AN. DOM. 1328. An. Regni II.

V. Here, becauſe the foreſaid *Henry* Lord *Beaumont* is not only mention'd on theſe great Accounts already, but muſt challenge much more to be ſaid of him hereafter; as alſo that it may be ſeen, what kind of Men this proud *Mortimer* levell'd his aim at, and that I may at the ſame time do right to the Poſterity of that Noble Perſonage, I ſhall not here think it amiſs briefly to touch at his Original. Moſt of thoſe that mention his Pedigree, bring his Deſcent from *Lewis*, Son to *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, a younger Son to *Lewis* the Eighth, King of *France*: which *Lewis* Son of *Charles*, being Lord of *Beaumont* in *France*, begot of his Lady *Agnes de Beaumont*, this valiant Lord *Henry Beaumont* and his Siſter *Iſabell*, who was wife to *John* Lord *Veſci* of *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*, and is called Kinſwoman to Queen *Eleanor*, that vertuous Conſort of King *Edward* the Firſt. This Lord *Henry* married the Lady *Alice*, one of the Cozens and Coheirs to *John Cumin*, Earl of *Boghan* or *Bucquain*, and Conſtable of *Scotland*; in whoſe Title he afterwards obtained that Honour. But whereas there are ſome, who by miſtake bring this Worthy much later into *England*, in the company of Queen *Iſabella*, King *Edward* the Third's Mother; this their error aroſe, we preſume, from thoſe paſſages of *Froiſard*, which make ſuch frequent mention of the Lord *Beaumonts* aſſiſting that Queen: when it is plain, that he means there the Lord *John* of *Heinalt*, who was alſo called Lord *Beaumont*, from another place of that name in *Heinalt*, and beſides this Lord was [u] confin'd in *England* upon Suſpicion at the time of Queen *Iſabell's* Arrival. And yet * others derive this noble Vicount *Beaumont* from *Lewis de Brenne*, ſecond Son to *John de Brenne*, (or rather *Bremen*) the laſt King of *Jeruſalem*.

[t] *Dugd. Bar. 2 Vol. p. 50. a.*

[u] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 51. Clauſ. 20. Ed. 2. m. 12.*

* *Dugd. ibid. p. 50.*

VI. But now this Noble Lord, with othes of *Mortimers* Enemies, was fain to yield to the iniquity of the Times, and to retreat into *France*, till the Storm ſhould be blown over. *Mortimer* in the mean while ſecurely basking in the ſun-ſhine of his Proſperity; as great as Heart could wiſh, if Ambition knew any Limits to its Deſires. Soon after the Young King to do him further honour, [x] takes a progreſs toward the Marches of *Wales*, where he gives this new Earl a viſit. He for his part, as he was indeed deſcended of a very ancient and Noble Family, from [y] *Hugh de Mortimer*, a *Norman* Baron, who came into *England* with *William* the Conqueror, and received of him in reward of his good Services, the Caſtle and Lands of *Wigmore*, was beſides his natural Ambition, very glorious and ſingularly magnificent in all his Publique Appearances: But now upon this Viſit, 'tis incredible, what ſumptuous Entertainments he gave his Royal Maſter in his Caſtles of *Ludlow* and *Wigmore*; what Sports and Diverſions in his Parks and Foreſts; what Gallantry and Expence he exhibited in his Tiltings, Tournaments, and other Military Paſtimes: much whereof, thô it might proceed from an honourable Diſpoſition, and a ſenſe of Gratitude and dutifull Reſpect to his Soveraign; yet, as was thought, not a little was upon the account of the Queen Mothers preſence, and that all of it in general ſmelt rank of a Popular Air and a vain-glorious Humour: Whether it was really ſo, or that Pride is ſo loathſom to all who are at a diſtance from it, that it cauſes even our beſt Actions to be miſrepreſented, and be view'd from the wrong Proſpect.

[x] *Monaſt. Angl. 2 Vol. p. 225.*

[y] *Catal. Honor. p. 574.*

CHAPTER the THIRD.

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I. *King* Edward *ſummon'd to do Homage to the King of* France *for his Dukedom of* Aquitain, *and the Lands of* Ponthieu *and* Monſtroile. II. *A ſolemn Juſt held in*

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London *for three Days together, with the Queen's danger by the Falling of a Scaffold.* III. *The Old Queen and* Mortimer *compaſs the death of* Edmund *Earl of* Kent, *the King's Uncle, with the Manner and other Circumſtances.* IV. *King* Edward *goes privately into* France. V. *Soon after his Return, a Son born unto him, called* Edward, *afterwards ſirnamed the* Black-Prince. VI. Mortimer *taken and executed; a Parliament.*

I. NOW was [a] *Philip* of *Valois*, the *French* King, well ſettled in his new-acquired Throne, having received all the Homages and Fealties of his Subjects and Others, who held under him, as Peers of *France* or otherwiſe; except only of the Young King of *England*, his Cozen; who by right had ow'd him homage for his Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and the Earldom of *Ponthieu* and *Monſtroile*, had not himſelf been Heir to the Crown of *France*, and ſo Supream Lord not only of thoſe Parts, but of the Whole. But King *Philip* being too much elevated with his good Fortune, never conſider'd any ſuch thing, or at leaſt had no great apprehenſions of King *Edward's* Courage or Conduct, and therefore finding himſelf now in full and quiet Poſſeſſion of ſo flouriſhing a Kingdom, by the advice and conſent of his whole Council, he reſolves to ſummon our King *Edward* to make his Perſonal Appearance before him in *France*, there to do Homage unto him (as to his Supream Lord) for the Lands which he held of that Crown.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 24. *M.S. Ang. C.C.C. ibid. c.* 219.

He therefore ſoon after diſpatches into *England* the Lord of *Ancenis*, and the Lord of *Beauſalt*, with Monſieur *Peter* of *Orleans*, and Monſieur *Peter* of *Maſſieres*, two famous Civilians; which Four with all their Retinue, after proviſion made, departed from *Paris* directly for *Whitſant*, where they took the Sea, and arrived ſafely at *Dover*. Here having tarried one day, as well to refreſh themſelves, as to unſhip their Horſes and Baggage, they rode the next day toward the Court, which they heard to be as then at *Windſor*. Being at laſt come thither, in reſpect to their Maſter that ſent them, they were ſoon admitted to the Royal Preſence, where they gave the King a full account of their Errand. His Majeſty anſwer'd with good Deliberation, "That the Matter required advice, that as for his Part, very few of the Lords "of his Council were then about him; but if they would withdraw to *London*, he "would there ſhortly return them ſuch an Anſwer as ſhould appear reaſonable. After this Anſwer, having been firſt entertain'd with a Dinner in the Kings Chamber, they departed from *Windſor*, took up their lodging for that night at *Colbrook*, and the next day went for *London*. A few days after the King return'd to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, and a certain Day was prefix'd to all his Council to attend him there. The Council being ſat, the Embaſſadors of *France* were called in, who again told the ſubſtance of their Meſſage, and withall deliver'd to the King their Maſters Letters, which he had refuſed to meddle with before. They were thereupon order'd to withdraw, while the Buſineſs was brought under Debate. Some of the Lords alledged, That in right of Queen *Iſabell* his Mother, the Crown of *France* belonged unto him, and that therefore he ought not only not to acknowledge any Fealty at all, but alſo openly to put forth his Claim, to what was ſo evidently his Due: But however pleaſingly this ſtruck upon the Spirit of King *Edward*, yet the Major part of his Council were of the mind; "That it was too early for the King to embarque himſelf "in ſo hazardous an Affair, the Enemy being at that time ſo potent, the Realm at "home in a manner unſettled, and the King himſelf under Age. However, that hereby his Right and future Claim might not be prejudiced, the King immediately [b] conſtituted one of his Council, his Procurator in that Part, by whom before all his Council, he proteſted openly and expreſly, That for any Homage whatſoever to be made to the Lord *Philip* of *Valois*, then bearing himſelf as King of *France*, by King *Edward* of *England*, for the Dukedom of *Aquitain* and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, he did not, nor would intend to Renounce his Hereditary Right which he had to the Realm of *France*, or any way from the ſame Right to derogate; even althô thereupon Letters ſhould afterward be ſigned with either of his Seals. And he did proteſt, that he made not any Homage to the ſaid Lord *Philip* of his own Free will, but only he ſhould do it for the juſt fear he had of Looſing the ſaid Dukedom and Earldom; and becauſe he feared, that unleſs he ſhould do Homage unto the ſaid *Philip*, he could not avoid other great Dangers and irreparable Loſſes. And to the confirmation of the Premiſes, King *Edward* cauſed his ſaid Procurator to take an Oath upon his Soul, by laying hands on the Holy Goſpell, before all thoſe of his Council preſent. This Caution being made, it was agreed, "That Doctor *Stephen Graveſend* Biſhop of *London*, a well-ſpoken Man, "ſhould anſwer theſe Ambaſſadors for the King; That He was ready in all Points to "do

[b] Ex Informatione per *R. Edvardi* nuntios Papæ exhibita in *Bened. Tom.* 6. *poſt Epiſt. ſecr.* 302. *in Bibl. Vatican. & apud Odoric. Rainald. ad an.* 1340. §. 9. *vid. hujus Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 14.

"do as the Kings his Predeceſſors had done. Then the *Frenchmen* being call'd in, the Biſhop ſpake in this manner, "Lords and Gentlemen, Ambaſſadors from the Crown of "*France*, the Kings Majeſty, my Soveraign Lord, hath heard your Meſſage, and read "your Letters: My Lords and Gentlemen, our Maſter here preſent, hath by Advice "of his Council, conſented to go perſonally into *France*, to viſit the King your Ma- "ſter, his Dear Cozen, who hath ſo kindly invited him. And you are required to "ſhew unto the King your Maſter, that as to the Faith and Homage demanded, "he will do his Devoir in all that ſhall concern him: And that he intends the "firſt Opportunity to paſs over into *France*, to perform what ſhall appear equi- "table.

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[c] *Froiſ. c.* 24.

So having been well entertain'd and rewarded by the King with many gifts and Jewels of great value, they left *England*, returning with this Anſwer to their Lord at *Paris*. King *Philip* was well pleas'd with the News, not only becauſe he ſaw ſo conſiderable a Monarch ſo ready to ſubmit to him, but becauſe he had a great curioſity to ſee him, whom he had heard to be a Prince of ſingular Majeſty and Beauty. That himſelf therefore might appear in more Pomp, or to the intent to have more notable Witneſſes of this Homage, thus to be done to his own Perſon, or to dazzle and awe the mind of the Young King with the number and greatneſs of his Friends and Allies: He immediately directs his Letters to *John* of *Luxemburgh* King of *Bohemia* his Cozen, and to the Kings of *Navarre* and *Majorica*, certifying them of the time and place, where and when the King of *England* was to do him Homage, and deſiring them by no means to fail of giving him the Honour of their company: To which Letters they all ſeverally agreed, and came into *France* accordingly, attended with an honourable Equipage. Beſides, all the Peers, Earls, Barons and chief Lords of *France*, (as if to out-rival the *Engliſh* Nation) reſolv'd to be preſent at this Solemnity in the moſt gallant and ſplendid manner. The place appointed for the performance of this Action, was the great City of *Amiens* in *Picardy*, wherein there was Extraordinary proviſion made for this *Auguſt* Appearance. For the ſeveral Kings were made ready great Chambers, Halls, and Dining-Rooms: The Inns and other of the beſt Lodgings were order'd to entertain the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Burbon* and *Lorrain*, and the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, a mighty Favourite of King *Philip's*, with the reſt of the Peers of *France*, and Princes of the Blood. There was alſo proviſion made for a thouſand Horſe-ſtrangers, beſides ſix hundred Horſe, which they expected would come over with the King of *England*. But He for his part exceeded herein their Expectation, for He came attended with Dr. *Stephen Graveſend* Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *John Stratford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Dr. *Henry Burwaſh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*; all right politick Prelates: There were alſo four Earls, *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, Earl of *Norfolk* and Lord Marſhal, and *Edmund* of *Woodſtock* Earl of *Kent*, the Kings Uncles; *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, [d] not then of full Age, and *John Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, with the Lord *Henry Plantaginet* afterwards Earl of *Derby*, the Kings Cozen, the Lord *William Montagu*, afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*, *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevil*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, and the Lord *John Moubray*, beſide more than fourty other Knights, and a thouſand Horſe of War. And thus (having appointed his Brother the Lord *John* ſirnamed of *Eltham*, and now Earl of *Cornwall*, his Lieutenant and Cuſtos of the Realm, during his Abſence) He took the ſea at *Dover* with all this Company, but was two Days upon the Water, before he landed at *Whitſand*, near *Calais*, whence he went to *Boloigne*, where he tarried one day to refreſh himſelf. It was now about the middle of *Auguſt*, when King *Philip* hearing of his Arrival, immediately diſpatch'd away the Conſtable of *France*, with a good company of Lords and Knights to meet him. Theſe found King *Edward* at *Monſtreul*, where they received him in their Kings Name with high Expreſſions of Reſpect: For the *French* are a wonderfull free and civil People, when they deſign to do honour to any Perſon. Thus both Nations rode very friendly together towards *Amiens*, enterchanging many courteous Speeches with great Familiarity. King *Edward* upon his Arrival at *Amiens* was honourably welcom'd by King *Philip*, the Kings of *Bohemia*, *Navarre* and *Majorica*, with many Dukes, Earls and Barons, and the Eleven Peers of *France*, (he himſelf being the Twelfth) who were all there to do him Honour, as was pretended, but indeed to bear witneſs to his Homage. There for Fifteen Days together he was entertain'd with great Royalty, many things being canvas'd and diſcours'd of the mean while at intervals, in order to the preſent Affair. But on the Day appointed, King *Edward* came into the Cathedral of *Amiens* in order to his Homage, in a long Robe of Crimſon Velvet pouder'd with Leopards of Gold, his Crown on

[d] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 232. *& Clauſ.* 3 *Edw.* 3 *m.* 35

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his Head, his Sword by his Side, and Spurs of Gold on his Heels. King *Philip* of *Valois* ſat ready to receive him on his Royal Throne, in a Robe of Violet-colour'd Velvet, pouder'd with Flowers *de Luce's* of Gold, his Crown on his Head, his Scepter in his Hand, with other Enſigns of Majeſty, beſides his Royal Attendants.

[e] *Froiſ. c. 24. fol. 14. a. Martin, p. 105.*

When [e] King *Edward* ſaw in what ſcornfull manner King *Philip* ſat to receive him, his High Courage inſtantly reſolv'd upon a different Way from what he had before intended; ſo that only bending his Body a little toward the Throne, he ſaid aloud with a truly Royal Boldneſs, "I *Edward* by the Grace of God, King of *England*, "Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke of *Aquitain*, do hereby do Homage to thee *Philip* King "of *France*, to hold the Dutchy of *Guien*, as Duke thereof, and the Earldom of "*Ponthieu* and *Monſtreul*, as Earl thereof, and as Peer of *France*, in like manner as "my Predeceſſors did Homage for the ſaid Dukedom and Earldom to thy Predeceſſors. At this unexpected Gallantry of King *Edward's* (thô *Philip* of *Valois* inwardly repin'd) yet he ſeem'd to take little notice of it, but only order'd his Chancellor to direct the King his Cozen, "That the manner of his Predeceſſors was by "Putting off the Crown, and Laying aſide both Sword and Spurs, to do it Kneeling, with "their Hands between the King of *France's* Knees, or his great Chamberlain's hands: "and this they were always to do, either in Perſon, or by ſufficient Proxy of ſome high "Prince or Prelate, then and there promiſing Faith and Homage to the King of "*France*, as to their Soveraign Lord, of whom they held thoſe Lands and Honours. But this King *Edward* would by no means yeeld to, alledging, that they could ſhew no ſuch Precedent, For one Crowned Head ſo to humble himſelf to another, and that he was not as yet ſatisfied of any ſuch matter. Hereupon they produced ſome Old Memorials, which were read to him, purporting, that certain Kings his Anceſtors, had done in like manner to the Kings of *France*, when ſummon'd on the ſame Occaſion. But theſe Records the King of *England* would not allow to be Authentick, and therefore ſaid, he was determin'd as then, to proceed no further, till he had conſulted his own Records, wherein if he ſhould find that any thing more had been done, he would recognize the ſame by his Letters Patents to the *French* King. And whatever Monſieur *du Serres* alledges, that the Vicount *Melun*, Great Chamberlain of *France*, having made him put off Crown, Sword and Spurs, joyned his Hands together, and received his Homage; yet that no more than a Verbal Homage was then done, appears not only from the Acknowledgment of Monſieur [f] *Mezeray*, an Author infinitely more diligent and wiſe than *Du Serres*, but alſo by the King of *England's* own Letters afterwards, which in order ſhall follow according to the Originall.

[f] *Mezeray p. 6. par. 2. tom. 3.*

This was a mighty Diſappointment to the King of *France*, who had expected a more formal and full Homage, in Preſence of all theſe his Honourable Friends and Allies: But no more could now be obtain'd, and ſince no Evidence to the Contrary appear'd as yet Authentick enough (at leaſt to King *Edward's* ſatisfaction) he was obliged in Honour to ſmother his Diſcontent before that Royal Aſſembly, and ſo ſaid openly, "Dear Cozen of *England*, we will not here be thought deſirous to "impoſe any thing upon You againſt Right and Equity: What you have already "done, ſufficeth for the Preſent: So that upon your Return, when you have con"ſulted your own Records, and ſeen what your Predeceſſors have done on like Oc"caſions, you will ſend unto us under your Broad Seal, an acknowledgement of the "ſame. Thus he ſpake, and ſo the Aſſembly broke up, as it ſhould ſeem in friendly manner; howbeit King *Philip* revolved deeply in his Mind of this affront put upon him, where he had look'd for ſuch High Honour, and upon that account, as well as becauſe of thoſe pretences, which he knew King *Edward* might juſtly make to his Crown, he ſecretly deviſed how, when moſt ſeparated from his people, he might [g] ſurprize and ſeiſe his Perſon, till he ſhould make his own Conditions with him. But this Counſel was not ſo cloſely agitated, but that *Henry Burwaſh*, Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, a Man of a great Reach, who came over as the King's Chief Counſellour and Governour, had got ſome inkling, or conjecture thereof at leaſt, and ſo privately informed the King his Maſter, of the Danger he was in. He for his part eaſily apprehending the matter, left *France* ſuddenly with his whole Company, e're any Man imagin'd how or why, and ſo coming ſafely into *England*, went directly for *Windſor*, where his Queen *Philippa* lay; who was extreamly ſatisfied with his ſafe Return; and there had her Female Curioſity abundantly ſatisfied, as to all her Enquiries after the State and Welfare of her Uncle King *Philip*, and the reſt of her kindred, whom he had lately ſeen.

[g] *Knighton p. 2555. n. 10.*

But

But King *Edward* brought home a ſting along with him, whereby he thought his Honour wounded, and which never let him be at reſt, till he had prov'd himſelf Worthy of the Crown of *France*, thô he never attain'd to the Poſſeſſion of it. From this time it run continually in his Head, that *France* was too Noble a Kingdom to be deſpiſed; for he had never before ſeen any thing ſo Pompous there, or if he had, his tender Age would not permit him to make any juſt eſtimate thereof: But now whatever he had met with, gave him the more concern, becauſe he look'd on it as of Right his own; however injuriouſly taken from him. An. Dom. 1329. An. Regni III.

The mean [i] while (as if all this was too little provocation) King *Philip* not thus ſatisfied, reſolves to preſs the unwilling Prince to a more particular acknowledgement; and therefore ſoon after purſues him into *England* by theſe his Ambaſſadors, the two Biſhops of *Chartres* and of *Beauvois*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Cleremont*, the Duke of *Burbon*, the Earl of *Harecourt*, and the Earl of *Tancarville*, and divers other Knights and Learned Men, whom he ſent into *England*, to demand a further performance and ſatisfaction in the Premiſes.

[i] *Froiſ. ibid.*

By this time, the King of *England* and his Council (who were then at *Weſtminſter*) had well conſider'd the Uſage of former Kings of *England*, when they did Homage in like Caſe for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*: And they ſaw, that things had indeed been of old ſo performed, as they now were demanded to be done: And thô many in the Realm were Highly offended at theſe doings of the *French* King, and ſtuck not openly to declare, that the King of *England*, their Lord, was Truer Heir to the Crown of *France* by Right of Succeſſion, than was *Philip* of *Valois* himſelf; yet the King and his Council at this time prudently forbore to take notice hereof, till he had better weigh'd his own ſtrength, and ſounded his Friends and Allies: So that now not one Word was mention'd concerning King *Edward's* Pretences, thô much time was ſpent in ſearching and arguing, whereby the Ambaſſadors were fain to tarry in *England* all that Winter, till the *May* following; before which they could not obtain any poſitive Anſwer. But then at laſt, the King being prevail'd on by his Council, wrote theſe his Letters Patents, Seal'd with his Broad Seal, wherein he acknowledges, that he ought to have done Homage to the King of *France* for his Countries and Seigniories held in *France*, the Tenour of which Letters followeth.

" [k] *Edward* by the Grace of God King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke of " *Aquitain*; to all, who ſhall ſee or hear theſe Preſents, Greeting: Be it known, " that whereas we made Homage at *Amiens* to the moſt Excellent Prince, our Dear- " eſt Lord and Cozen, *Philip* King of *France*, and then it was of him required, " that we ſhould acknowledge the ſaid Homage to be [l] Liege, and that we in do- " ing the ſaid Homage, ſhould promiſe expreſly to bear unto him Faith and Loyalty: " Which thing We did not, as then, becauſe We were not fully informed, but on- " ly made unto the ſaid King of *France* our Homage in general Terms, " *Saying, " that we enter'd his Homage, as our Predeceſſors, Dukes of* Guienne *in time paſt had en- " ter'd the Homage of the Kings of* France, *for the time being*. But being ſince " that time well informed of the truth, we do by theſe preſents acknowledge, that " the ſaid Homage, which we made in the City of *Amiens* to the King of *France*, " as it was in general Terms, is and ought to be intended Liege; and that we ought " to bear unto him Faith and Loyalty, as Duke of *Aquitain*, and Peer of *France*, " and Earl of *Ponthieu*, and *Monſtreul*: And We promiſe to bear unto him Faith " and Loyalty. And to the intent, that hereafter ſhould ariſe no difference for this " cauſe; We promiſe for Us and our Succeſſors, Dukes of *Aquitain*, that this Ho- " mage ſhall be made in this Manner: The King of *England*, Duke of *Aquitain*, ſhall " hold his Hands between the Hands of the King of *France*, and he that is to ſpeak " for the King of *France*, ſhall ſay thus. "*--You become Liegeman to our Lord the " King, here preſent, as Duke of* Guienne *and Peer of* France, *and you promiſe to bear " to him Faith and Loyalty*. Say, *Yes*. And the King of *England*, Duke of *Aquitain*, " and his Succeſſors, ſhall ſay, *Yes*. And then the King of *France* ſhall receive the ſaid " King of *England*, and Duke of *Guienne*, to the ſaid Homage Liege, with Faith and Troth " by word of Mouth, ſaving his own Right and all other.

" Furthermore, when the ſaid King and Duke ſhall enter the Homage of the King " of *France*, for the Earldom of *Ponthieu* and *Monſtreul*, he ſhall put his Hands be- " tween the Hands of the King of *France*, for the ſaid Earldom of *Ponthieu* and " *Monſtreul*, and he that ſhall ſpeak for the King of *France*, ſhall addreſs his Speech " to the ſaid King and Duke, and ſhall ſay thus, "*--You become Liegeman to our " Lord the King of* France *here preſent, as Earl of* Ponthieu *and* Monſtreul, *and you " promiſe*

[k] *Froiſ. c. 24. fol. 14. b. Du Cheſne l. 14. p. 638.*

[l] *Homage Liege is done by the Vaſſal ungirt & bare-headed, with joyned Hands laid on the Evangeliſts, and a Kiſs received in the taking of his Oath, &c. Vid. Cotgrave* in hoc Titulo.

An. Dom. 1329. An. Regni III.

"*promiſe to bear unto him Faith and Loyalty*: Say, *Yes*. And the King, Earl of "*Ponthieu*, ſhall ſay, *Yes*. And then the ſaid King of *France*, ſhall receive the ſaid "King and Earl to the ſaid Homage, with Faith and Troth by word of Mouth, "ſaving his own Right and all other. And thus it ſhall be done and Renewed, as "often as Homage ſhall be done: Of which We and Our Succeſſors, Dukes of *Gui-* "*enne*, ſhall (after the ſaid Homage done) deliver Our Letters Patents, Sealed with "Our Great Seal, if the King of *France* ſhall ſo require. And moreover We pro- "miſe in good Faith to hold and keep entirely the Peace and Accord, made between "the Kings of *France*, and the ſaid Kings of *England*, Dukes of *Guienne*, &c. Theſe Letters the *French* Ambaſſadors deliver'd to the King their Maſter, who cauſed them to be kept in his Chancery.

II. But before this, while the Ambaſſadors were at *London*, being then but juſt come thither, the King intending to let the *French*-men ſee, what kind of men he Ruled over, and what he might do, if too far provoked; privately order'd, that certain choice Knights ſhould make a Challenge, as of their own Heads: Who gladly taking this occaſion, publiſhed throughout the City with Sound of Trumpet, that on the [m] 25 of *September*, being the *Munday* after that *Thurſday* (which was St. *Matthew's* day) there were Thirteen Knights in *London*, that would be ready for three days together, to perform Feats of Arms againſt all Comers whatſoever. The Place appointed for the Solemnity was *Cheapſide*, between the *Croſs* and *Soperlane*, where the Stony Street [n] was well cover'd with Sand, that the Horſes might not ſlide, when they ran their Courſes: And there was a Spacious Wooden Scaffold, like a Tower, Erected croſs the Street, whereon Queen *Philippa*, and many of the Greateſt and Faireſt Ladies, Aſſembled from all parts of the Realm, did ſtand richly attired, to behold the Solemnity. The Lord *Maurice* ſecond Brother to *Thomas* Lord *Barkley*, was of ſuch Renown for Martial Atchievements at this time, that among other Accoutrements prepared for this Turneament, [o] divers Surcoats were uſed, depicted with his Arms and Cognizance. That any of the *French* undertook with theſe Challengers, I do not find; thô 'tis highly probable, that being Perſons of Title and Honour, they would by no means omit ſuch an opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves, ſince it could not but reflect upon them, if they did. As for more circumſtances of this Martial Sport, they are neither fit to be minutely handled, nor can I find them any where particularized: But this is very likely, that the Actions were performed with Gallantry enough; and that the Undertakers on both ſides were conſiderable Perſons: For ſome ſay, [p] the Young King himſelf with 12 more in his Company (thô diſguiſed) were the Challengers, ready to anſwer all Defendants, that ſhould come. At leaſt the King, Queen, and whole Court were Spectators, with many thouſands of the City: But in the height of this Recreation, there happen'd an accident, which had like to have proved Tragical. For the Stage, [q] whereon the Queen and her Ladies were placed, ſuddenly brake under them, to the great affrightment of all the Company; thô by the wonderfull Goodneſs of God it happen'd, that no harm at all was done: But the King was thereby ſo incenſed at the Maſter-Workmen, that it would have proved very difficult for them to have avoided a ſevere Puniſhment, had not the Noble-minded Queen her ſelf upon her knees requeſted their pardon: Which beſure the King would never have granted on any other conſideration, to thoſe, who had occaſion'd the hazard of a Lady ſo dear unto him. And indeed this vertuous Princeſs was of a moſt Generous and Compaſſionate Nature, always deſirous to do good, but eſpecially to the Afflicted, and thoſe who were brought into any undeſerved Misfortune; ſo that all along ſhe Reign'd in the hearts of the People, whoſe Welfare and Convenience ſhe continually endeavour'd with all her Power.

III. About this time the Queen Mother, who bore an Inveterate hatred againſt *Edmund Plantagenet* Earl of *Kent*, one of the Kings Uncles, chiefly for the Earl of *Marche's* ſake, to whoſe Unreaſonable pride the Noble Princes Courage ſcorn'd to yield, began earneſtly to inform the Young King her Son againſt him, as guilty of matters, into which the ſubtle *Mortimer* had craftily inſnared the Open-hearted Gentleman. [r] Some ſay, that being the next Heir Apparent, he was accuſed to have conſpired the Death of the King his Nephew, by poyſon; which might not perhaps ſound ſo improbable; but that at this time and for above ſix years after, the Kings own Brother, *John* of *Eltham* Earl of *Cornwall*, was [s] alive (thô *Froiſard*, and from him others by miſtake ſay, he was then newly dead) beſides this Earl of *Kent* had himſelf an Elder Brother then living, which was *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, Earl of *Norfolk* and Marſhall of *England*;

[m] *Joh. Tinemouth fol.* 229. *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 112.

[n] *Stow's Survey of* London *p.* 280.

[o] *Dugd. Bar.* 1 *Vol. p.* 356.

[p] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 893.

[q] *Stow's Survey of* London *p.* 280. *& Hiſt. p.* 230. *& R. Baker p.* 143.

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 23. *fol.* 13. *a. & Fox Acts & Mon. p.* 345.

[s] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 146.

England; and yet above all this, there were two Ladies, *Joan* Queen of *Scotland*, and Princeſs *Eleanor*, the Kings own Siſters ſurviving: So that he could not by any means pretend to be the next Heir; nor even his Enemies with any ſenſe pretend it for him. Moreover in the Records we find no mention of Poiſon, nor that he was ſo much as accus'd of Deſigning to compaſs the King his Nephew's Death: Unleſs that was obliquely inſinuated, as a conſequence of his Delivering the Old King, which it was lay'd to his charge that he endeavour'd. AN. DOM. 1329. An. Regni III.

'Tis certain the Poor Prince was firſt trepan'd into a Sham-plot, and afterwards ſpecioufly by way of Friendſhip undermin'd, ſo as to yield to make a confeſſion of matters, not ſeeming Treaſonable (which afterward his Enemies aggravated much higher) upon the Aſſurance of a Pardon: Inſtead whereof, before he was brought to any legal Tryal, or confronted by his Accuſers, a Warrant was ſuddenly ſign'd for his Execution.

But leſt it ſhould be admired, how any Man ſhould now be accus'd of endeavouring to deliver the Old King, who had been murder'd, as appears, almoſt two Years before, I will exactly ſet down by what arts this Innocent Gentleman was train'd on to his utter Ruine.

Mortimer therefore and his Complotters, with a deſign to make his Enemies obnoxious to him (which he could no other way do, they were Men of ſuch known Loyalty and Integrity) cunningly ſcatters it abroad, that the Old King, *Edward* the Second was ſtill alive, notwithſtanding the late Rumour of his Death and Burial; and that he now reſided in the Caſtle of [s] *Corfe* in *Dorſetſhire*, but was not to be ſeen in the day time by any means, with much difficulty in the Night, for fear he ſhould haſten his own Death thereby. Now to carry on this incredible Tale the better (for thoſe were cauteous and diſcreet Men whom *Mortimer* aim'd to catch) there were ſeveral Knights appointed to make Shows and Masks, and other Diverſions upon the Battlements and Leads of the Caſtle; which the Country People obſerving, could not but imagin ſome great Prince or King to be there; for whoſe pleaſure and honour thoſe Solemnities were ſo performed. Hence the rumour of the Old King's being ſtill alive was ſpread far and near; ſo that at laſt it came (as was firſt deſign'd) with ſome kind of Authority to the Earl of *Kents* Ears: who deſiring only (as he thought) to ſift the Truth out, entangled himſelf more ſtrongly in an errour. To the Caſtle of *Corfe* he privily ſent one of his Confidents, a Preaching Fryer, with a charge to dive into the Matter: He at laſt under much caution, with a great deal of doe, obtaining to be admitted into the Caſtle, was even then out of pretended Fear kept cloſe all the day in the Porters Lodge: But at night, being for more ſecurity, as they held him in hand, diſguiſed in Lay-habit, he was brought into the great Hall, where he beheld one cloathed in Royal Habiliments to perſonate a King; ſo that the Fryer himſelf, either deceived by the glimmering of the Lamps, or the Diſtance which he was forced to keep, or the ſtrength of prejudice working upon his Fancy, did really take him for the Father of the Young King, as he ſat with ſeeming Majeſty and Princely Attendants at a Royal Supper.

[s] Stow p. 229. a.

This Account the Fryer brought back to the Earl of *Kent*, and whether himſelf alſo corrupted, or really in mind perſwaded, did as really perſwade the Unfortunate Prince, that he had ſeen the King his Brother alive and well, and at ſupper with his own Eyes: Whereupon the Earl declared with an Oath, that he would make uſe of all the Means and Intereſt he could to reſcue the King his Brother from that unworthy Confinement. [u] Now when firſt this Rumour began to go abroad with ſome Authority, Earl *Edmund* having ſome occaſions at the Court of *Rome*, held a Diſcourſe with Pope *John* XXII, at *Avignion* and ſaid, "How Almighty God had many times "for the love of *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, done many fair Miracles upon ſeverall, both "Men and Women, who were through divers Maladies undone as to this World; "till thrô his Prayers they were reſtored unto their Health. Wherefore the Earl prayed heartily of his Holineſs to grant him the favour, that the foreſaid *Thomas*, Earl of *Lancaſter* might be Tranſlated. Now 'tis to be remembred, that this *Thomas*, who was Eldeſt Son to *Edmund* Crouch-back (Second Son of King *Henry* the Third, and Younger Brother of King *Edward* the Firſt) had been by King *Edward* the Second beheaded at *Pontefract* for Heading the Barons againſt the King: But among the Common People he was look'd on as a Martyr for the Nations Liberties, and meriting the name and honour of a Saint. However the Pope anſwer'd Earl *Edmund*, that he the ſaid *Thomas* of *Lancaſter* ſhould not be Tranſlated, untill he ſhould be better certified by the Clergy of *England*, and had ſeen by their joynt Teſtimonies, what

[u] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. c.* 220.

thing

An. Dom. 1329. An. Regni III. thing God had done for the love of *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, according to the Suggeſtion that the foreſaid *Edmund* had made unto him. And when Earl *Edmund* ſaw, that in this requeſt he ſhould not ſucceed, as to the Tranſlation, he then deſired his Counſel in another matter relating to *Edward* of *Caernarvon*, his Brother, late King of *England*, what he had beſt to do in order to his Deliverance from Captivity; ſince it "was a common Fame thrô *England*, that he was alive, whole and ſound. When the Pope heard him ſay that King *Edward* the Second was alive, he commanded the Earl upon his Bleſſing, to help with all the Power that he might, to deliver him out of Priſon, and ſave his Body to the utmoſt of his Ability; in order to which he aſſoyled him and all his Partakers *ab omni pœna & culpa*; and promiſed to bear the charges of the whole Undertaking, threatning him alſo with Excommunication, if he did not make uſe of his beſt Endeavours to aſſert his Brothers Right and Liberty. Soon after Earl *Edmund* return'd into *England*, where he ſet himſelf about diſcovering, as he thought, the Truth more fully; and then ſent to *Corfe* Caſtle that Preaching-Frier, of whom we ſpake. One ſays, [x] that he was alſo tempted by one of *Mortimers* Inſtruments, who urging, "That King *Edward* the Second was alive, and only "wanted his Aſſiſtance to be deliver'd and reſtor'd to his former Dignity, and the "Earl thereupon promiſing his beſt Endeavours, he was by the ſame Party accuſed "of High-Treaſon. *Walſingham* [y] produces an Imperfect confeſſion of the Earl's which he made before Sr. *Robert Howel*, Coroner of the King's Houſhold, and afterwards on the 16 of *March* in the Fourth Year of this King's Reign, own'd it for his Confeſſion, before the Lords aſſembled in Parliament at *Wincheſter*, whereby we may perceive, that he himſelf ſought out to no Body, but that others (ſet on no doubt to ruine him) came of their own accord to him, as well to confirm in him the belief of the Old King's being Alive, as to pretend their Readineſs, and offering him their Service to deliver him: But the whole Cheat will beſt appear from the Confeſſion it ſelf, which amounts to thus much. "That the Pope had enjoyn'd him on penalty of "being Excommunicate, to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to work the Delivery of his "Brother late King of *England*, promiſing himſelf to bear the whole charge of the "Undertaking: That a certain Predicant Fryer, [z] named *Thomas Dunhead*, in diſ-"courſe with him at *Kenſington* near *London*, told him, He had conjur'd up a Spirit, "which aſſured him, that *Edward* his Brother, late King of *England* was yet living. "That the Archbiſhop of *York* had ſent him by his Chaplain, Mr. *Alleyn* a truſty let-"ter, wherein he promiſed towards the delivery of his Brother five hundred Men or "more. *William Iliffe* alſo, and *William Warham* Clerks, and *Thomas Bromfield* Fry-"er, promiſed him their Aſſiſtance in this Buſineſs: Alſo that Sr. *Ingelram Berenger* "had brought him word to *London* from *William* Lord *Zouch*, that he was ready to "lend him his help toward the Reſtauration of his Brother. That Sr. *Ingelram* came "to him again from the Lord *John Peche*, proffering alſo his Service to the Work; "and ſaying, that *Henry* Lord *Beaumont*, and Sr. *Thomas Roſſelin* (who were fled "the Kingdom for fear of *Mortimer*) had at *Paris* in the Duke of *Brabants* Bed-"chamber, inſtigated them to this Attempt, declaring, they were ready to come in-"to *England* to the furtherance of the ſame. That Sr. *Ingelram* came unto him yet "a third time at *Arundel*, into his Bedchamber over the Chappel, and aſſured him of "the Biſhop of *Londons* help. That Sr. *Robert Taunton* brought him word from *Wil-"liam Melton* Archbiſhop of *York*, that the ſaid Archbiſhop had Men ready harneſs'd "to compleat the deſign, and that the ſaid Sr. *Robert*, with two Preaching Fryers, *Edmund* "and *John Savage*, had a chief ſtroak in the Affair: And that Sr. *Fulk Fitz-Warine* "coming to him at *Weſtminſter*, told him, 'twould be the moſt honourable Action "he could ever ſet about, but to appear in the Attempt; to which he had promiſed "his beſt Aſſiſtance: And laſtly, that the Letters, which he had ſent to Sr. *Bogo* "of *Bayonne* and Sr. *John Daverill*, were ſealed with his Seal; and that his Wife "had wrote another Letter to the ſame effect; and that all this was Truth; ſo "that he confeſſes he has offended, and therefore he put himſelf upon the King's "Mercy.

[x] *Leland. Coll.* 1 *Vol. p.* 794.

[y] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 110. *Dugd. Bar.* 2 *Vol. p.* 93.

[z] *R. Southwell's Additions to Adam Merimuth. & M. S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. c.* 213.

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[a] The truth of it is, that by *Mortimers* cunning being induced to a belief that his Brother the late King was ſtill living, and in *Corfe* Caſtle, he went himſelf to the ſaid Caſtle, and ſpake with the Conſtable thereof Sr. *John Daverill*, and after many rich Preſents, deſired ſecretly to know of him, whether his Brother the late King was yet alive or dead; and if he were alive, that he might have a ſight of him. Now this Sr. *John Daverill*, being *Mortimers* Creature, anſwer'd, that indeed his Brother was in health and under his Keeping; but that he durſt not ſhew him to any man

[a] *M. S. Vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. c.* 220.

man living, since he was forbid in behalf of the King that now was, and also of the Queen Mother, and of *Mortimer*, to shew his Person to any One whatsoever, except only unto them. But the false Traitor lied unto him: for the Old King was now in his Grave. But Earl *Edmund* was so far deceiv'd by the Constables protestation, that he deliver'd him a Letter, desiring him to bear it unto his Brother; which he promised to do; but soon after carried it to *Mortimer*, sealed with the Earls Seal. It began thus: "To the Noble Knight, *Edward* of *Caernarvon*, *Edmund* of *Woodstock*, wor-"ship and reverence with Brotherly Allegiance and Subjection: Sr. Knight, Wor-"shipfull and Dear Brother; if it please you, I pray heartily, that you be of good "comfort, for I shall so ordain for you, that you shall soon come out of prison, and "be delivered of that Trouble which you are in: And may your Highness understand, "That I have unto me assenting almost all the Great Men of *England*, with all their "Apparel; that is to say, with Armour and Treasure exceeding much, for to maintain "and help your Quarrel so far forth, that you shall be King again, as you were be-"fore: And thereto they have all sworn to me upon a Book, as well Prelates, as Earls and Barons, *&c.* This Letter *Mortimer* presently shew'd to the Queen, telling her, that Earl *Edmund* design'd to depose her Son; wherefore she went to the King her Son, and having shew'd him the Letter, charged him on her Blessing to be avenged on him, as on her deadly Enemy. Upon her Importunities the King sent for him to *Winchester*, where he was arrested; thô it appears, that in all the foresaid Proposals, mention'd in his Confession, which was thus made unto him by several Hands, there was little or nothing of real Truth; only these Emissaries invented those improbable Tales to abuse him, or were by the same arts abused themselves: so that it appears evidently but a contrivance against his Life. Now to drive the matter home, [b] Sr. *John Daverill* Constable of *Corfe* Castle discover'd that Letter, written by the said Earl to his Brother the King, supposing him still living: which Letter being produc'd by his inveterate Enemy the Earl of *March* in open Parliament, he was found guilty by his Peers, and had Judgment of Death passed on him.

Now when the Earl was condemned and remanded unto Prison, [c] the Lord *Mortimer* went straight to the Queen Mother's Appartment, whom he found at Dinner, and having obtain'd a private Conference, told her, how the Earl was condemned by way of Law, to forfeit Life and Limb, and his Heirs to be disinherited for ever, upon his own plain Confession in full Court, saving the Kings gracious Favour; "Wherefore, "said he, I think it best for his Execution to be hasten'd, without the Kings know-"ledge; for if he once understand the whole Matter, he'll forgive him his Death; and "that will turn to our great Disadvantage, if not utter Confusion; because he was em-"peached by our means.

Whereupon Queen *Isabell*, being thus urged by *Mortimer*, caused a Warrant the next morning to be sent to the Bayliffs of *Winchester* to see speedy Execution done: for his Brother the Earl-Marshall would by no means (as his Office required) concern himself in that matter; and he was easily dispens'd withall, as well by reason of his Relation to him, as for Suspicion of him: For it [d] appear'd, that he was infinitely dissatisfied, as were all the Lords, but those of *Mortimers* Faction; thô being terrified by so great an example, they durst not intercede with the King, nor shew their displeasure. But as we said, Command was sent to the Bayliffs of the Town to see the Work done: yet none could be procur'd to perform the ungratefull Office upon him [e] from morning till the evening, when a Wicked ribald out of the Marshalsea, to save his own life thereby, severed his Head from his Body on the 19 day of *March*, being the Eve of St. *Cuthbert* and a Monday. Before *Mortimer* so well watch'd the King that day, that no body could approach to inform him either of his Condemnation, or of that Warrant for his so speedy Execution: For when, being done, he heard of it, with [f] great sorrow he caused his Body to be decently interred in the Fryers Preachers at *Winchester*. With whom also for form were accused *Stephen Gravesend* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Abbot of *Longdon*, who were acquitted; but Sr. [g] *Robert Taunton*, with some certain *Carmelite* Fryers and Predicants (for a cloak to the Sham) were condemned to perpetual Imprisonment; the Provincials of the White [h] *Carmelite* Fryers, and of the Black Preaching Fryers being banished. Precepts also were issued out by command of Parliament to the [i] Sheriffs of *Warwickshire*, *Dorsetshire* and *Hantshire*, for the speedy Apprehension of Sr. *John Peche*, whose Lands also were seised; but both he and they shortly after restored. Beside this, *William* Archbishop of *York*, and *William* Lord [k] *Zouch* of *Mortimer* were impeached, but soon after acquitted, and their Goods and Lands restored. Sr. [l] *Fulk Fitz-Warine* also had his Castle of *Whi-*

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[b] *Leland. Coll. 1 Vol. p. 686. & M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. c. 220. ubi tota hujus rei series accuratissimè describitur.*

[c] *M.S. id. ibid.*

[d] *Joh Harding c. 178. fol. 177. b. §. 8. & 9.*

[e] *Knighton p. 2555. n. 40. Lit. Dom. G.*

[f] *Dudg. Bar. 2 Vol. p. 93. b. l. 3. & M. S. ibid.*

[g] *Walsingh. hist. p. 110.*

[h] *Stow p. 229.*

[i] *Dugd. Warw. p. 699. a. id. Bar. 1 Vol. p. 677. b.*

[k] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 153.*

[l] *Dudg. 1 Vol. 445.*

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tington ſeiſed, but the next Year the King reſtor'd him to the poſſeſſion thereof. Nay the great *Henry* Earl of [m] *Lancaſter* (with ſeveral of his Friends) was apprehended by order from the Old Queen and the Earl of *March*; but whether the Matter would hold no further, or that they would ſeem to have reſpect to his Age and Nobility, or by chance, he eſcaped their Hands: So that not one of all this Number was brought to Death upon this Account, but only this Worthy and Heroick Prince, who had leaſt knowledge of the Matter. Yet, when by all this great Buſſle, they thought they had ſufficiently eſtabliſhed the Reputation of a Plot, [n] Proclamations were preſently iſſued out into all the Counties of *England* to give Notice, that the Earl was put to death, and for what Reaſon.

[m] *Knighton p. 2555. n. 40.*

[n] *Dudg. 2 Vol. p. 93.*

Thus fell this Mighty Prince, the King's own Uncle, and a man of Extraordinary Courage and Integrity, in the Flower of his Age (for he had hardly compleated twenty [o] Eight Years) by the Contrivances of thoſe, whom He himſelf, before he was aware, had raiſed to that Power. It is agreed on all hands, He was innocent of the matter whereof He was accus'd; and that if he had not, he had never yet been made guilty of Treaſon, but by thoſe, who had been guilty of Depoſing and Murdering the Old King. Yet let us a little conſider, whether the Hand of God might not be in all this; ſince at firſt he neglected to aſſiſt his own Brother againſt the Rebellious inſolence of his Subjects, but [p] rather countenanced all their Actions with his Preſence; that himſelf ſhould thus pay for his Inadvertency, in firſt raſhly engaging to the Diſſolution of his own Brothers Authority, which afterwards he more inconſiderately endeavoured to raiſe out of the Grave.

[o] *Nat. Auguſti 5to An. Dom. 1302. Walſing. hiſt. p. 48.*

[p] *Walſing. hiſt. p. 101. & cæteres*

As for his own Perſon, I find no real Stain fix'd upon him by any, and the manner of his Execution ſhews [q] how Dear he was to the People; not to ſay, that by the Character of thoſe who were his Enemies, we may diſcern him to have been Loyal and firm to the Young King his Nephew; as the Cauſe (for which he died) ſhews; that his Heart was never falſe to the Old King his Brother. Yet for all this, it is ſaid, that he was the leſs lamented, [r] becauſe his Servants were very oppreſſive to the Commons, and many great Diſorders were allowed in his Family. Certainly 'tis not enough for a Man of High Degree to do well himſelf; but to take Care, that thoſe who are under him, do ſo too; Since he is not only lyable to be cenſur'd for their Miſcarriages in this World, but alſo in ſome meaſure to anſwer for them in that which is to come.

[q] *Knighton p. 2555. n. 40.*

[r] *Walſin. Hypod. p. 111. n. 40. & Stow p. 229. b.*

He left behind him ([s] by his Lady *Margaret* Siſter of *Thomas* Lord *Wake* of *Lydel*) Four Young Children, two Sons, *Edmund* and *John*, who were both ſoon after reſtor'd in Blood, but dy'd ſucceſſively without Iſſue; and two Daughters, *Margaret*, who was afterwards married to *Amaneus*, Eldeſt Son to the Lord *Bernard de la Brett*, or *Albret* of *Gaſcoigne*, and the other a little Female Infant, ſcarce then two Years old, named *Joan*, who afterwards became the *Paragon* of her whole Sex for Exquiſite Beauty, Modeſty, and Diſcretion; and upon the Death of both her Brothers, becoming the Sole Heireſs of all her Fathers Poſſeſſions, was commonly called by way of Eminence, the Fair Counteſs of *Kent*; of whom more hereafter.

[s] *Sandford Geneal. Hiſt. p. 212 & Dugd. Bar. 2 Vol. p. 94. & Catal. Honor. p. 764. inter ſe collatis.*

From the foregoing Story we may obſerve, how early in this Kingdom Malicious Stateſmen, who ſought the Ruine of thoſe who faithfully interpos'd to hinder their Ambitious Deſigns, made uſe of this (now more-common) trick of buzzing Sham-plots into their Princes Ears: Which, however falſe and improbable, would yet never want *Evidences* to make out ſome plauſible Circumſtances.

IV. And thus at laſt happily We have paſt over the leſs Gratefull Part of this King's Reign; wherein we have beheld him, not as he was in himſelf, Bright and Vigorous; but as he was miſrepreſented by thoſe, who (under his Name) did but Eclipſe and darken his Royal Authority.

Now that all things might ſucceed the better, the Hopefull young King reſolves to begin with Heaven; and remembring, that in his former Troubles, during his Fathers Reign, or in his late Danger at *Amiens*, when he narrowly eſcap'd being ſeiz'd upon by the *French* King, he had made [t] a Vow in Devotion to viſit ſome Holy Places in *France*; he now ſets himſelf about performing his Vow: Leaving therefore his Brother *John* of *Eltham*, Earl of *Cornwall*, Protector of the Realm, on *Thurſday* in *Eaſter-week*, [u] being the 12 of *April*, he adventur'd privately to paſs the Sea, in the Company of *John Stratford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Valiant and Loyal Servant *William Montagu*, afterwards Earl of *Saliſbury*, diſguiſed like Merchants, the whole number amounting but to Fifteen Perſons.

[t] *Stow p. 230. b. & Polyd. Virg. l. 19. p. 362. Walſing. hiſt. p. 112. & Knighton p. 2555. & Joh. Tinem. fol. 229.*

[u] *G. Lit. Dom. Paſcha 8 April. vid Labb. Chro. Techn.*

It

It was a bold (not to say a rash) undertaking for a King to expose his Person so lightly (if it is Lawfull to term any thing Light, that proceeds from a Mind so Religiously affected) especially into a Country so jealous of his Fortune, and where he had before been publiquely seen more than once: But the Strength of his Devotion encourag'd him to it, and the Success that followed, makes it in him warrantable; I say in him: For no exact Rules can be prescrib'd to such Mighty overworking Spirits; and *Alexander* the Great, and *Julius Cæsar*, thô they have committed many seeming-Rash and Indiscreet Actions, I know not, who dare blame or censure them for it. Our King accordingly soon Returns safe, and with his whole Company; when immediately at *Dertford* in *Kent*, he holds a Great and Solemn Tourneament, thereby to Exercise his Nobles to delight in Arms. Thus Early did this Monarch lay his Foundation by Piety and Industry, on which afterwards he Reared so many Glorious Trophies of Victory. AN. DOM. 1330. AN. REGNI IV.

But I am well aware, that there is another Account of the Reasons, which induc'd the King to cross the Seas at this time; which, because it is very probable, I shall here also deliver. King *Edward*, as we said before, delaying beyond the time prefix'd, to send that Declaration of his Homage (for it was not yet dispatch'd away by the *French* Ambassadors, till *May* in this Year) King *Philip* caused him [x] again to be summon'd, and after some Motions, and Hostility done by the *English*, who were Rendezvous'd at *Saintes*, the chief City of *Saintogne* in *Aquitain*, he sent his Brother the Lord *Charles* of *Valois*, Earl of *Alenson*, who laid Siege before the Town: Which King *Edward* understanding, began to talk of Peace, to the obtaining whereof, he sent his Ambassadors into *France*, with whom this Agreement was made on the Ninth of *March* at *Paris*. viz.

[x] *Du Chesne p. 639. &c. ex Monsieur du Tillet, &c.*

I. That King *Philip* shall grant a full Repeal of Banishment to the Principal Authors of the Motions of *Guienne*, named in the Treaty of the Year One thousand three Hundred Twenty and six, according to the Promise made by his Predecessor *Charles* the Fair.

II. That the Treaties preceding, which import; That those, who were banish'd by the King of *France*, or his Court, should not be received, nor concealed in *Guienne*, should be kept inviolably: That even without the approbation of King *Edward*, the Seneschals of *France* should have Power, notwithstanding, to Banish his Officers and Ministers for Faults committed in their Precincts, as by right of Soveraignty, the King of *France* may and doth especially protest, that all the Liberties, of which the said Seneschals have been in Possession, before this Treaty, shall be conserved unto them accordingly.

III. That as to the Sums of sixty Thousand pounds on the one part, and of fifty Thousand Marks Sterling on the other, which King *Edward* oweth to King *Philip*, Reason shall be done by Payment or Compensation.

IV. That the Quality of the Homages of the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and of the Earldoms of *Ponthieu* and *Monstroile*, shall be declared to be Liege, and the Form thereof expressed, which shall be Renewed on every Change; and the Kings shall promise to keep the Treaties of Peace made by their [y] Predecessors.

[y] *Ibi malè, ut opinor, par leurs* Successeurs.

V. That the Castles of St. *Croix*, *Madailhem*, *Puipines*, and *du Bourdet*, shall be demolish'd, according to the Form prescrib'd by *Robert Bertrand*, Marshal of *France*, and that the other Points of the Treaties remaining to be perfected, shall be respectively accomplished.

VI. That the Siege held by the Earl of *Alenson*, before the Town of *Saintes*, shall be raised, as soon as King *Edward* shall have Ratified the present Accord; the mean while, that those, who are culpable in the Town, shall be rendred to King *Philip*, to do with them after his Pleasure, and as for the rest, they may go, come and tarry freely, and have their Victuals for a days Journey; but they may not supply *Saintes*, any otherwise, than it is at this time.

This Treaty was followed with another made at *Bois* de *Vincennes*, the Thirtieth day of *May* following; and thereby it was further agreed, that the Profits of the Land of *Guyenne*, which for default of Homage, were fiefed by the late King *Charles*, and converted to his Use, after the Law, shall be sequestred in the Hands of two Commissioners, deputed on the behalf of either of the Kings, *Edward* and *Philip*: till both their Differences and Proceedings, done since the Truce in the Year 1324, shall be amicably decided.

Finally, King *Edward*, having given that Declaration of his Homages, which we have set down [z] already, went again in Person into *France*, to appease the War at *Saintes*: At which time he requested of King *Philip*, that he would remit unto

[z] *P. 37.*

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him the Demoliſhing of the Caſtle of St. *Croix* and others, which he then promiſed very Frankly to do, and moreover granted unto him by a new Treaty made the 4th of *July* 1331, That the Town and Caſtle of *Saintes*, ſhould be reſtor'd unto him in the ſame condition wherein they were, and thirty Thouſand pounds *Tournois* for his Intereſts and Damages, notwithſtanding the former Accord of the Ninth of *March*, approved by his Majeſty the Thirtieth day of *April*. A Conceſſion (ſays *Du Cheſne*) which one would think ought to appeaſe all diſguſts whatſoever for a long time: But the Murmurs, which afterward began to run among the *Engliſh*, that their King was nearer to the Crown of *France*, than King *Philip*, were ſo deeply rooted in their hearts, that at laſt they occaſion'd moſt Tragical and deadly Effects; as we ſhall ſhew in due place.

V. On the [a] ſeventeenth of the *Calends* of *July*, being after our Account, the Fifteenth of *June*, and a *Friday* at [b] ten of the Clock in the Morning, the Queen *Philippa* of *England*, was at *Woodſtock* near *Oxford*, deliver'd of her Firſt-born Son, a very Fair, Luſty, and well-form'd Infant, who was Chriſtened by the Name of his Father *Edward*. *Walſingham*, and *Speed* from him, ſay indeed, that he was Born on the 15 of *June*, and on a *Fryday*, but they place it a Year more forward; both which notwithſtanding are eaſily refuted, if we conſider, that in the Year 1329, the 15 of *June* happen'd on a *Thurſday*, but this Year, [c] G being the Dominical Letter, it then indeed fell on a *Fryday*. To which agrees that Ancient Writer [d] *John Tinemouth*, in his Golden Hiſtory; ſaying, that this year on the *Fryday* before [e] St. *Botolph*, there was Born to King *Edward*, his Son *Edward* the *Fourth*, which Name *Giovanni Villani*, the *Florentine* Hiſtorian, calls him alſo by, preſuming that he would have lived to Succeed his Father. So Welcome to the King was the News of his Birth, that he gave to the Meſſenger thereof *Thomas Prior*, a moſt Royal Reward, and [f] 40 Marks *per annum* out of his Exchequer, till he ſhould ſettle Lands upon him to that Value: And afterwards he gave very conſiderable Penſions to thoſe who were concern'd in his Education; as, 10 pounds *per annum* to *Joan* of *Oxford*, this Young Princes Nurſe, and 10 Marks annually to *Mathilda Plumpton*, Berſatrix or Rocker to this Princely Infant. Great hopes were immediately conceived of the Royal Babe, by all that beheld the Beauty of his Shape, the Largeneſs of his Size, and the firm Contexture of his Body. The Good Lady his Mother, took ſuch great Care of this firſt Dear Pledge of her Marriage Bed, that ſhe reſolv'd to give him her own Breaſts, as indeed ſhe did to all her Children after: Yet for all that, her Beauty and Flower of Youth was nothing impair'd thereby. And truly, it was not only the Manner of this Queen (who exceeded moſt Ladies in the World, for Sweetneſs of Nature, and Vertuous Diſpoſition) thus to bring up her own Offspring her ſelf: But we find it Cuſtomary for the Queens of *England*, and other Princeſſes, to do ſo, as well before, as ſome time after: However the Delicate Madams of our Time, think it below their Care. And of the Empreſs [g] *Theodora*, there is Extant a curious Medal, wherein a Woman gives the Breaſt to an Infant, with this Inſcription, PIETAS ROMANA; whereby it is believed, to be ſignified, that *Theodora* gave ſuck to her Children her ſelf, according to the Duty of a Pious Mother; which *Plutarch* and *Favorinus* do wonderfully commend. This Laudable Cuſtom was not quite laid aſide in the Times of King *Edward*: For of the Ladies of thoſe Days in General, it is obſerved in the Margin of [h] *Mezeray*'s Hiſtory, at the Year 1368, that even thoſe of the Higheſt Rank were us'd to give the Breaſt to their Children. And of the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of *Philip* the Bold, Second Conſort to King *Edward* the Firſt, this King's Grandfather; this is Remarkably Obſerved, that when [i] ſhe gave her Firſt-born Son, *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, the Milk of her own Breaſts, the Babe, (as if he had an antipathy againſt every thing that was *French*) could by no means endure it, but ever caſt back again, what he received; yet when an *Engliſh* young Gentlewoman was brought to ſuckle him, he took it eagerly and thriv'd kindly upon it. And this, becauſe it had ſomething of ſtrange and unuſual in it, was often try'd with him, but ſtill it prov'd ſo, that the *Engliſh* Lady's Breaſts he freely took, but his *French* Mother's he could never away with: Whence it is reported, the King his Father ſhould ſay, ſmiling, "God give thee Grace my Boy, I ſee "thou art right *Engliſh* in thy Nature, and may'ſt one day ſhew thy ſelf a notable "Enemy to the *French* Nation. Thô even this ſo probable Omen fail'd in part, for Prince *Thomas* died juſt before the *French* Wars broke out, as hereafter ſhall be declared.

But to return whence we have digreſſed: The Birth of this young Prince *Edward* ſpread

[a] *Knighton p.* 2558. *n.*60.
[b] *Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p.*181. *Aſhmole p.*670.
[c] *Labbé Chron. Techn. ad an.* 1330.
[d] *Joh. Tinemouth ex Æd. Lambeth. p.*229.
[e] *St. Botolphi Ab. dies Junii* 17.
[f] *Aſhmole p.* 670. *& Sandford Geneal. Hiſt. p.*181. *ex Pat.* 5. *Ed.* 3. *p.*1 *m.* 33. 4. *Febr.*
[g] *Gisb. Cuperi Apotheoſis Homeri & Inſcripp. p.* 293.
[h] *Mezeray Chr. Abbreg. p.*78. *vid. Bp.* Taylor's *Life of the H.* Jeſus *p.*18. *ad p.* 23. *&c. & vid. lib. de Lib. Educ. apud* Gell. 12. 1.
[i] *Walſingh. Hiſt. p.*46. *ad An.* 1301. *& Dugd. Bar.* 2 *Vol. p.*63.

ſpread an univerſall Joy thrô the whole Land, and was thought to make a good recompence for the late loſs of one of the Kings Uncles. Nay, now as if all things conſpired to make this Bleſſing more acceptable to the Nation, a new Face of things began from this time to appear, and all publique Affairs happily ſucceeded henceforward both to the King and his People. AN. DOM. 1330. An. Regni IV.

Doctor *Walter* [k] *Burleigh* (or *Burley*) who had been bred up in *Merton* College in the famous Univerſity of *Oxford*, was at this time of ſuch Fame for learning and piety, that he was taken into Queen *Philippa's* Service (at her firſt coming into *England*) and became her Almoner, ſtill encreaſing in great Eſtimation at Court: Inſomuch, that when this Young Prince *Edward* was able to learn his Book, this Doctor was appointed to be his Tutor; whereupon *Simon Burley*, who was ſon to Sr. *John Burley*, a near Kinſman of the Doctors, was admitted among other young Gentlemen to be School-fellow with this Hopefull Prince: By which occaſion he wan ſo much upon the Princes Favour, that afterwards by his means he was advanced to great Honour, being in time made Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and alſo had the Government and Education of the Prince's Son *Richard* of *Bourdeaux* comitted to his Truſt.

[k] *Holinſh. Eng. Chron. p.* 1002.

As for the Young Prince *Edward*, the King his Father, by [l] his Charters dated the Eighteenth of *May* in the Seventh Year of his Reign, (when he was but in the Third Year of his Age) granted unto him by the Title of *Edward*, his moſt Dear and Eldeſt Son, the County of *Cheſter*, the Caſtles of *Cheſter*, *Beſton*, *Rothelan* and *Flint*, and all his Lands there, as alſo the Cantred and Land of *Engleſield* with their Appurtenances, to him and his Heirs, Kings of *England*, together with all Knights-Fees, Advowſons, Liberties, Royalties and all other things, belonging to the ſaid County, Caſtles, Lands and Cantreds, as well in *England*, as in *Wales*, and the Marches thereof, as fully, and under the ſame Conditions, as himſelf had received them before he was King; from which time he had the Title of Earl of *Cheſter* added to his Style. But intending to enable him yet better to maintain this his Dignity, the next day the King gave him all the Corn, as well in Granges, as growing on the Ground, as alſo all the Arms, Victuals, Cattle, Goods and Chattels in all the ſaid Caſtles, Lands and other Places, to him before granted, together with all Debts, Arrearages of Accounts, and other Services due to himſelf.

[l] *Aſhmole p.* 670. *& Sand-Geneal. Hiſt. p.* 181. *ex Cart.* 7. *Ed.*3. *m.*4. *& ex Pat.*7. *Ed.*3. *p.*1. *m.*13.

But in the [m] Eleventh Year of his Reign, and the Seventh of this Princes Age, upon the Death of *John* of *Eltham* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King created him Duke of *Cornwall*, as appears by his Charter of Creation, bearing Date the 17 of *March* the ſame Year, inveſting him by the Sword only; which was the firſt Precedent for the Creation of the Title of Duke with us in *England*. At the ſame time the King ſetled upon him divers Mannors aud Franchiſes, expreſly ſet down in the ſaid Charter, for the better ſupport of his Ducal State and Honour; all which (thô ſome lay in other Counties) were thereby made part of the Dutchy of *Cornwall*. And further by Letters Patents dated the ſame day, he granted unto him the Stanneries in *Cornwall*, together with the Coinage of Tynn, and all the Iſſues and Profits thence ariſing, as alſo the Profits and Perquiſits of the Courts of the Stanneries, except only a 1000 Marks granted to *William Montagu*, then Earl of *Salisbury* and his Heirs, out of the Iſſues thereof, till Lands were provided for the ſaid Earl, of that yearly Value: And afterwards granted, that all the Caſtles, Honours, Mannors, Lands and Tenements, belonging to the Dukedom or Earldom of *Cornwall*, which were held in Dower, or for term of Life or Years, whoſe Reverſions belonged to the King, ſhould remain to this Prince, as Duke, ſtill as they fell, and to the Eldeſt Sons of him and his Heirs, as Dukes of the foreſaid Dukedom.

[m] *Cart.*11. *Ed.*3. *n.*55.

After this in the Parliament held in the *Seventeenth* of this King his Father, he [n] Created him Prince of *Wales*, and inveſted him with a Coronet, a Gold Ring and a Silver Rod: And the better to ſupport his State, as Prince of *Wales*, he gave him ſeveral Lands, which are all particularly enumerated in a Writt directed to *William Emeldon*, to deliver them unto this Prince, or his Attourney. He alſo gave him all Debts and Arrears of Foreign Rents due to himſelf, for what cauſe ſoever, in *North-Wales* and *South-Wales*, to the time of his being created Prince of *Wales*, as alſo all Victuals, Arms, Horſes and other Cattel, Goods and Chattels, in all the Caſtles and Lands which he held by the Kings Grant. After all which this Noble Prince was made Knight of the Garter, at the Firſt Inſtitution of that Famous Order, and laſtly Prince of *Aquitain* in *France*, and for his Courage and Conduct, his Policy and Courteſie, became in time the moſt Renowned Captain in the World; being for his

[n] 12 *Maii Car.* 17. *Ed.*3. *m.*24. *n.* 27.

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VI. In theſe Days the Young King of *England* finding himſelf a Father, began indeed to play the Man, and thô he was then but 18 Years of Age, takes a reſolution to govern his Realm no more by Others, but Himſelf in Perſon, hearing and learning the Truth in weighty Affairs, and diſtributing Juſtice and Mercy to ſuch who ſhould lay the beſt claim to either. But while *Mortimer* held his preſent Station, 'twas not poſſible the King ſhould be Maſter of his own Purpoſes: Now therefore to him we haſten, who ſeems already to have been too long free from that Vengeance which always purſues ambitious and bloody Traitors.

Of his Treachery and Cruelty we had no ſmall Inſtances before: But by a certain fatal Ordinance, that wicked Men muſt of themſelves advance and further their own Ruine, his inſupportable Arrogance, and too opiniative Security thence proceeding, was the chief Occaſions of his ſuddain Downfall.

In the *Quindenes* of St. *Michael*, the King holding a Parliament at *Nottingham*, *Mortimer* appear'd in ſuch ſplendour and ſo well attended, that he became both the Envy and Terror of all the Kings Friends; no man durſt name him by any other Title, than his new-acquired, but much-envy'd one, the Earl of *March*: And his Intereſt and poſſeſſions bound thoſe to him, whom his Power could not move. For in theſe days he bore ſuch ſway, that he obtain'd whatever he had a mind to, as appears by theſe following Grants from the Young King, who by his [o] Charter dated this Year (beſides all he had got before) granted unto him the Caſtle and Mannor of *Hanley* with the Chaces of *Malverne* and *Cors* in the Counties of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*, alſo the Town of *Wiche* in *Worceſterſhire*, with the Caſtle of *Clifford* and Mannor of *Glaſebury*, part of the Poſſeſſions of *Hugh Spencer* the younger, not yet free from the Attaindure which paſs'd upon him at the death of his Father and Grandfather. For [p] himſelf alſo and *Joan* his Wife (Daughter of [q] Sr. *Peter Fenevill*) in Fee, divers ample Liberties and Juriſdictions, to be exerciſed at his Caſtle of *Trim* in *Ireland*, beſides the Inheritance of all the Territory of *Danahmain* in *Ireland*, with very large Priveleges thereto annexed.

Beſides all which he procured a [r] Grant to *Geoffry* his Son of the Caſtle of *Donnington* in *Leiceſterſhire*, as alſo the Mannors of *Lechelade* and *Sodington* in *Gloceſterſhire*, the Mannor of *Wokking* in *Surry*, *Byeby* and *Caſtre* in *Lincolnſhire*, *Aſhburn* in the *Peke* in *Darbyſhire*, *Ryehale* in *Rutland*, and *Kinely* in *Wiltſhire*, late the poſſeſſions of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, attainted and executed, as we have ſhewn: Alſo the *Wapentake* of *Ryſſey* in *Darbyſhire*, the *Wapentakes* of *Plumtre* and *Alreton* in *Norfolk*, the Mannor of *Reſeby* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and the Mannor of *Alreton* with certain Lands in *Drayton* in *Norfolk*, all parcel likewiſe of the Lands of the ſaid *Edmund* late Earl of *Kent*, from whoſe Fall he gather'd this fruit to himſelf and Family. Being therefore ſo great in Authority and poſſeſſions, he now drew after him more Attendants than the King himſelf; nay [s] he was ſo ſottiſhly blinded with falſe Ambition, that he would expect his Lord and Maſter to riſe firſt to him, and if offer'd permit it; nor would he in the leaſt ſcruple to walk faſt by the King as his Fellow; nay ſometimes walk on in ſtate before him as his Lord, looking back, and more than familiarly laughing upon his Soveraign. He had, beſide the fore-mentioned *Round-Table* at *Bedford*, kept another [t] in *Wales* in imitation of the Famous King *Arthur*: For which and other too daring Tokens of his proud Spirit, he was by his own Son Sr. *Geoffry*, called in deriſion, *The King of Folly*: Which certainly was true, ſince nothing appears more ſupreamly fooliſh and ridiculous than Pride and Arrogance. Among others of his large Retinue, he is ſaid to have no leſs than [u] nineſcore Knights as his Attendants, beſides Eſquires, Serjeants at Arms and Footmen; a Company well ſuiting with his ambitious Spirit, and ſeemingly ſufficient for his Security, if long to remain ſecure was poſſible for thoſe who are blinded with Ambition.

And beſides this his unſufferable Inſolence, whereby he undervalued all the World, but himſelf, and eſteemed no Lord of the Realm his Peer, he was alſo extreamly given to heaping up Moneys; and therefore he ſtill follow'd the Court of *Iſabell*, the Queen Mother, and had his Proviſion bought by the Officers of the Queens Houſhold, in the ſame manner, as the King's Officers purvey'd for him; and ſo he took up all things, both as to his Victuals and Carriages, after the King's Rates; to the great enriching of himſelf, but the no leſs Grievance and oppreſſion of the People. Wherefore all the great Lords of the Land, both hated and feared him, and the King, and his Council took notice of all his Inſolencies, and ordained among them-

[o] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 146. *Cart.* 4. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 64.

[p] *Cart.* 4. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 71.

[q] *Mill's Catal. Honor. p.* 575.

[r] *Cart.* 4. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 67.

[s] *Stow p.* 229. *n.* 20.

[t] *Leland. Collect.* 1 *Vol. p.* 685. & *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 145. & M. S. *vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.CC. &c.*

[u] *Draytons Bar. Wars l.* 6. *Stan.* 16. & M. S. *id. ibid.* 222.

themſelves to pull him down at a Convenient Opportunity, by the pure force of Law and Reaſon: For it was now apparently manifeſt, that King *Edward*, the King's Father, was through him traitrouſly murd'red in the Caſtle of *Berkley*. But this their Deſign was diſcover'd to *Mortimer* by the Treachery of ſome Creatures of his in the Privy Council; whereat he ſtormed and raged exceedingly, againſt thoſe of the Council, that had accuſed him to the King of the Death of his Father; and ſwore, that he would be Revenged on them, whatſoever befell him. And indeed he wanted but little of bringing his purpoſe about: For at this Parliament at *Nottingham*, by his adviſe, the Queen Mother took into her Hands the Keys of the Caſtle, ſo that none might go in, or out, after ſuch an Hour, but at the Pleaſure of him, and of the Queen Mother, neither any of the King's Council, nor the King himſelf.

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When the Vice-Conſtable Sr. *Edward* [y] *Bohun* came at this Parliament to appoint Lodgings in the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, for the King's own Cozen, *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, a Prince of the Royal Blood; he took him up at a high Rate, roughly demanding, "how he durſt preſume without his Direction to preſcribe Lodgings for "any of the Nobles whatſoever, eſpecially in a place ſo near the Queen Mothers "Perſon? Whereat the Vice-Conſtable, either for the Earl of *Lancaſter's* Security, or to raiſe Envy to *Mortimer* thereby, appointed his Lodgings a Mile out of the Town; where alſo *John Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, High-Conſtable of *England*, and the Vice-Conſtables Elder Brother, with many other Great Men were lodged. This very thing undid *Mortimer*, by giving his Enemies Opportunity to confer Notes together, and to adviſe one with another, how to undermine him at this Diſtance; which nearer at hand they durſt never have undertaken to do, for the Multitude of his Spies and Dependants planted about them.

[y] *Stow ibid.*

But now immediately it was diſcours'd among the Nobles, and privately whiſper'd among the Common People, "That *Mortimer* the Queen Mothers *Paramour*, The Old King's Murderer, and the Young King's Governour, ſought by the Ruine of the Royal Family, and by trampling the Nobility under Foot, to aſpire to the Regal Power. It was alſo (the more to enflame Mens minds) privily rumour'd, that the Queen Mother was impregnate by *Mortimer*, thô never any effect appear'd after to that purpoſe. However, this with other Matters was handſomely convey'd to the Young King's Ear, by ſome of his Faithfull Servants, who upon his demurr at the Danger, encouraged him boldly, not any longer to endure ſuch diſhonour from a Man that had Murdered his Father, Miſlead his Mother, and cut off his Uncle; vowing in Defence and Vindication of his Royal Dignity, to ſtand by him to the laſt drop of their Blood. The King hereat taking high Indignation, and as High Courage at their promiſed aſſiſtance, reſolves forthwith to level this Bold Encroacher on Soveraignty, and bring him to a ſevere Account for all his former Ill Services.

William [z] Lord *Montacute*, or *Montagu* (for 'tis the ſame) was the Chief in this Concern, and the Man that moſt Boldly lay'd open the whole matter before the King; who immediately thereupon [a] gave him Command, to take to his Aſſiſtance ſome other Truſty and Reſolute Perſons, which he did accordingly. And the Names of his Aſſociates; as many as I have met with, are theſe, Sr. *Humphry Bohun*, next Brother to Earl *John*, the Conſtable, Sr. *Edward Bohun* the Vice-Conſtable, and Sr. *William Bohun*, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, a Martial Man of that Age (but their Eldeſt Brother the Conſtable himſelf could not be there, by reaſon of an Infirmity of Body) there was alſo Sr. [b] *John* Lord *Molins*, *Robert* Lord *Hufford*, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, *William* Lord *Clinton*, and Sr. *John Nevil* of *Horneby*.

[z] *Dugd. Bar. 1 Vol. p. 641.*

[a] *Dugd. Bar. 1 Vol. p. 146.*

[b] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 145. vid. Leland. Collect. 1 Vol. p. 686.*

Now while theſe men were deviſing how to Seiſe on *Mortimer*; the ſame *Mortimer* in Order to their Deſtruction, held a cloſe Council in the Caſtle of *Nottingham* with the Queen-Mother, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Sr. *Simon Bereford*, Sr. *Hugh Turplington*, and Sr. *John Monmouth*, and other his Creatures, how to bring to utter Ruine all thoſe that had accuſed him of Treaſon and Felony. But this cloſe Carriage of *Mortimer's* was ſmoak'd by the Lord *Montague*, and thoſe of the Council concern'd with him; eſpecially, becauſe none of them were permitted to take up their Lodgings in the Caſtle; wherefore they knew, that *Mortimer* and his Complices were brewing miſchief for them. Then Sr. *William Montague* went and told the King, that ſince neither he, nor any of his Partakers were admitted to Lodge in the Caſtle, they ſhould never be able to Seiſe *Mortimer* without the Conſent and Aſſiſtance of the Conſtable, Sr. *William Eland*. "Now ſurely ſaid the King I love you well; and "therefore adviſe you to go to the Conſtable in my Name, and command him to "be Aiding and Aſſiſtant to you in taking the *Mortimer*, all other things lay'd aſide,

[c] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. Cantab. c. 222.*

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side, on peril of Life and Limb. "Sr, said *Montague*, then God grant Success: And thereupon he went and found the said Constable, to whom he told the King's will before the rest of his Partakers; but only yet in general Terms, that it was the King's Pleasure, he should be assistant to them in a certain matter relating to the King's Honour and Safety: And the Constable answer'd that the King's Will should be obey'd, in what he could, and that he would not stand out for fear of Death it self; and then he swore to be constant and secret, and made his Oath to the Lord *Montagu*, and *Montagu* to him, in the hearing of all the Assistants. "Now surely, "Dear Friend, said the Lord *Montagu* to the Constable, it behoved us to gain your "acquaintance, in order to seise on *Mortimer*, since you are Keeper of the Castle, "and have the Keys at your dispose. "Sirs, reply'd the Constable, if it be so, "you shall understand, that the Gates of the Castle are locked with the Locks that "Queen *Isabell* sent hither, and at Night she hath all the Keys thereof, and lay-"eth them under the *Pillow* of her Bed, until the Morning: And so I may not "help you into the Castle at the gates by any means. But I know an Hole, that "stretcheth out of the Ward under Earth into the Castle, beginning on the *West*-side; "which Hole, neither *Isabell* the Queen, nor none of her Retinue, nor *Mortimer* himself, "nor none of his Company know any thing of; and through this Passage I shall lead "you, till you come into the Castle, without the Espial of any that are your Ene-"mies. That same Night Sr. *William Montagu*, and all the Lords his Partakers, and the Constable also, took Horse pretending to go out of Town; which when *Mortimer* heard of, he thought they were fled away for fear of him, and devised further how to entrap them. But about Midnight, being * a *Fryday*, and the day after the Feast of St. *Luke*, or the 19 of *October*, returning back again, they all came to the Pas-sage aforesaid, and there following the direction of Sr. *William Eland*, enter a certain dismal Cave, not of a long while taken Notice of, which opening its Mouth with-out, went all under the Castle, dug unequally thrô Stony and other sort of Ground, till it came to the Rock on which the Castle stood; thrô which it also passed with Stairs, till it open'd it self above within the *Keep*, or Chief Tower.

* Lit. Dom. G.

[d] This wonderfull Passage had been after this manner hewed and dug forth, during the *Danish* Invasions, by some of the *Saxon* Kings, for their better Security in case of a siege: But since the Action of this Night, it hath purchas'd the [e] Name of *Mortimer's* Hole. Whom without any great Noise, and with little Resistance they at last took, not in the Queen Mothers Chamber (as many too ignorantly, or too maliciously suppose) but in another, not indeed far from it, in the Company of [f] *Henry Burwash*, Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*. Before he could be seised, the Lord *Montagu* finding some Resistance from his Attendants, slew Sr. *Hugh* [g] *Turplington* Steward of the King's Houshold, and Sr. *John Monmouth*; and at last, Chiefly by the great Valour of Sr. *William Eland*, took the Lord *Mortimer's* Person, to be reserved to some more Publique Fortune. On the King's Party, Sr. *John Nevil* of *Horneby* was wounded, but not as some say, slain; as will appear hereafter; where we shall speak of the Reward the King allotted him for this piece of Service; and also in the 15th Year of this King, we shall find him Governour of *Newcastle* upon *Tine*. Thô by others, Sr. *Hugh Turplington* is made one of the King's Party; and again both he and Sr. *John Nevil* of *Horneby*, are by [h] Mr. *Drayton* mistaken for *Mortimer's* Friends, and both said, then and there to be slain: But this I mention not as a Fault in so Great a Man; since *Poets* are not obliged to be so Exact for Truth, as *Historians* are.

[d] *Drayton's Barons Wars l. 6. Stanz. 46.*
[e] *Speed Map. Nottingh. §. 6.*
[f] *H. Knighton p. 2556.*
[g] *Knighton ibid. & Adam Murimouth. & M.S. ibid. &c.*
[h] *Drayton's Bar. Wars l. 6. Stanz. 63.*

The Queen Mother being then in Bed, heard the Noise of this Rencountre, and supposing what the matter really was, and that the King himself must needs be there, she called out to him in these Words, [i] *Bel Fitz, Bel Fitz, ayes Pitie du Gentil Mortimer*, "Dear Son, have pity on the Gallant *Mortimer*: Or as the foresaid "[k] M. S. (which takes no notice of the King's being there) reports her words more "probably, "Now fair Sirs, I pray you, that you do no harm unto his Body; for "he is a Worthy Knight, Our well-beloved Friend, and Our dear Cozen. But for all this the Earl of *March* was hurryed away thence, and brought before the King; (where he stood) and presented unto him; who strait commanded him to be put into safe Custody in the Castle; whereof all the Keys are forthwith seised into the King's Hands; that none might issue out to discover what had been done, till the rest of *Mortimer's* Abettors were secured also.

[i] *Stow p. 229, &c.*
[k] *M.S. ibid. c. 222.*

So the next Morning, by the King's special Command, [l] two of his Sons were seised in the Town, Sr. *Edmund* and Sr. *Geoffry*, together with Sr. *Oliver Byngham*, and

[l] *Knighton p. 2556.*

and Sr. *Simon Bedford*, (or *Bereford*) and Sr. *John Daverill*, Conſtable of *Corfe* Caſtle, who had been an Evidence againſt *Edmund*, late Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle. That day *Mortimer*, with the reſt that were taken upon his Account, was hurryed away by Officers, and a ſtrong Guard towards *London*, the People all along inſulting on his Miſery, among whom even *Henry* the Old Earl of *Lancaſter* (thô almoſt blind with Age) could not refrain expreſſing his Great Satisfaction in the Downfall of this his bitter Enemy, by ſhouting and flinging up his Cap for joy. Being at *London*, they are all committed to the Tower, the King the mean time having adjourn'd the Parliament from *Nottingham* to *London*, the ſummons bearing Date the 23d of *October* from *Leiceſter* (where the King then was) whereby every man was commanded to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 26 of *November* following, being a *Monday*, and the Day after St. *Catherine*.

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The Parliament being met in Time and Place accordingly, Articles are drawn up againſt the foreſaid Lord *Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, which, thô an Extract I have by me, complains could not be perfectly read from the Records (they being Moldred in that part) ſtand to this purpoſe in their old Original *French* in *Knighton*, who lived in thoſe Days, and had Copies of the Records; ſo that the Matter appears thereby very Authentick.

1. "*Imprimis*, That whereas it was ordain'd (by the Parliament then held at *London*) juſt after the Coronation of our Lord the King, that [m] five Biſhops, two Earls, "and five Barons, ſhould be of Council to the King; that is to ſay, Four at one "time, *viz.* One Biſhop, one Earl, and two Barons at the leaſt, without whoſe Aſ"ſent no matter of Moment ſhould be done, and that each of theſe ſhould be re"ſponſible for what they ſhould do in their turns; the ſaid *Roger*, bearing no Regard "to this aſſent of Parliament, appropriated to himſelf the ſole Diſpoſal, Govern"ment, and Adminiſtration of the Realm to the Derogation of the Eſtate Royal, "and placed and diſplaced Miniſters in the King's Houſhold, and elſewhere through"out the Realm at the Pleaſure of himſelf, and his Friends; And ſet Sr. *John Wy*"*ard*, and others over the King, as Spies of his Words and Actions; ſo that the King "was in ſuch manner encompaſſed by his Enemies, that he was not able to do any thing "after his own Mind, but was rather like a Priſoner, than a King.

[m] *H. Knighton p. 2556. ibi quatre Eveſkes, quatre Contes & vi Barons: ſed hoc ex priùs facto corrigo. vid. c. 1. §. 4.*

2. "*Item*, That whereas the Father of our Lord the King was placed in the Caſtle "of *Kenelworth* by Ordinance of the Peers of the Realm, there to abide at his eaſe, "to be ſerved according to the Dignity of ſo Great a Prince: The ſaid *Roger* pre"ſum'd to let him have nothing according to his Will; but order'd him to be remand"ed to *Barkley* Caſtle, where finally, by him and his, he was falſly, Traitrouſly, and Fe"lonioufly Murd'red and Slain.

3. "*Item*, That whereas the ſaid *Roger* had himſelf cauſed, that it was forbid by "the King's Brief under the Great Seal, that any ſhould come armed to the Parlia"ment at *Salisbury*, on Penalty of forfeiting all they had to the King; Notwith"ſtanding the ſaid *Roger*, and others of his Company came thither with force of Arms "againſt the ſaid Order: Whereby many, as the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and others, "knowing the manner of his coming, durſt not come at all: And whereas the Pre"lates were Aſſembled at the ſame Parliament, in a certain Houſe there, to conſult "the Affairs of the King and his Realm, the ſaid *Roger* compell'd them to ſit in "another Houſe, where his Armed Men were to overawe them, and threatned them "on peril of Life and Limb, not to ſay or do any thing contrary to his Will and "Ordinance: So that in the ſaid Parliament he brought to paſs, that the King made "him Earl of *March*, and gave him many Lands and Tenements to the Diſheriſon of "the Crown. Alſo then the ſaid *Roger* perſwaded the King to march in Hoſtile "manner, againſt the ſaid Earl of *Lancaſter*, and others, Peers of the Realm, as far "as [n] *Wincheſter*, whither they were advanced towards the King, in order to come "to the ſaid Parliament at *Salisbury*. So that the ſaid Earl, and the other Peers of "the Realm, to eſchew the Danger that might happen (from a Civil War) and "for Reverence of the Kng, brake up and went homeward, grieving, that they "could neither be admitted to ſpeak with, nor to adviſe their Liege Lord, as they "ought to do.

[n] *Errorem hic ſuſpicor vid. c. 2. §. 4. p. 40.*

4. "*Item*, That the ſaid *Roger* cauſed the King to ride with an Army againſt the "Earl of *Lancaſter*, and other Peers of the Realm, who had been ordain'd to be of "the King's Council. And ſo violently purſu'd them, that the Earl of *Lancaſter* "and other Grandees of the Realm, who never deſign'd any thing, but his Majeſties "Welfare; were forced to ſubmit themſelves to the King's Grace, ſaving to them Life

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"and Limb, and that they ſhould not be diſinherited, nor ſet at too Great Ranſome:
"Notwithſtanding the ſaid *Roger* put them to great Ranſome, and others he chaſed
"out of the Realm, that he might ſeiſe on their Lands againſt the form of *Magna Charta*,
"and the Law of the Land.

5. "*Item*, That whereas the ſaid *Roger* knew very well, that the Father of our "Lord the King was Dead and buried; he by the help of others his Accomplices had "in deceitfull manner ſo wrought, that *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* heard he was alive: "whereupon the ſaid Earl was very deſirous to find out the Truth; and did according- "ly, by all the beſt and moſt honeſt ways he could, proceed to ſearch out the "Reality; till the ſaid *Roger* by the Royal Power, uſurped by him, cauſed the ſaid Earl "of *Kent* at a Parliament at *Wincheſter*, to be apprehended, and then and there procured "him to be put to Death.

6. "*Item*, That the ſaid *Roger* had wrought upon the King, to grant unto him, his "Children and Allyes, Caſtles, Towns, Mannors and Franchiſes in *England*, *Ireland* and "*Wales*, to the Detriment of the Crown.

7. "*Item*, That he had in deceitfull manner cauſed the Charges of the War in "*Gaſcoigne*, for one whole Year to be paid to him beforehand by the Knights, who "were ſeverally to find ſuch a number of Men of Arms: And that this Money was "not employed in the War, but converted falſly to his uſe and pleaſure.

8. "*Item*, That by the Royal Power, which he had uſurped, he had by Letters "under the Great Seal ſummon'd many Barons and Knights to come to the King to "what part he pleaſed, and at their coming had charged them to addreſs themſelves "to the War in *Gaſcoign*, or in lieu thereof to pay ſuch and ſuch Fines, at his plea- "ſure: All which as it was grievous to the Subject, only turn'd to the profit of the "ſaid *Roger*, [who alſo appropriated the Kings Wards to himſelf.]

9. "*Item*, That he had falſly and ſeditiouſly ſowed Diſcord between the Father of "our Lord the King and the Queen his Conſort; making her believe, that if ſhe went "to him, he would kill her with a Ponyard or other weapon, or murder her ſome other "way: And by reaſon of that and other his Conveyances, he did ſo much that the "Queen never went to her Lord (to afford him her Bed) to the great diſhonour of "the King and the whole Realm, and perhaps for time to come for its Dammage, which "God forbid.

10. "*Item*, That the ſaid *Roger* had taken and cauſed to be taken for himſelf and "others of his Council, the Kings Treaſure, without reaſon, to be diſpoſed of at his "pleaſure; to the utter Impoveriſhment of the King, ſo that he was left unable to "pay for his Proviſion, or maintain his Royal Eſtate.

11. "*Item*, That the ſaid *Roger* had taken to himſelf and his Allies the 30000 "Marks, which were paid by the *Scots* according to the form of the Peace, ſo that "nought thereof came to the Kings uſe or profit.

12. "Theſe Articles with three more, relating to the Publiſhing the Kings Secrets, "his Murdering and Fining ſeveral Peers of the Land, and his Uſurping the Kings Au- "thority, with ſome things in reſpect of the Kings Honour not to be drawn up in "Writing, which I ſuppoſe related to his Familiarity with the Queen Mother, were "the ſumm of what was ſaid againſt him, and conſiſted of Treaſons, Felonies and high "Miſdemeanours.

Whereupon the King [o] chargeth the Earls, Barons and others, Peers of the Realm, to pronounce juſt Judgment upon him the ſaid *Roger Mortimer*: Who all thereupon conſulting together agreed; that all and ſingular the Articles againſt the ſaid *Roger* above atteſted were true, and notorious, and known to all the People of the Land, and eſpecially that Article touching the Death of the King at *Berkley*-Caſtle: Wherefore it was by them adjudged; that the ſaid *Roger* as a Traytor, and an Enemy of the King and Kingdom, ſhould be Drawn and Hanged. And this Sentence he received, without being [p] called to any kind of Anſwer, as he himſelf had before order'd in the caſe of the *Spencers*, and of the Lord *Edmund*, late Earl of *Kent*, the King's Uncle.

[o] *M.S. Rec. Parl. p.* 10. *& Knighton p.* 2558. *n.* 40. *& Sr.* Rob. Cottons *Abridgm. of the Records, ſet out by Mr.* Pryn *p.* 6. *&c.*

[p] *Dugd. Bar.* 1 *Vol. p.* 147.

A juſt Judgment upon him, though in it ſelf illegal: For it is not the uſage of the Law of *England* to condemn without Hearing or due ſummons to Judgment: And doubtleſs the ſins of *Sodom* were more notorious to God in Heaven, than thoſe of any perſon can be to mortall Men in Parliament: But yet we read in the Sacred Books, how that moſt juſt Judge both would and did go down to hear and proceed in a Judicial way. Wherefore alſo [q] twenty four Years after, his Attaindure was reverſed, and *Roger* his Grandſon, reſtored to all his Titles and Honours, the Judgment being reckon'd

[q] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 147.

kon'd void and erroneous, becauſe not done according to the Laws of *England*. However now according to the Sentence, the Earl Marſhal (being ſo commanded) with the aſſiſtance of the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, ſaw him executed upon the common Gallows, now called *Tyburn*, on the [r] 29 of *November*, being the Vigil of St. *Andrew* and a *Thurſday*, or rather, [ſ] as it was found by inquiſition twenty four Years after, on the *Monday* next after the Feaſt of St. *Catherine* the Virgin, which was the 26 of *November*, and the very firſt day of this Parliaments Sitting; and was [t] buried the third Day after, which indeed was the 29 of *November*, having hung two days and two nights by the King's ſpecial Commandment. After which by the Kings Favour, his Body was granted to the Friers-Minors, or Gray-Friers in *London*, who buried him in their Church, now called *Chriſt-Church*; whence [u] many Years after he was tranſlated to *Wigmore*. So that *Du* [x] *Cheſne* appears to be miſtaken, who affirms, that he was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, his Quarters ſet up upon the Gates of Four chief Cities of *England*, and his Head upon *London*-Bridge.

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[r] *Knighton p. 2559. l. 3.*
[ſ] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 147.*
[t] *Monaſt. Angl. 2 Vol. p. 224.*
[u] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 146.*
[x] *Du Cheſne Hiſtoire d' Angleterre p. 637.*

He died ſeized [y] of the Mannors of *Stratfield-Mortimer* and *Wogfield*, as parcel of the Mannor of *Wigmore*, alſo of the Mannor of *Newbury* and the Moiety of that Town, all in *Berkſhire*: Likewiſe of the Mannors of *Clifton* upon *Temede*, and *Odingley* in *Worceſterſhire*; of the Mannors of *Noke*, *Mawrdyn* and *Wynfreton*, with the Advowſon of the Church of *Wynfreton* in *Herefordſhire*; of the Caſtle and Mannor of *Nerberth*, and the Third part of the Town of St. *Clier* with the Advowſon of the Church; the Third part of the Commots of *Amgeyd* and *Pentyryock*, and the Third part of the Town of *Haverford* in *Herefordſhire*; of the Caſtles and Dominions of *Blenleveny* and *Bulkedinas* in the Marches of *Wales*, beſides [z] the Caſtle, Town and Mannor of *Denbeigh* and the Cantreds of *Roes*, *Rewinoc* and *Keirmer*, with the Commot of *Dinmal*, and the Appurtenances in *Northwales*, as alſo the Caſtle and Mannor of *Mongomery*, with the Mannor and Hundred of *Chirbury* in *Shropſhire*. All which his great Poſſeſſions were ſeized into the Kings Hands, as [a] appears by his Precepts bearing date the 23[d] of *October*, which were directed to ſeveral Perſons, for the Seizing of his Caſtles, Mannors and Lands in *Wales* (he being then only under Arreſt for ſeveral High Miſdemeanors tending to the Dammage of the King and Kingdom (as the words therein do import) and within 3 Days following, Commiſſion was granted to *John Kingſton* and Others to take an Inventory of all his Treaſure and Jewels in *Wales* and the Marches; but not to carry away any thing out of the Wardrobe of *Joan* his Wife, then at *Ludlow*, or any thing that belonged to any of her Children, or Servants. By this Lady *Joan*, who was [b] Daughter and ſole Heir of *Peter Jenevill* Knight, this great, but unhappy Man, had Iſſue [c] four Sons and ſeven Daughters; his Firſt Son was Sr. *Edmund*, who was never Earl of *March*, his Fathers Attaindure not being reverſed in his time, the Second was Sr. *Roger*, the Third Sr. *Geoffry* Earl of *Jubien*, and Lord of *Cowith*, which three were all Knighted at the Coronation of this King *Edward*; and the Fourth was *John Mortimer*, unhappily ſlain in a Tournament at *Shrewsbury*: His Daughters were *Catherine*, wife to *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *Joan*, married to *James* Lord *Audely*, the Son of *Nicholas* Lord *Audely*, Baron of *Heleigh*; *Agnes* to *Laurence Haſtings*, afterwards Earl of *Pembroke*; *Margaret* to *Thomas*, Son and Heir of *Maurice* Lord *Barkley*; or as [d] Others ſay, to *Robert* Lord *Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, thô the Truth is, that Earl being her firſt Husband, and dying the next Year, ſhe was afterwards taken in Marriage by the foreſaid Lord *Berkley*: *Maud* the Fifth Daughter of this *Mortimer* was married to *John* Son and Heir of Sr. *John Charleton* Lord of *Powis*; the Sixth Daughter *Blanch*, to *Peter* Lord *Grandeſſon*; and laſtly, the Lady *Beatrix* was firſt wife to *Edward* Son and Heir of *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, Earl of *Norfolk* and the Kings Uncle, after whoſe immature Deceaſe, ſhe was married to Sr. *Thomas* Lord *Braoſe*. But all theſe Poſſeſſions and Strength of Allyance were too weak to ſecure him from the Wrath of an Injur'd King, and the Vengeance that his Immoderate Ambition drew upon him.

[y] *Dugd. 1 Vol. 147.*
[z] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 641.*
[a] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 146.*
[b] *Mills Catal. Honor. p. 575.*
[c] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 147.*
[d] *Catal. Nobility by R. B. & Dugd. Bar. 1 Vol. p. 192. b.*

After this Sentence thus pronounced on *Mortimer*, the Earls and Barons with one Voice declared in Parliament, that Sr. *Simon Bereford*, [e] Brother to Juſtice *Bereford* (whom others by miſtake call *Bedford*) was ever conſulting, aſſenting and aſſiſting to the ſaid *Roger* in all his Seditions, Treaſons, Felonies and Miſdemeanours, and was equally with him guilty of the Murther of the late King, and his principal Abettor in all other Wickedneſs: Wherefore the like Judgment being pronounced on him, the Lord Marſhall in like manner ſaw him Executed on the *Monday* next after St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, being the [f] 24 of *December* and *Chriſtmaſs* Eve, thô the 16 day of

[e] *M.S. R.P. p. 10. §. 2. S. Rob. Cotton p. 6. &c. Stow p. 230. Knighton p. 2558. §. 50.*
[f] *M.S. R.P. ibi.*

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January is set down in [g] *Knighton*; whose Works swarm with such Mistakes of Names, and Times and Numbers, by reason of the old and imperfect Copies, whence the Edition was made.

The same Judgment was given against Sr. *John Maltravers* senior, Sr. *Thomas* [h] *Gournay* and Sr. *William Ogle* (who were all fled) for Murdering the late King, and large Promises were made to those should apprehend them; but as for Sr. *John Maltravers* it was proclaim'd, that whoever brought him in alive, should have a thousand Marks, or for bringing his Head five hundred.

The like Judgment passed upon [i] Sr. *John Daverill*, Captain of *Corfe* Castle, who had been instrumental in contriving the Death of the King's Uncle, late Earl of *Kent*, and accordingly he was [k] executed, as he well deserved. 'Tis said, [l] this Sr. *John Daverill* was desirous to make open Confession of the manner of the late Kings Death, but by the cunning of some, who feared to be touched therein, he was not permitted. Besides all these, one Sr. [m] *Bogo* of *Bayonne* (mention'd in the preceding Confession of *Edmund* late Earl of Kent, and so by all likelihood concerned in the Plot against the said Earls Life) was by Proclamation required to be apprehended, and a considerable Reward set for him that should bring him in alive or dead. But that ever he was taken, I do not find; thô Sr. *Thomas Gournay* was this very Year taken at *Marseilles* in *France*, and as they were bringing him over for *England*, was by secret Order from some at Court, who feared to be touched in his Confession, beheaded on the Sea.

In this Parliament it was [n] Enacted; That thô the Lords and Peers of the Realm, had for this time in the Kings Presence, proceeded as Judges, to give Judgment upon those that were no Peers; yet hereafter this should be no Precedent to draw them to give Judgment on any Other but their Peers, in case of Treason or Felony.

It was [o] also Enacted, That *William Merton* Archbishop of *York*, *Stephen Gravesend* Bishop of *London*, *William* Abbot of *Longdon*, *William* Lord *Zouch* of *Mortimer*, and many Others, who had been agreed with *Edmund* late Earl of *Kent* to work the Delivery of King *Edward* the Second, and had been thereof impeached, should now be wholly Acquitted, and fully Restored to all their Goods and Possessions.

Also, [p] That whosoever had took Arms with *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* at *Bedford*, or had been concerned in the Matter of *Edmund* late Earl of *Kent*, should be released of all Fines for that reason laid upon them, and that their Lands which were therefore seized into the Kings Hands, should be restored with the main Profits; saving, that if they have any Lands of the Kings Gift, the same be of the like Condition as Others, who have Lands of his Gift. And therefore the King pardoneth *Henry* [q] Earl of *Lancaster*, and all those who took part with him, all Fines and Ransoms whatsoever.

Accordingly we find that soon [r] after, upon the fame of *Mortimers* Fall and the knowledge of this Pardon, Sr. *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Hugh* Lord *Audely*, *Henry* Lord *Beaumont*, Sr. *Thomas Rosselin*, Sr. *William Trussel*, Sr. *Thomas Withers* and the Rest, whom *Mortimers* power had forced beyond the Seas, returned from *France* to *London*; where they were received, as became their Loyalty, being by the King freely restored to all their Lands, Honours and Possessions.

The [s] Mayor of *London* complaining, that some of the said Earl of *Lancaster's* Company, being now pardon'd, did threaten such of the Citizens as had before resisted them; the King thereupon commandeth, that neither Party should presume to seek any Revenge on pain of Imprisonment.

Edmund the [t] Eldest Son of *Edmund* late Earl of *Kent*, and *Margaret* his Mother, Countess of *Kent*, by their several Petitions require, that the Record made against the said Earl of *Kent*, may be for the Errors therein, wholly Reversed: Whereupon the King restores the said *Edmund* the Son, to the Blood and Lands of the said Earl his Father; whereof he died seised in Fee, with Dower to the Countess, saving to the King the Keeping and Wardship of the same, during the Nonage of the said *Edmund* the Son.

And to put [u] a stop to all malicious and perjur'd Informers, as well as to give a publique Security to Men's Minds, it was now Enacted, that no Peer of the Land, nor other Person, who had any way assisted in procuring the Death of the said *Edmund* late Earl of *Kent*, should hereafter be Impeached thereof, excepting only the foresaid Earl of *March*, Sr. *Simon Bereford*, Sr. *John Maltravers* senior, Sr. *Bogo* of *Bayonne* and Sr. *John* [x] *Daverill*.

Here [y] *Richard Fitz-Alan*, Eldest Son of *Edmund* late Earl of *Arundel*, (who by the Queen

[g] *Knighton ib.*
[h] *M.S. R.P. ib.* §. 5. *Sr. Rob. Cotton, &c.*
[i] *M.S. & Sr. Rob. Cottons Abridgm. ibid.*
[k] *Speed p. 568. b*
[l] *Stow p. 230.*
[m] *M.S. & Sr. Rob. Cotton ibid.*
[n] *M.S. ibid.* §. 6. *& Sr. Rob. Cotton ibid.*
[o] §. 7.
[p] §. 8.
[q] §. 9.
[r] *Knighton p. 2558. n. 60.*
[s] *M.S. p. 11.* §. 10. *Sr. Rob. Cotton, &c.*
[t] §. 11. *Parl. Anno 4. Ed. 3. p. 1. M.S. ibid.* §. 12. *Paten. 5. Ed. 3.*
[u] §. 13. *& Sr. Rob. Cotton.*
[x] *In M.S. Bervervil per incuriam Amanuensis, apud Sr. Rob. Cotton* Berveroile, *&c.*
[y] *M.S. p. 12.* §. 14. *& Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 7.*

Queen Mother had been beheaded in the late Rebellion) humbly prayeth to be reſtored to his Blood, and to the Lands and Goods of his Father; conſidering, that the ſaid Earl his Father had been put to Death without being Tryed by his Peers, according to the Law and Tenour of *Magna Charta*: But becauſe the ſaid Attaindure was [z] afterwards confirmed by Parliament at *Northampton*; the ſaid *Richard* Corrects his Former Petition, and prayeth to be Reſtored of the King's meer Grace and Bounty. Whereupon by the King he was accordingly Reſtored, together with the Caſtle of *Arundel* (which had been given to *Edmund* Late Earl of *Kent*) upon promiſe by him made, to pay the Value of the ſaid Caſtle to *Edmund* Son of the Late Earl of *Kent*, the ſaid Earl *Richard* paying the uſual Rents to the Crown, and ſaving to the King all ſuch Additional Lands, as were too laviſhly given to the Late Earl of *Arundel* by King *Edward* the Second.

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[z] *An. Reg.* 2. *Ed.* 3.

Nor was the Young King at this time unmindfull of thoſe, whoſe faithfull Friendſhip had thus aſſerted his Royal Prerogative, and deliver'd him from the over-awing Tyranny of his Enemies: For in this Parliament [a] he gave to the Lord *William Montagu*, for his Loyal Service againſt the Late Earl of *March* and his Favourers, the general Entail of a Thouſand Pounds *per annum*; and for one Thouſand Marks thereof, both the Caſtle, Town and Mannor of *Denbigh*, and the Cantreds of *Roos*, *Rewyinoc*, and *Kaermer*, with the Commot of *Dinmal*, and the Appurtenances in North-*Wales*, all late belonging to *Roger* Earl of *March*: Moreover he granted unto him the Caſtle of *Shireburne* in *Dorſetſhire*, with the Cuſtoms of Ale and Beer in that place.

[a] *M.S.* §. 15. *& St Rob. Cotton.*

On the like Conſideration [b] he granted unto Sr. *Edward Bohun* (who was Vice-conſtable under his Eldeſt Brother the Earl of *Eſſex*, and prov'd the firſt occaſion of Broaching this Matter, as well as a Reſolute Aſſiſtant in it) four hundred Marks *per annum*, in general Entail; Together [c] with the Lordſhips of *Vphavene* and *Sende* in *Wiltſhire*, to hold to himſelf, and the Heirs Male of his Body Lawfully begotten. Further at the ſame time he gave unto Sr. *Robert Hufford* three Hundred Marks in Special Entail, [d] with a Grant of the Mannors of *Cauſton* and *Fakenhambden* in Fee, beſides a Grant for Life of the Town and Caſtle of *Orford* in *Suffolk*; as alſo another in Tail Special of the Mannors of *Graveſend* in *Kent*, *Burgh* and *Coffeſey* in *Norfolk*, and two parts of the Mannor of *Geſting-thorp* in *Eſſex*. Laſtly, to Sr. *John Nevil* [e] of *Horneby*, he granted 200 Marks in Tail Special, and to others, other Rewards proportionably.

[b] §. 16. &c.

[c] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol.* *p.* 184.

[d] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol.* *p.* 47.

[e] §. 16. *p.* 12.

In a Plea of the Crown holden before the King this Parliament [f] *Thomas* Lord *Barkley*, in whoſe Caſtle (as we ſhew'd before) the Old King had been Murder'd, was Arraign'd for the Death of the ſaid King; for [g] that the ſaid King had been committed by *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, to the Cuſtody of the ſaid *Thomas* Lord *Barkley* with an allowance of five Pounds *per diem*, for his Expences; that notwithſtanding ſoon after he was inhumanly Murder'd in the ſaid Caſtle. To which the ſaid *Thomas* ſaith, that being forced to Reſign his Caſtle and Charge to *John* Lord *Maltravers*, and to *Thomas Gournay* Knight, he retired to his Mannor Houſe at *Bradley*; that at the time of the Death of the ſaid King, he lay ſick at *Bradley*, and was not within the Caſtle of *Barkley*, nor was witting, nor conſenting to the Death of the ſaid King, and ſo he put himſelf upon the Tryal of Twelve Knights, his Peers, whoſe Names are there Recorded, and by whom the ſaid Sr. *Thomas* was found not Guilty, he not having fled, nor withdrawn himſelf thereupon: But only that he had Reſign'd his Caſtle upon peremptory Command, to Sr. *Thomas Gournay*, and Sr. *William Ogle*, who then, and there did Murder the ſaid King *Edward* the Second. Upon all which thô he was acquitted in Parliament, yet there [h] are ſome Circumſtances, which make it very ſuſpicious, that he was at leaſt a Favourer of the Action; as his Conniving at *Gournay* therein, and ſheltering him privately for a while after.

[f] *M.S. ibid. p.* 12 §. 17. & 18. *St Rob. Cotton, &c.*

[g] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol.* *p.* 356.

[h] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol.* *p.* 357.

Several others were now Reſtored to their Lands, and releaſed of thoſe Forfeitures impoſed on them by the Late Earl of *March*; as Sr. [i] *Ebulo* le *Strange* of *Knoking* and his Lady *Alice*, who was Daughter to *Henry Laſcey*, once Earl of *Lincoln*, and firſt Wife to *Thomas* Late Earl of *Lancaſter*, theſe had Lands Reſtored to them to the Yearly Value of 1200 Marks: And Sr. *William* [k] Lord *Zouch* of *Mortimer* with his Lady *Eleanor* was Reſtored to his Lands in *Glamorgan*, or *Morganow* in *Wales*.

[i] *M.S. p.* 13. §. 19.

[k] §. 20.

For avoiding other Inconveniences, that might ariſe from private Diſtaſtes, the King

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King enjoyn'd the new Earl [l] of *Arundel* to pardon Sr. *John Charlton*, Lord of *Powis*, and ſon in Law to the Late Earl of *March*, who was one of thoſe that apprehended his Father *Edmund* Earl of *Arundel*; and commanded them both henceforth to keep the Peace mutually.

[l] §. 24.

It was alſo Enacted, [m] that *William* Lord *Montagu* and all others with him at the Apprehenſion of the Late Earl of *March*, and others in *Nottingham*, ſince what they did was Authorized by the King's Command, ſhould be wholly acquitted thereof, and of all Murders and Felonies there done: From whence we cannot but obſerve, that the [n] Laws of *England* do ſo abhor Murder and Bloodſhed, that even He, who ſpills Blood, thô in his own moſt juſt Defence, nay thô in his King's Behalf, and at his Command, ſeems yet in a manner to ſtand in ſome need of a Pardon from the King, before he can be fully Reſtored to the ſtate of Innocence.

[m] §. 26.

[n] *Ant. Wood's Antiqu. Oxon. l. 1. p. 176. b.*

Several other juſt, Gracious, and Profitable things were done this Seſſions; but theſe ſhall ſuffice, as being the Chief; nor could I be leſs large, unleſs I ſhould have left out many things neceſſary to the clearing the Story, and have conceal'd ſomething that makes for this Young Monarch's Honour.

I find nothing in the Records of this Parliament relating to the Queen Mother all this while; whether, in reſpect to the King, they Dutifully declin'd to call her in Queſtion, or whether the King himſelf forbad them to concern themſelves in a matter ſo nearly touching him, which is more likely. And ſurely, whoever conſiders the Inequality of this Queens Age, with that of *Mortimer's*, She being little more then Thirty, and He at leaſt more then Fifty, (for we find, [o] that he received the Order of Knighthood from this King's Grandfather) will rather believe, that by his ſubtle and crafty inſinuations, he made himſelf Neceſſary to this Queens Counſels, than that his Perſon could ever render him acceptable to her Bed: She her ſelf being accounted one of the moſt Delicate Ladies of that Age. Whereas He was not only a Married man, but a Father of Eleven Children, by moſt of whom he was at his Death a Grandfather. Howbeit near this time the King being ſenſible of her Wickedneſs to the King his Father, [p] confin'd her to perpetual Impriſonment at *Riſeings* near *London*, being in Filial *Piety* obliged to do no more againſt the Mother, nor no leſs for the Sake of his Father. The *Greek* Tragedians might have ſav'd *Oreſtes* from his Mothers Furies, had they given him the Diſcerning Juſtice of this Young *Engliſh* Prince, to Revenge indeed his Fathers Death; but not ſo, as by ſhedding of his own Mothers Blood. Nay herein, he not only tranſcended the Vertue of a Pagan Heroe, but ſhew'd himſelf both more Pious, and more Diſcreet, than that Chriſtian Prince, his Predeceſſor, *Edward* the Confeſſor; who only upon a bare ſuſpicion of Adultery in his Mother *Emma*, cauſed her to paſs [q] Blindfold over Nine Burning Plow-ſhares (after the Law of the *Ordeal*) a Fiery Tryal indeed before any Proof made. Immediately upon this Confinement of the Old Queens, all her Vaſt and Immoderate Dowry was ſieſed into the King's Hands; but ſome Plate and Jewels, with other Furniture convenient for her Eſtate, were ſtill left unto her; and beſides, the King her Son allow'd her, during Life three Thouſand Marks, or a Thouſand Pounds ſterling (which was afterwards Augmented to four Thouſand Pounds) *per annum*, for her Maintenance, and went himſelf conſtantly, whilſt ſhe lived (which was almoſt Twenty Eight Years after) to viſit her Once or Twice a Year. Nevertheleſs, He often ſent her many Goodly Preſents, and Granted ſeveral Advantages, as of Fairs, and the like; and for her Greater Diverſion would frequently cauſe many Rare and Pleaſant Shews to be Repreſented before her, both within and without the Caſtle, to which, upon Occaſion ſhe was permitted to come: But certain Limits were appointed, and the Keeper of the Caſtle on Peril of his Head, was to ſecure his Royal Priſoner.

[o] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 144.*

[p] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p. 895. &c.*

[q] *Milton's Hiſt. Engl. l 6. p. 287 & Antiqu. Britann. p. 98.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER the FOURTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. Henry *Earl of* Lancaſter *founds the New Hoſpital at* Leiceſter: *The Popes Grant to King* Edward, *with his Opinion about the Souls of the Departed.* II. *The Lord* James Douglas *of* Scotland *kill'd in* Spain. III. Edward Baliol *claims the Crown of* Scotland *againſt* David Bruce, *with the Event.* IV. Hector *and* Buchanan *found tardy.* V. *King* Edward *repreſſes the Licence of certain Outlaws.* VI. *A Parliament at* Weſtminſter. VII. Robert Vere, *the Good Earl of* Oxford *dies: King* John *of* Bohemia *his Victories in* Italy.

I. THUS at laſt the Nation being by this due courſe of long-intermitted Juſtice cleans'd from the ſin of ſhedding ſo much Royal Blood, began to ſmile again with new Hopes: And now that the Heavy load of Rebellion and Murder was lay'd on the Heads of the Authors of either, the whole Kingdom ſprang out with new Joy, and the Royal Throne became fixed and ſettled, being arm'd with the Sword of juſt Authority; and from this time all publique Tranſactions ſucceeded with an uninterrupted ſerenity. For no doubt, if we look ſeriouſly into the Diſpenſations of Providence, we may ſafely conclude from a proſpect of theſe Affairs, that one Reaſon, why hitherto our Arms were improſperous, and ſo various Misfortunes daily encroached upon the riſing Glories of this Young King, was, that Judgments were ſtill owing to the Land for the late Rebellion and Treaſon, which till now could not be throughly expiated. An. Dom. 1330. An. Regni IV.

The Good old [a] *Henry Plantagenet*, Earl of *Lancaſter*, High-Steward of *England*, being now almoſt blind with age, but having firſt ſeen the Redemption of his King and Country from the ſlavery to which *Mortimer's* Inſolence and Cruelty had well nigh brought it, in pious Gratitude to Divine Providence, and in contemplation of his own Deliverance, built and founded to the Honour of God, the New-Hoſpital by the Caſtle of *Leiceſter*, which he alſo endow'd with ſufficient Maintenance for one Hundred Impotent and Aged People, of whoſe Wants his own Age made him not a little ſenſible. Which pious Work received its Completion from his Son *Henry*, the firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*.

[a] *Knighton p. 2559. n. 40.*

This Year Pope [b] *John* the XXII. to ingratiate himſelf with our Young King, grants him the Tythes of all Spirituals for four Years, reſerving however one Moiety to himſelf: So wiſely liberal was his Holineſs both to himſelf and others, of what was not his own. This [c] Pope was of Opinion, that the Souls of the Bleſſed ſhall not ſee the Face of God till the Day of Judgment, as were alſo all the Cardinals of his Court, except [d] *James Furnere*, Prieſt-Cardinal *titulo Sanctæ Priſcæ*, commonly called the White Cardinal, who alſo, immediately ſucceeded this Pope by the name of *Benedict* the XII. Now it [e] happen'd, that *Ralph de Berne* (*alias Barnes*) Abbot of St. *Auſten's* in *Canterbury* being dead, *Thomas Poncy* D. D. was choſen Abbot, whereupon he went to *Avignion* to be Conſecrated of the Pope: There being look'd upon as a Man famous for Learning, and of deep knowledge in Divinity, he was by the Pope enjoyned among many Others to ſtudy the Point, and to deliver his Thoughts thereupon openly in the Conſiſtory. He would fain have excus'd the Matter (as fearing thereby to diſoblige the Pope, and ſo to retard his own Buſineſs) by ſaying, "That he had not his Books about him, and that he came not thither to engage in "Diſputations, but to diſpatch his Buſineſs; and that he could not make any long "ſtay in thoſe Foreign parts without being at vaſt expences: But all this notwithſtanding, he was not ſuffered to depart, till he ſhould declare his mind as to the Premiſes, the Pope offering him a free uſe of his Library. Hereupon, (thô for the moſt part Others approv'd of the Pope's Opinion, even againſt their Conſciences, leaſt otherwiſe they ſhould incurr his Diſpleaſure) our Doctor *Thomas Poncy*, reſolving rather to hazard all things than to contradict the Catholick Faith, or his own Conſcience, held the Affirmative of the Queſtion, and ſtifly maintain'd it by Word of mouth

[b] *Walſing. Hypod. p. 112. n. 10*

[c] *Victorel. p. 871*

[d] *Victorel. p. 879*

[e] *Thorne's Chr. p. 2067. n. 20. ad n. 60.*

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mouth and by Writing: Which afterwards turned to his great Honour, this ſame Pope, upon his Death recanting his former Opinion as erroneous: But for this ſmall Digreſſion we crave pardon.

II. Thô not much more to our purpoſe, yet not altogether impertinent were thoſe two memorable Battels fought this Year between the *Pagans* and *Chriſtians*, the One in [f] *Armenia* upon the Plains of *Lyas*, where *Caſſanus* the King of *Tharſis* was ſlain with 7000 *Chriſtians*, the *Pagans* obtaining but a bloody Victory, with the loſs of no leſs than 58000 Men: This Battle was ſtruck on the Feaſt of St. *Catherine*, being the 25 of *November*. The Other was between the *Caſtilians* of *Spain* and the *Moors* of *Granada*, of which (becauſe it bears ſome reference to the ſucceeding Affairs) I ſhall take leave to ſpeak ſomething more particularly. It may be remembred, that when I ſpake of the Diſhonourable Peace made with *Scotland* at *Northampton*, I took occaſion to mention a Voyage, which the Lord *James Douglas* the famous Warriour of *Scotland*, had undertaken to the Holy Land, there to offer up his dead Maſter King *Robert's* Heart at the Sepulchre of our Bleſſed Saviour.

[f] *Knighton p. 2559. n. 30. &c.*

Now as ſoon as he had well provided for ſo long and important a Journey, he took the Noble Heart of his Lord King *Robert*; [g] embalmed and enſhrin'd in a Golden Box, and with a Gallant company of choice Knights and valiant Gentlemen, of whom the Lord *William Sinclare* and Sr. *Robert Logan* were chief; he ſet forth for the Holy Land. And here *Hector* (according to his uſual way) makes no more adoe, but boldly affirms, that he came to *Jeruſalem*, offer'd up the Heart, ſtay'd a while, fought many Glorious Battels, wan much Renown, brought the *Saracens* to a Peace on conditions very advantageous to the *Chriſtians*, richly rewarded the Prieſts and Holy Men there, and away came he again ſafe and ſound as could be; till he touch'd the *Spaniſh* Coaſt about *Andaluzia*, or the *Bætic* Province, where finally he loſt his Life. But *Buchanan* (in this place more modeſt) [h] acknowledges, that his Death happen'd not in his Return, but in his Paſſage to *Jeruſalem*, and therein agrees with [i] *Froiſard*, a moſt credible Hiſtorian in the main; who thus reports the whole matter. Earl *Douglas* being well purvey'd of all things, ſets ſail immediately from a Port of *Murray* in *Scotland*, directing his courſe for *Sluce* in *Flanders*, where he deſign'd to enquire, if there were any Knights or Noblemen, who to advance the honour of *Chriſt*, and purchaſe unto themſelves true Renown, would adventure to accompany him in this his Expedition to the Holy Land. Having therefore accordingly ſent into the Country thereabout to publiſh his Intention, he lay on Board before *Sluce* the ſpace of twelve Days, himſelf not once offering to touch the Land; ſo firmly was he ſet on the performance of his Royal Maſter's Injunctions. And all the while (that he might the better allure Companions in Arms to partake with him in this hazardous Enterpriſe) he kept a ſtately and magnificent Port, making on Board triumphant Noiſes with Trumpets, Clarions and other Inſtruments of War, as if he had been King of *Scotland* himſelf. He had with him in his own Ship two Knights Bannerets, and ſix other Knights, with 26 luſty Eſquires, and other young Gentlemen to attend his perſon, and all the Veſſels he was ſerved in, were of Gold or ſilver: And whoever came on Board to viſit him, were nobly entertain'd with Banquets, Wine and ſpices, every one after his Quality. While thus he lay to the great pleaſure and ſatisfaction of the Country, at the end of twelve days he had certain News, that *Alphonſo* the XI King of *Caſtille* and *Leon* held war with the *Moors* and *Saracens* of *Granada*. Upon this report he thought it every whit as meritorious to fight againſt Infidels in *Spain*, as in the Holy Land, and that it could no way thwart with his dead Maſters Command, if he ſhould endeavour to exalt the Croſs of *Chriſt* againſt *Mahometaniſme*, to which cauſe himſelf had both living and dying devoted his own Royal Heart: Deſirous alſo to leave ſome Token of the *Scottiſh* Valour in the furthermoſt Parts of *Spain*, and concluding after all to perform at his leiſure the Voyage to *Jeruſalem*, he at laſt reſolves to be a partaker in theſe honourable Wars. Whereupon hoiſing ſail directly for *Spain*, he arrived happily at the Port of *Valencia*, where he landed with all his Company, but ſuch as were appointed to look to the Fleet.

[g] *Hector Boet. l. 15. fol. 311. b. n. 70.*

[h] *Buchan. l. 8. p. 279.*

[i] *Froiſ. c. 20. fol. 11.*

Thus this Gallant *Scot*, having well refreſhed himſelf and his Troops, rode bravely forward toward the King of *Spain*, whom he found with his Army facing the Enemy on the Frontiers of his Kingdom toward the Realm of *Granada*. To make ſhort, his ſervice was well accepted, and thereupon the King of *Spain* reſolv'd to give his Enemies Battle. The King of *Granada* ſeeing the *Chriſtians* advance, ſet forward alſo to meet them with innumerable Forces: And now both Armies wanted but little of joyning, when the Generous Earl *Douglas*, fearing to come too late to ſo glorious a Banquet,

Banquet, with all his Company ſtrake ſpurs to his Horſes ſides, and couching his Spear, ruſhed fiercely among the thickeſt of his Enemies, all the way crying out a *Douglas*, a *Douglas*; as he that nothing doubted, but to be well back'd by King *Alphonſo*. The Enemy, thô vaſtly Numerous, was ſtrangely amaz'd at this vigorous and reſolute Onſet, and either out of Diſmay or Policy, open'd their Ranks to receive them, giving alſo back a little to abate the Fury of the firſt ſhock. Certainly had the *Caſtillians* immediately ſeconded this Noble Knight with but half that Bravery, the *Moors* had either wholly been overthrown, or at moſt gain'd but a Bloody Victory. But whether 'twas Fatal overſight, or Diſcretion not to Engage with ſuch vaſt Numbers, in confidence of a few ſeeming-raſh Strangers, or whether 'twas a certain ſtupor and exceſs of Admiration, or a deſire to ſtay a while beholding the Effects of ſuch Gallantry; or fooliſh Envy, or baſe Cowardiſe, or that they could not come up timely enough, King *Alphonſo*, however Brave and Victorious at other times, ſtood now ſtill and joyned not the Battle. Whereat the *Moors* encouraged, immediately ſurrounded the Deſerted *Scots* with their Numerous Forces; and there the Gallanteſt Captain in the World, being abandon'd to Infinite Multitudes of Barbarians, was miſerably at laſt hewen in pieces with all his Martial Company: Thô they left ſuch Marks of their exceeding Valour behind, that the Infidels, who felt and ſaw their Fury, thought them Invincible, till they beheld them ſlain before their Eyes. Thus by occaſion of a ſuperſtitious Vow of the Late King *Robert*, was *Scotland* unfortunately depriv'd of a Noble Captain, and many other Brave Souls, at a time when moſt ſhe needed their Aſſiſtance at Home. This Lord *Douglas* bare for his Arms [k] Azure a Chevron Argent, but his Poſterity in Memory of this his Enterpriſe and Death do[l] bear the Bloody Heart for their Arms to this day. And indeed he was one of the firſt Builders of his Name and Family in *Scotland*, being a great Champion to his Native Country, and as great a Terror to all the *Engliſh* Borderers: For [m] ever ſince the Battle of *Sterling*, whatever *Engliſh* Archer he could lay his Hands on, it was his manner to cut off his Right Hand, and to pluck out his Right Eye, that he might thereby be rendred Uſeleſs for the Bowe. We read the like to have been done indeed by the *Amazons* to thoſe Male Children, which themſelves brought forth, before they put them away to their Fathers: And ſurely, ſuch ungenerous Cruelty better became that fearfull, and therefore leſs humane Sex, than ſo Famous a Knight, as this *Douglas*; to whom it rather belonged, to be fierce and cruel to thoſe that reſiſted, but Merciſull and Gracious to his Captives, and ſuch as he had Conquer'd. At his Death, however the poor Archers of the *North* of *England* rejoyced; but the whole Realm of *Scotland* was dejected; eſpecially, now ſhe ſaw a Storm approaching, which no humane Power was more likely to avert, than this her Valiant Commander; the Lord *Thomas Randulph* alſo ſurviving him but a little while.

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[k] *Froiſ. c.17. fol.8.*
[l] *Holinſhead hiſt. Scotl. p. 227.*
[m] *Knighton p. 2559. n. 50.*

III. But before we fall upon that Story, it will not be amiſs by way of Preparation, to repeat the Original of the matter, ſomething whereof We remember to have ſpoken [n] in the firſt Chapter of this our Hiſtory: Namely, how upon the Vacancy of the Crown of *Scotland*, upon the Death of *Alexander* the Third, the Lord *John Bailiol*, an *Engliſh* Baron, was by King *Edward* the Firſt adjudged to have the beſt Right of all the Pretenders to that Realm; as he that claimed from the Eldeſt Daughter of *David* Earl of *Huntingdon*, Younger Brother to *William* King of *Scots*, and Great Uncle to *Alexander* aforeſaid: And how this *John Bailiol* made Fealty and Homage to King *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, for the ſaid Crown of *Scotland*, and how afterward he withdrew his Homage thrô Counſel of the *French* King, the Abbot of *Melros*, and others, and in the Year of our Lord MCCXCIV ſent unto the Pope, that thrô falſe ſuggeſtion he had made his Oath unto King *Edward*, both contrary to his Dignity, and againſt his Will; and therefore beg'd to be abſoyled thereof; which Requeſt the Pope granted. Thus [o] did *John Bailiol* begin to Rebell againſt the King of *England*, who had ſet him up; but King *Edward* ſoon after went againſt him, and took the Town and Caſtle of *Barwick*, with the ſlaughter of 26700 *Scots*; ſo that *Bailiol* was obliged to yield himſelf up to the Conquerour; by whom he was us'd with much humanity, and at laſt deliver'd out of the Tower of *London* with all the Great Lords of *Scotland*, that were taken at *Barwick*, and upon his Oath and theirs, had a ſafe Conduct to go into their own Country. The other *Scotch* Lords forgot the Oath and Aſſurance they had made to King *Edward*; but the Noble King *John Bailiol*, had rather forſake a Crown, than make it heavy unto him by perjury; wherefore he took his Son *Edward* and his Family, and went over the Sea to *Quimper* in *Bretagne*, and lived there a private Life upon his own Lands: And vo-

[n] *P. 4. §. 5.*

[o] *Fabian p. 140. & M. S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. c. 223.*

An. Dom. 1330. An. Regni IV.

luntarily forſook his Realm of *Scotland*, Eſteeming it leſs than his Faith and Honour: Thô the *Scots* in Deriſion called him Sr. *John Turnelabard*, becauſe he was ſo ſhie of offending the King of *England*. Thus *John Bailiol* kept in *France*, till he died there, and Sr. *Edward* his Son received his Heritage, doing Homage to the King of *France*, for his Lands of *Quimper*. This *Edward* had in his Service an *Engliſh* Eſquire, born in *Yorkſhire*, named *John Barnby*, whom he loved moſt intirely; but one day *John Barnby* chanced upon a quarrel to kill a certain *Frenchman*, whereupon he fled in all haſt to the Caſtle for ſafety, under the Protection of his Lord and Friend. The Officers follow'd, and demanded him to be deliver'd up as a Felon; but Sr. *Edward* refus'd it for that time, and at Midnight ſent him ſecretly out of the Caſtle, and he got ſafe over into *England*. But the King of *France* was ſo diſpleas'd with this Action of *Bailiol's*, that he ſieſed on all his Lands and flung him into Priſon. There he lay till the Lord *Henry Beaumont* came into *France*, being drove out of *England* by the Power of *Mortimer*, as we ſhew'd before: Now this Lord *Henry* was Earl of *Buquhain* in *Scotland*, in Right of his Wife, but had been forced to relinquiſh the ſaid Earldom, when that ſhamefull Peace was made between *England* and *Scotland*, at *Northampton*; wherefore he thought no better way now of Recovering his Right, than by the means of Sr. *Edward Bailiol*, whom he look'd on as the true Heir to the Realm of *Scotland*; and ſo deſired to get him at Liberty, if by any means he might prevail ſo far. He was very Gracious with the King of *France*, as being of his Blood, and therefore beg'd of him, "That he would grant him of "his Grace Sr. *Edward Bailiols* Body until the next Parliament, that he might live on "his own Rents in the mean time, and then ſtand to the judgement of his Peers. This Requeſt the King Granted, and upon Sr. *Edward Bailiol's* delivery from Priſon, the Lord *Beaumont* privily convey'd him into *England*, and kept him cloſely at the Mannor of *Sandall*, upon *Ouſe* in *Yorkſhire*, with his Siſter *Iſabell* of *Beaumont*, Lady *Veſci*: Where privately he began to retain Soldiers on all hands, in order to recover his own, and the *Bailiol's* Right. And *Henry* Lord *Beaumont* having firſt ſounded the King, this Year about the beginning of *Auguſt*, the Lord *Edward* [p] *Bailiol*, being attended by ſome 44 Knights of *Almaine*, Captains of a few ſelect Bands, who follow'd him for hire, or at a venture, to partake of his Fortune, came to *London* to our King *Edward*: To whom he declared, "How his Father had been prefer'd, "as the Indubitate and Right Heir to the Crown of *Scotland*, by *Edward* the Firſt "of *England*, his Grandfather: That for doing Juſt Homage therefore to the ſaid "King *Edward*, he had been finally deſerted by his own Subjects, and afterwards "ſupplanted by *Robert Bruce*: That if it pleaſe the King, He [q] alſo would hold the "Crown of *Scotland* of Him, as Superior Lord of that Realm; that therefore he humbly requeſted ſome Aſſiſtance from his hands, whereby to recover his Ancient Right "and Patrimony.

[p] *Walſing. Hypod. p.* 112. *n.* 20 *& Hiſt. p.* 112. *&* 113.

[q] *Hector. p.* 312. *n.* 30.

King *Edward* indeed was troubled not a little at the Diſhonourable Peace ſtruck up with the *Scots* in his Minority; but it having been made in his Name, he was reſolved to keep it entirely for the promiſed term of four Years, whereof hardly three were yet fully run out. In his own Perſon therefore he abſolutely [r] refuſes to aſſiſt the *Bailiol* as yet, or ſo much as to let him lead any warlike Troops into *Scotland* thrô his Land; both having a due reſpect to the foreſaid Peace, and for his Siſters ſake, whom *David* the preſent King of *Scotland* had married; as alſo becauſe the old Queen and the Lord *Mortimer* had at the time of making that Peace at *Northampton*, oblig'd the King in a [s] Bond of 20000l. to be forfeited to the Pope, in caſe of any Hoſtility or Breach made on his part, till the full terme of four Years ſhould be accompliſhed. But as for thoſe *Engliſh* Adventurers, who claim'd Lands in *Scotland*, which were now forfeited for their Non-reſidence (according to an Article of the foreſaid Peace of *Northampton*) after King *Edward* [t] had in vain ſent to the Earl of *Murray*, then upon the Lord [u] *Thomas Randulph's* death, Guardian of that Realm (by reaſon of King *David's* Minority) on their behalf, he gave them his leave, or rather a tacit Connivance (for nothing was expreſly ſaid) in their own Names upon their own Titles, and at their own charges to make War in the company of the Lord *Edward Bailiol* againſt the preſent King of *Scotland*; till they might have their Injuries redreſſed. Of theſe we find the Lord *Henry* [x] Vicount *Beaumont*, Earl of *Buquhain*, the [y] young Lord *David Strabolgi*, Earl of *Athol*, who had been a Ward to the ſaid Lord *Beaumont*, the Lord *Gilbert* [z] *Umphravil* Earl *Angus*, *Henry* [a] Lord *Percy*, who claimed *Galloway*, *Thomas* [b] Lord *Wake*, the Lord *Fulk Fitz-Warine*, *Ralph* [c] Lord *Stafford* in the Title of *William* Lord *Zouch*, [d] *Henry* Lord *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *John* [e] Lord *Moubray*,

[r] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 507. *a. & Stow p.* 230. *n.* 50.

[s] *Knighton p.* 2560. *n.* 20, 30, 40. *&c.*

[t] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 51. *a.*

[u] *Buchan. l.* 9. *p.* 282. *An.* 1331.

[x] *Dugd. Bar.* 2 *Vol. p.* 51.

[y] *Id. ibid. p.* 96.

[z] *Id.* 1 *Vol. p.* 507.

[a] *Harding c.* 178. *fol.* 178. *b*

[b] *Dudg. ibid. p.* 541.

[c] *Knighton p.* 2560.

[d] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 267.

[e] *Id. ibid. p.* 127

Moubray, and Sr. *Alexander Moubray* his Kinſman, the Lord [f] *Richard Talbot*, a famous young Warrier, Sr. *Roger Swinnerton* and ſeveral other Lords and Knights; who raiſed their Friends and Tenants, and as many as deſired to purchaſe Honour or prey in the Wars: All who taking the ſea at [g] *Ravenſpurr* in *Yorkſhire* (for the King would not allow them to paſs thrô his Land) they arrived at *Kingcorn* in *Scotland*, not far from *Dunfermlin*. The *Scots* had beforehand intelligence of this their Deſign; and ſo were not unprovided of Forces to impeach their Landing: They had ſent forth no leſs than [h] 10000 Men under the Command of *Duncan Macduff* Earl of *Fife*, the Lord *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, King *David's* Baſtard brother, and Sr. *Alexander Seton*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Alexander Seton*, of whom more hereafter. The Lord *Bailiol's* Forces were very ſmall, as appears from the higheſt account of them; ſome, as [i] *Buchanan* confeſſes, reckoning them but 600. which he rather thinks ſhould be 6000. But another of more Honeſty, and therefore of more Authority, ſays they were no more then [k] 2500; which ſmall number being furniſhed with ſo many gallant Leaders, muſt needs be pretty conſiderable, ſince Diſcipline and Courage might very well make up their Defects; as it is well known to thoſe who either underſtand the Art Military, or have read thoſe many Inſtances of the like nature abounding in Hiſtory.

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[f] *Knighton p.* 2560.
[g] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 51. a.*
[h] *Tinemouth fol.* 229. *& Knigh.* p. 2560. *n.* 40. *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 113. *n.* 10. *& Stow p.* 230. *n.* 50. *& M.S. præfat.*
[i] *Buchan. l. 9. p.* 283.
[k] *Knighton p.* 2560. *n.* 66. *idem Joh. Tinemouth fol.* 229. *& M.S. ve. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* c. 223.

Accordingly the Valiant Lord *Bailiol*, thô he ſaw theſe more numerous Forces ready to impeach his Landing, reſolved not to loyter away the time in cruiſing and coaſting about, but forthwith to diſcharge his Veſſels in that very place; for he was not ignorant of the Worth of his Men, and what high Hopes they entertain'd, as thoſe who fought with him for no leſs than a Kingdom: Withall he diſcreetly conſider'd, how this (however too great a Match as to his Numbers) was the ſmalleſt Force he could expect to meet with in *Scotland*; but that if here he prevail'd, the reputation of the Victory would be of no ſmall moment, but eaſily procure Friends to his Quarrel, and Terror to his Arms.

This well-grounded Reſolution was ſo well favour'd by Fortune; that before his Men of Arms could touch the land, the *Scots* being gall'd by the Archers, (a few Footmen alſo making upon them a briſk Impreſſion at the ſame time) gave back in Great confuſion, and were ſoon thereupon totally routed, no leſs than 900 of them being ſlain, together with an hopefull young Gentleman Sr. *Alexander*, [l] Eldeſt ſon to the Lord *Alexander Seton*. Upon this ſucceſs the *Bailiol* marched directly toward the Abbey and Town of *Dunfermlin*, wherein they found good ſtore of Proviſion, and other neceſſaries for Men of War: And among other things [m] 500 Great ſtaves of fine Oak, with long Pikes of iron and ſteel, which the *Bailiol* took and deliver'd to the ſtrongeſt of all his Men. Soon after at a place called *Gledeſmore*, this ſmall reſolute Band of *Engliſh*, not yet conſiſting of above three or four Thouſand in all, met with more than 40000 of the *Scots* to oppoſe them. But for the preſent they were hindred from joyning by a Deep Water, being the River of *Erne* that ran between both Armies. For the Citizens of St. *Johnſton*, when they heard how the Earl of *Fife* was diſcomfited by the *Bailiol*, were much terrified, and brake down all their Bridges, which they had made over the Water of *Erne*; ſo that the *Engliſh* could not get over, but ſtood all that day in Battle Array, fronting the Enemies on the Banks of the ſaid River: But the Lord *Bailiol* could not diſpoſe himſelf to reſt the night following; his Spies had brought him word of the negligence of the Enemies in their Camp, and his Courage made him conceive high Hopes of ſucceſs, if he took his Opportunity; wherefore having aſſembled all the Chiefs together, he ſaid, "Now Dear "Lords, ye know that we are ſurrounded with Enemies on all ſides; who if they "may have an Advantage againſt us, there is nothing to be expected but Death. "And I verily believe, that by tarrying here the remainder of this Night, we ſhould "only contribute to our own ruine. For the Power of *Scotland* may every day wax "and encreaſe; but it will not be ſo with us, unleſs we gain Reputation by our Cou"rage; althô we are but a ſmall People in reſpect of them. Wherefore I pray you "for Godſake, let us be hardy and couragious, and reſolve with all our might to fall "upon the *Scots* this night, and prove our ſelves the Aggreſſors; whereby we ſhall "daunt their minds; eſpecially now they are weary with their long March, and all out "of Order, by reaſon of their ſecurity and contempt of us: Nor will they ever be a"ble to recover, for the terrour we ſhall bring among them. And then manfully ſhall "we beat them down before us; ſo that thrô the Grace of Almighty God, all the "World ſhall ſpeak of our valour and Chivalry. To this Reſolution of the *Bailiols* all the *Engliſh* gladly conſented, and having [o] for a mark of Diſtinction in the dark

[l] *Buchan. l. 9. p.* 283. *Hector l.* 15. *f.* 312. *n.* 40. *&c.*
[m] *M.S. præf. ib.*
[n] *M.S. præf. ibid. &c.*
[o] *Hector l.* 15. *f.* 313. *n.* 10.

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night, tyed every Man a piece of White linnen about his arm, they boldly pass'd over the Water at a place called *Duplin* [p] by *Ernemouth*, being directed by Sr. *Alexander Mowbray*, who was best of all acquainted with the Passage. Thus all in great silence and good Order at last got safe over, except only Sr. *Roger Swinnerton*, who by ill accident was drowned, as some say: But it is evident by the [q] Records, that he lived at least till six years after. Now the *Scots* were in [r] two Camps, almost five miles distant one from the other, intending by acting separately to distract the *Bailiol*, for they despised his Numbers. But soon after midnight the *English* Army, except the 44 *Almaine* Captains (who with the rest of the Strangers stood aloof, as well to observe those who should break forth of the *Scotch* Camp, as to pursue those that fled) was hotly engaged with the *Scots* in their First Camp: At the first Alarm the *Scots* were in an horrid Confusion; and they [s] said among themselves, "What is now "befallen unto us, that so small a Company as the *Bailiol* hath, doth us such mischief "and sorrow? Now surely it seems that he works by Grace, for he is wondrous For- "tunate in his Cause: But certainly we will all die rather than yield unto him, since "his Father esteem'd so little of us. But the *English* now prevail'd mightily, and all the Captains were fierce and haughty against their Enemies, wherefore the *Scots*, by reason of the suddain surprise, and the straightness of the Place, which allow'd them no more room than they had time to Order their Battails in, were by Day-break utterly broken and defeated: For the Throng was so great among the *Scots*, that many were crowded and trampled to Death; so that while every Man thrust forward to come to the Battle, he but holp to encrease the Disorder of those that were fighting; insomuch that the Crowding prov'd as fatal as the Sword. When this Victory was thus gain'd, the *Englishmen*, who thought they had overcome the whole Power of *Scotland*, drew together in the morning, and began to repose and refresh themselves. But the mean while the Noble Baron of *Vesci*, and the Noble Baron of *Stafford*, and the valiant Lord [t] *Roger Swinnerton* (falsly reported by some to have been drown'd the night before) pricked their Horses up and down by the Hills, to observe the Straights of the Country. And as they pricked thus up and down, they saw from the Hills a great Host in good Array, ranged in Three Battails, with Helmes and Shields shining, marching towards them. At this they return'd full speed to the *Bailiol's* Men, among whom they said aloud, "Now for the love of Almighty God, be of good com- "fort, for you shall have another Victory presently; and so they shew'd, how another Army was coming against them. Then stept forth Sr. *Fulk Fitz-Warine*, a Baron of great Renown for Deeds of Arms, and said in the Head of the *English*, "Now my Lords, understand you what I shall say; since I have in my time seen ma- "ny and different Armies, as well among *Saracens* and *Jews* in *Spain*, as among "*Frenchmen* and *Scots*; and yet saw I never the Fourth part of any of those fight: "Wherefore, if we will abide our Enemies, We are enough to fight against them. "But if we be not of good Courage and Resolution, 'tis to no purpose to fight with "them; for surely We are too few to match so Great a Company. And therefore "for the Love of God, let us take Heart, and grow Bold, neither thinking on our "Wives, nor Children, but only how to win the day; and through the help of our "Lord God We shall overcome our Enemies. And with that came the *Scotch* Host towards them Furiously, in three Battails well arrayed: But upon their approach, when *Donald* Earl of *Marr* (who had secretly combin'd with the *Bailiol*) saw all this, and how few the *English* were; fearing they would be all lost, he said to *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, and Bastard-son to the Late King *Robert* of *Scotland*, "Sr. *Ro-* "*bert*, (quoth he) full sorry am I at my heart to think, that all this People, whom "the *Bailiol* hath brought with him, must die by dint of *Scotchmens* swords, since "they are *Christians*, as well as we; wherefore I think it would be great Charity, to "send unto them to yield themselves to our Mercy and Grace; and so to ransom "them at an High Rate; forasmuch as they have invaded our Land, and done so "much mischief. "Now surely (reply'd Sr. *Robert*) I have well perceived, that thou "art an Enemy and Traytor unto *Scotland*; since thou art willing to consent to save "our deadly Enemies, who have done us much sorrow and shame: And now it "plainly appears, that You are of their Faction. "Surely *Robert*, said Sr. *Donald*, "Ye lie falsly: I am not of their Company, and that soon shall you see: For I "will fight with them rather than the proudest Man here. "And certainly, (said "Sr. *Robert*) maugre your Head, I shall assail them before you dare. And with that they both spurred their Horses on the Moor, and their Battailions follow'd them in their Order, and so they came and met the *Bailiol* at an hanging Gap of the Moor

[p] *Knighton p. 2560. n. 60. & Speed p. 568.*
[q] *Dugd. Bar. 2. Vol. 112.*
[r] *Hector & Buchan.*
[s] *M.S. præfat. c. 223.*
[t] *M.S. id. ibid.*

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in a ſtrait Paſſage; and they came ſo precipitantly upon the *Engliſhmen*, that hundreds fell to the ground each upon other on an heap, both Horſe and Man. Then the *Bailiol* and his men with a great ſhout flew fiercely upon them, and kill'd the *Scots* upon the ground, before they could Recover, and ſtood upon them, and foyned with their Swords and Spears, till they were even weary with ſlaughter; and all the while the *Engliſh* Archers ſhot thick among thoſe that were farther off, to the great deſtruction both of Men and Horſes; ſo that this Army being preſently brought to Confuſion, became a Prey to the Conquerour; the reſt of the *Scots* quitting the field as faſt as they could: But Sr. *Edward Bailiol* and his Men follow'd the Chace, beating them down till night. In theſe two Battles of the *Scots*, there fell more than [u] 20000 Men, among whom were *Robert* the Baſtard Earl of *Carrick*, *Donald* Earl of *Marr*, the Lord *Nigel Bruce*, and Sr. *Alexander Bruce*, the Earls of *Menteith* and *Athole* (for *David Strabolgi*, who had the Right to that Earldom, was outed, and this other put in his place) twelve Barons, 800 Knights, 2000 Men of Arms, and above 13300 Foot: But on the *Engliſh* ſide there fell no more than two Knights, Sr. *John Gourdon*, and Sr. *Reginald Beche*; and of Eſquires thirty three, but not one Archer, nor Footman: So that the extraordinarineſs of the Victory occaſion'd, that it was juſtly attributed to Divine Power; and from this time the Lord *Bailiol* began to bear the Sirname of *Conquerour*: This Battle was ſtruck on the 14 of *Auguſt*, being the [x] *Wedneſday* after the Feaſt of St. *Laurence*.

AN. DOM. 1331. An. Regni V.

[u] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 113. & *Knighton p.* 2561. *n.*20.

Lit. Dom. F.

[x] *Knighton p.* 2561. *n.*30.

The next day in purſuance of ſo notable a Victory, they march up to St. *Johnſton* upon the River *Tay*, which thô very Defenſible, was thrô the Conſternation of the Inhabitants taken without Aſſault; and here they found good ſtore of Warlike Ammunition, and Proviſion of Victuals: Wherefore they thought beſt to Fortifie the Town for their own Uſe, and to entrench it round with deeper and larger Ditches, as not doubting ſhortly of an occaſion to be put to defend themſelves againſt Greater Forces; which indeed came to paſs accordingly.

For immediately after Earl *Patrick* of *Dunbar* and *Archimbald Douglas* came and inveſted the Town with an Army of 40000 Men; before which time they had ſent Orders to Sr. *John Crab* the Admiral, that he ſhould ſet forth with as many Veſſels of War, and as Great ſtrength as he conveniently could of the ſudden, and therewith fall upon the *Engliſh* Fleet, which lay in the Water of [y] *Tay*, but ill-defended, as they imagin'd. This Counſel was put in execution, but miſſed of its deſired Effect: For Sr. *John Crab* came with Ten ſtout Ships of *Flanders*, ſuddenly upon the *Engliſh*, as they lay in the Harbour: Sr. *Henry Beaumont's* Barge felt his Fury firſt; for this he took, and put all to the Sword he found there; which were yet but a few, and they not ready, becauſe of the ſuddenneſs of the ſurpriſe: But however, before they fell, they made ſuch Reſiſtance, that the reſt of the *Engliſh* had time to Arm and Unite ſtrongly together: Which being done, thô nothing equal to the *Scots* in number, they behaved themſelves ſo well, that by plain Valour they extorted another unexpected Victory from their overweening Enemies; ſlaying and wounding the greater Part of them, and burning, ſinking, or taking all their Veſſels. Their Admiral *Crab* himſelf very narrowly eſcaped away; flying by Land, and himſelf bearing the firſt News of his own Loſs. This Succeſs happen'd to the *Engliſh* on St. *Bartholomews*, being a *Saturday*; on Knowledge whereof Earl *Patrick* and *Douglas* raiſed their Siege in Deſpair: Becauſe nothing was to be done effectually, unleſs they could cut off the *Engliſh* from the uſe of the Water; which by this Defeat, could not now be performed. After this the *Engliſh* deliver the Town well Fortified and Provided with a ſufficient Garriſon, to the Cuſtody of the Lord *Duncane Macduff* Earl of *Fife*, who upon the Victory at *Kingcorn*, had revolted from King *David* to the Lord *Bailiol* the Conquerour: But ſhortly after he betray'd the Town again to the *Bruceans*, requiting one Treaſon with another.

[y] *Knighton p.* 2561. *n.*50.

IV. The Reputation of theſe frequent and incredible Victories was ſo great, that many Nobles and Gentlemen [z] of *England*, of their own accord flock'd thither to the ſervice of the Lord *Bailiol*, even at their own expence; either in hopes of Prey, or out of pure Courage to get Honour in the Wars, or of Love to the Family of the *Bailiols*, which had always been ſupported by the *Engliſh*: Or perhaps by King *Edward's* allowance, for the Exerciſe of his Gentry in the Wars. Not a few alſo of the *Scots* themſelves revolted to the Conquerour: So that ſoon after on the [a] 5 of the Calends of *October* (which is the 27 of *September*) the Lord *Edward Bailiol* was by the *Engliſh* Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*, many alſo of the Prime Nobility of that Realm, conſenting to, and aſſiſting at, the ſame. Such weak Reſiſtence can even ſo Potent a

[z] *Walſingh. Hypod. p.* 112. *n.*30.

[a] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 114. *n.* 1.

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Kingdom make; when thoſe who ſhould joyn in the Common Defence of their Country, either by Diſloyalty to their Prince, or Faction among themſelves, prepare a way for a Common Enemies Succeſs: Eſpecially when the ſupream Governour himſelf, either by reaſon of Childhood, or Unskilfulneſs, can have no abſolute Diſpoſal of the Laws in his own Hands to any purpoſe. Beſides, at this time the *Scots* had few or no ſufficient Leaders, the Lord *James Douglas* being (as we ſhew'd before) kill'd in *Spain*, and the Lord *Thomas Randulph*, who had been Protector of the King's Perſon, and the ableſt either Counſellor, or Soldier in *Scotland*, was now newly dead.

[b] *Hector Boet. l.15. fol.310. lin.70. & Buchan.l.9.p.281.*

[b] *Boetius*, and from him *Buchanan* would here fain make us believe that he was poiſon'd by a Monk at the Order and Contrivance of King *Edward* of *England*: Who upon the news thereof brought to him by the ſaid Monk, invaded *Scotland* (ſay they) with a great Army: When finding *Randulph* ſtill alive (thô but then diſſembling health, as he that had received the Poiſon) for Anger he burnt the Poiſoner, and for Fear broke up his Army. Thus theſe Egregious Hiſtorians, and indeed they ſet off the tale wonderfull prettily; but with what Truth or Honeſty appears, not only in that they bring no Author for what they ſay (themſelves being more than 200 years after that Age) nor in that they are both very frequently found, either thrô Malice or Ignorance, in ſhrewd and palpable Errors; but in that, it appears from the moſt Authentick Records extant, that King *Edward* the Third invaded not *Scotland* in Perſon, till two years after the Death of this Lord *Randulph*, which by their own [c] Confeſſion preceded even this Invaſion of the *Bailiol*: And moreover the whole Courſe of King *Edward's* Life and Reign will appear full of Acts of Generoſity, Honour and Magnanimity.

[c] *Buchan.p.282. ubi moritur 3° Calend. Auguſt. i.e.30 Julii: Cum Balioli Invaſio contigit circa principium Auguſti; ut ſupra dictum.*

But having laid down theſe Firſt Seeds of the *Scotch* War, we ſhall now take a ſhort leave of theſe Affairs, till time calls us to conſider what Fruits in their Order they brought forth, and by whoſe Hand the chief Harveſt of Honour was gather'd.

[d] *Walſingh.hiſt. p.113.n.40.*

V. In *England* this mean while certain [d] bold Fellows of the Realm, in meer contempt of the King's Youth, or by the ſecret inſtigation of ſome great Malecontents, began to aſſemble themſelves in conſiderable Bodies together: And thus they kept in Woods and Foreſts, robbing and abuſing all that came near them after their own pleaſure; and as it is uſual, when Impunity accompanies Villany, in a ſhort time theſe Bands grew ſo numerous and formidable, that they became a Terror and Grievance to the whole Kingdom. Among other of their Licentious Practiſes, the Lord Chief Juſtice [e] Sr. *Richard Willoughby* going after *Chriſtmas* towards *Grantham*, was taken by one *Richard Fulvile*, and by force carried into a Wood hard by, where being ſieſed by certain of theſe Lawleſs Fellows, he was compell'd to lay down immediately Ninety Marks, as a Ranſom for his Life, and alſo to ſwear never to diſcover them. Upon News of theſe and the like Inſolencies, the Young King reſolving now to be Maſter of his Crown, ſends forth his Juſtices of *Trailebaſton*, two and two with Power to enquire after all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Eſcheators, and others, who had abuſed or neglected their Offices, by Extortion, Bribery, Fear or Favour; and after all ſuch as had failed in the due Execution of the Laws, whereby theſe Licentious People began firſt to take ſuch Boldneſs upon them. The form of the Writ, thô of moment, I forbear to tranſcribe, becauſe 'tis already Extant in [f] *Holinſheads* Chronicles, and elſewhere. But leaſt the Law ſhould fail of Power to maintain it ſelf, the Young King takes to him ſome choice Troops of Armed Men, with many Light-Horſemen well mounted, and marches forth in Perſon to diſcover theſe Enemies to Government. Some Parties of theſe Audacious Villains were met with by him, nor did they much decline the matter, Succeſs had made them ſo Impudent: But Majeſty and Vertue are more Valiant, than Vice and Rebellion; ſo that they are all ſoon Worſted by the Brave Young King, and become an Example to others, ſome of them being ſlain in Skirmiſh, many Hang'd and Quarter'd, a few Beheaded, others impriſon'd and put to great Fines, and in ſhort ſuch Order taken with all, that the whole Kingdom was kept in Peace and quiet at Home all his Reign after.

[e] *Knighton p. 2559.n.60.*

[f] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.840.*

VI. On the Thirtieth [g] of *September*, or the Morrow after St. *Michael*, being a Monday, the King held his High-court of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to conſult about the Affairs of *Guienne*, and other his Lands beyond the Seas; as alſo concerning a Peace to be had with *France*, and to conferr about the Matters of *Ireland*. Theſe were by *John Stratford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and then Lord Chancellour of *England*, offer'd, as the reaſons inducing the King to call that Parliament. The Affairs of *Guienne* were not in ſo ill a poſture, the [h] Earl of *Ulſter* being now there, and Sr. *John Darcy* Juſtice of *Ireland* having been ſent thither the Year foregoing, eſpecially becauſe of the late

[g] *M.S. p.14. Sr Rob.Cotton & Statute Book, &c.*

[h] *Knighton p. 2563.*

[i] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p.371.*

late Composure between *England* and *France*, the *French* being also at this time about a Treaty with *England*: Yet because then a Peace is most likely to be made on good Conditions, when he that treats is in a posture of Defence, it was thought fit to provide something for the Defence of those Parts however. And therefore Sr. *John* [k] St. *Philibert*, a Baron of great prudence and valour, was now by the King appointed to be Major of the City of *Bourdeaux*, having an assignation of an 100l. allow'd him for the Expences of his journey thither; thô this Worthy Gentleman deceased about two Years after. Sr. *Oliver Ingham* a mighty Baron, and One of the Twelve appointed for a Guide and Counsellour to this King at his Coronation, had now his [l] Patent (which had been granted him seven Years before) for the Seneschalsie of *Aquitain* renewed; and not long after he was sent over with pretty considerable Forces: Of whose valourous Exploits this Book will not be silent. At the same time the Lord [m] *Bartholomew Burwash* senior was constituted Seneschall of *Ponthieu* in *Picardy*, which King *Edward* held in right of his Mother, with whom that Earldom was given upon her Marriage with the King his Father. As for *Ireland*, it was resolved, that the King in Person should go thither; that to prepare his way, a certain power of Armed Men should go before him under able Commanders; and that those especially who held any Lands there, should make speedy repair thither for Defence of that Kingdom; as also that all learned Men in the Law, who should be appointed as Justices, or otherwise to serve in *Ireland*, should by no means be excus'd on any pretence whatsoever: And further 'twas order'd, that search should be made into his Majesties Records, to see what Methods had been formerly taken for the civilizing and governing that Country.

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[k] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 151. a.*

[l] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 104.*

[m] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 34. Ashmole p. 693.*

As to the Affairs [n] with *France*, the King by his Chancellour demanded, whether he had best treat with that Crown by way of Amity or Marriage: The Commons humbly conceived, that Marriage would be the best way; whereupon certain were appointed to consult about this Treaty; and a [o] Commission was given to Sr. *John Darcy* and Sr *William Trussel*, to treat and agree with King *Philip*, or his Deputies upon the Premises. Now for the better understanding of this Matter, it appears from the Records (as we shall more fully shew hereafter) that near this time King *Philip* being taken up with thoughts about the Holy War, that he might be sure of King *Edward*, of whose pretences to that Crown he was jealous, had offer'd to enter into a strict Alliance with him, by [p] a Marriage between a Daughter of his and the young Prince *Edward* of *England*. And lest that might not suffice, had importun'd him to be his Fellow in Arms, and in Person to accompany him into *Palestine*; or as [q] Others say into *Spain* to fight against the *Moors* of *Granada*. But because nothing was done in this Matter yet, only it was refer'd to the foresaid Commissioners to advise about it, we shall remitt the further prosecution hereof to the next Year, to which it more properly belongs.

[n] *M. S. p. 14. §. 3. Sr Rob. Cotton's Abridgement. p. 9 §. 3.*

[o] *Ashmole p. 675*

[p] *Ashmole p. 675 & Sandford p. 184.*

[q] *Odoric. Rainald. Addit. ad Annal. Baronii 1331. n. 29. &c.*

Yet this we must not pass over, that now upon Occasion of the King's being invited into *France*, the former Resolution, that he should personally go into *Ireland*, took not effect this Year; and as for the next other Business put it off, and the *Scotch* Affairs the Year following wholly null'd it; so that the King went not thither at all, as it had been here resolved; only an Armed Power was sent thither the Year after this.

In this Parliament Sr. *Hugolin*, the Granchild of the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the Elder (who with his Son Sr. *Hugh* had in the late Revolution been illegally executed by Queen *Isabell*) having first by his great Valour [r] in holding his Castle against the said Queen, compounded for his life, and since that Obtaining his Majesties Gracious Pardon, was now wholly acquitted thereupon: As indeed by this time both his Father and Grandfather too might have been, had not the too speedy violence of their Enemies taken them both out of the way. Yet 'tis observable by this Sr. *Hugh* the younger, whose Manuprizors were Sr. *Ebulo le Strange* and eleven other Knights; as also by *Thomas* Lord *Barkley*, who had as many Manuprisors, thô he was acquitted the last year; that it was a custome (to say no more) in those days, when any one had been tryed as an Offender against the King, thô he were thereof acquitted, or had his Pardon, yet [s] notwithstanding he was to provide Twelve of his Peers to be Sureties for his Forth-coming during the Kings pleasure: The Discontinuance of which custom has been too usefull to Traytors in our days.

[r] *Holinshead Engl. Chron. p. 880.*

[s] *M. S. p. 15. & 16. & Sr Rob. Cotton p. 10.*

It was also here moved by the whole Parliament, either in compassion of Innocence, or because all their Rancour was satisfied in the execution of *Mortimer*, that the King's Majesty would be graciously pleased to extend some Favour to Sr. *Edmund*, Eldest Son

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Son to the late Earl of *March*. At which bold requeſt the King being offended, as imagining they petition'd for his full Reſtoration to his Fathers Lands and Honours, asked them with ſome Emotion, "What they would have, ſince the King his Father "had been murder'd by the procurement of the ſaid Earl? The Parliaments Anſwer was, they only ſpake in the Young Man's behalf for ſome certain Lands Intail'd; to which the King replied, "That he himſelf would do what to him ſhould ſeem beſt "at his Pleaſure. Which ſeverity went ſo near to the heart of the young Lord, that before the end of the Year [t] he died in the Flower of his Age, leaving behind him *Roger* his Son and Heir, then but three Years of age, which *Roger* three and twenty Years after was fully reſtor'd to all the Lands and Honours of his Grandfather.

[t] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 147.

It is [u] agreed that all Feats of Arms ſhall be defended, as well by the Juſtices as Others, untill the King and his Council do otherwiſe appoint.

[u] *M.S. p.* 14. §. 5. *& Sr Rob. Cotton p.* 10. §. 5. *&c.*

It is agreed, that Queen *Iſabell* the King's Mother, ſhall have yearly four thouſand Pounds in Rents, or Lands.

All the Eſtates in full Parliament do agree, that none of them ſhall retain, ſuſtain or avow any Felon, or other common Breaker of the Law.

It is enacted, that no Purveyance be made, but for the King, Queen and their Children, and that by good Warrant and ready Payment.

The King ſhall appoint certain Perſons to determine the Office of *Thomas de Ferrers* and Other his Brethren, of the Parſonage of *Marleſton* in the County of *Leiceſter*.

Commandment is given to the Abbot of *Crowland*, and *Thomas* Lord *Wake* of *Lidel*, between whom there had been debate, to keep the Kings Peace: The like command was given to Sr. *William de la Zouch* of *Aſhby*, and Sr. *John Grey* of *Rotherfield*. *Stephen Graveſend* Biſhop of *London* was taken into the Kings Privy Council, and took his Place at the Board accordingly.

At the requeſt of the whole Eſtate, the King now at laſt diſchargeth the Lord *Thomas Barkley* of his Mainpriſors, day being given to him to appear at the next Parliament.

Whereas Sr. *Henry Percy* for the Yearly Fee of 500 Marks, ſtood bound to ſerve the King with a certain number of Men, as well in Peace as in War: The King in releaſe of the ſaid Fee, granteth to the ſaid [x] Sr. *Henry* in Fee, the Caſtle of *Workworth* in *Northumberland* and the Mannor of *Rochbury*.

[x] *In my M.S. and Sr.* Rob. Cotton *too he is here called an* Earl, *thô the Firſt* Percy *Earl of* Northumberland *was not till the Coronation of King* Richard *the Second, An.* 1377. *vid. Mills Catal. Ho p.* 718.

In this Parliament Sr. *Robert* [y] *Benhale*, who was then or ſoon after, a Baron of the Realm, and a moſt noble and couragious Knight in his time, as we ſhall have Occaſion to ſee hereafter, with *William Clopton* and *John Clopton*, all young ſpritely Gentlemen, having been convicted before the Juſtices of Aſſize in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* of certain Ryots and other youthfull Extravagancies, were brought to appear in full Parliament, with ſeveral Knights and Eſquires, their Sureties, where each of them was fin'd, and further bound with other Sureties for his good Behaviour: For at this time Juſtice being provok'd by the Inſolence of thoſe, who took too great liberty during the Kings Minority, was every where ſeverely adminiſtred, as in the next years Parliament we ſhall ſee more particularly.

[y] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 154.

Sundry Merchants of *Brabant*, having been arreſted by *Engliſh* Merchants for Wools, taken up to the uſe of the Duke of *Brabant*; upon the ſaid Duke's requeſt, the King commands all the ſaid *Engliſh* Merchants to appear before the Council, and abide further Order therein.

About this time King *Edward* [z] confer'd on the young Sr. *Walter Manny*, Carver to his Queen, the Honour of Knighthood here in *England*, by Bathing, and other ſacred Ceremonies, with allowance of Robes for that Solemnity out of the Kings Wardrobe, as for a Baneret: And in the Sequel of this Hiſtory we ſhall ſee, how worthily he behav'd himſelf in this Honour.

[z] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 148.

VII. There [a] departed this life on the 19 of *April* this Year the Lord *Robert Vere*, called the Good Earl of *Oxford*, Lord of *Bolebec*, *Samford*, and High-Chamberlain of *England*: So Valiant, that King *Edward* the Firſt often employ'd him in his greateſt Affairs with equal ſucceſs; ſo Temperate, that he had the common Repute of a Saint. He was ſolemnly interred at the Priory of *Colne*; and becauſe he left no Iſſue of his Body, was ſucceeded in his Honours by his Nephew, Sr. *John Vere*, ſon of his Brother *Alphonſo*, who was now about Nineteen years of Age: The Arms of this Honourable Family are Quatterly Gules and Or, in the Firſt a Mullet Argent; which have belonged to the Earls of *Oxford* of that Houſe and Name, from the Year of our Lord 1140, even down to our days.

[a] *Mill's Catal. Honor. p.* 683.

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In these days *John* of *Luxemburgh* (Son and Heir to *Henry* of *Luxemburgh* once Emperour of *Germany*) the most valiant King of *Bohemia* * invading *Italy*, brought under his subjection *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, *Lucca*, *Parma*, *Reggio* and *Modena*; of whose noble Exploits and Death we shall have Occasion to speak hereafter: But the Occasion of his Wars in *Italy* may be seen in the Writers of that Nation; and no where more particularly than in *Odoricus Rainaldus* his Continuation of *Baronius* his Annals of the Church, at the Year of our Lord 1330, and after.

* *Lanquets Chro. ad hunc annum.*

CHAPTER the FIFTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *A Parliament at* Westminster. II. *The true Grounds of the* Scotch *War enquired into.* III. *A Recapitulation of the* Scotch *Affairs from the first Invasion of* Bailiol *to this time,* IV. *The* Scotch *Preparations against the War, which they expected from* England. V. *King* Edward's *Provision against them, and a Parliament at* York. VI. *The King's Sister Married to the Earl of* Gueldre: *The young Earl of* Kent *dies: The Queen deliver'd of a Daughter.*

I. ON the 27 [a] of *April*, being the *Monday* after the Feast of St. *George*, King *Edward* held his Parliament again at *Westminster*; where that we may see what Prudent Care was taken in those days by that *August* Assembly, that their Debates should not be aw'd by Fear, nor disturbed by Tumults, it was first by the King's Order proclaim'd, that no Man on pain of forfeiting all his substance, should presume to use, or wear any Coat of Plate, or other Weapon offensive or defensive in *London*, *Westminster*, or the Suburbs of the same: And also, that during the time of this Session, no Games, or other plays of men, women, or children, should be used in *Westminster* to the disturbance of the Parliament. Here also, once for all we shall mention the Laudable Custom of Parliaments in these days; whereby they had certain appointed, not only to be Receivers, but also, Tryers of Petitions, who were to enquire of matter of Fact, expressed in the Petition; that so it might be cleared, and rightly stated, before it came to be debated in full Parliament. But the first day nothing more was done, except the Proclamation aforesaid, because the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Others were not yet come. After this *Simon Mepham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *John* [b] *Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, began to open the Parliament, and by way of Oration, shew'd how the *French* King as then intended a Voyage into the Holy Land, and desired the King's Company in that pious Enterprise: Which caused his Majesty thus to call them together at this time. Then Sr. *Geoffry Scroop* of *Masham* in the King's Presence, and at his Command, declared further, that it was as well to redress the Breaches of the Laws and his Peace, as for the Voyage to the Holy Land, that he had called them together. The Prelates alledging, that it did not properly belong to their Function to be present at Criminal Debates, with a Proviso of reserving their Rights still to themselves and Successors, withdrew with the Proctors of the Clergy to consult together by themselves: And the [c] Earls, Barons, and other Grandees consulted by themselves apart; as also did the Commons, they at that time [d] having no Speaker of their own. As for the King's Voyage to the Holy Land, it was thought as yet too Early for his Years and the Good of his Realm, to be undertaken, and therefore 'twas resolv'd it should be defer'd for three Years: As to the Treaty of Peace with *France* by way of Marriage, which we mention'd in the foregoing Parliament; Sr. *Geoffry Scroop* now declaring, that the *French* King had assured our Ambassadors, that if his Majesty would in Person go over to him, in order to an amicable Conference, he should find nothing but Friendship and Honour at his Hands: Upon this Declaration Sr. *Geoffry* requiring their advice, was answer'd; that for those Reasons, with his Majesties good liking, they agreed he should pass the Seas, and therefore would humbly Request him to defer his Personal Expedition into *Ireland* for one Year; but yet so, as that an Army should be sent thither. And then as to matters relating to the Conservation of the King's Peace, the Lords and [e] Great Men returning, declare by the Mouth of the Lord *Henry Beaumont*,

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[a] *M. S. Rot. Parl. p. 16. &c. Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 11. &c.*

[b] *Vid. Godwin's Catal. Bps. Philipot's Catal. Chancellors.*

[c] *Les Dits Countz Barons & Grauntz par eux Mesmes. Ita in Record.*

[d] *M. S. p. 17. §. 9. Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 12. §. 10.*

[e] *Les Grauntz.*

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mont, how they think fit, that certain Juſtices be appointed in every County, with Power to ſet Officers in every Town; who by the Aſſiſtance of the Conſtables ſhould apprehend all guilty or ſuſpicious Perſons, and make Publique Hue and Cry. And further it was Enacted by Authority of the King, Prelates, Lords and Commons; that ſentence of Excommunication ſhould be publiſhed in all Churches and Chappels throughout the Realm, againſt all Breakers of the King's Peace, or their Abettors. And alſo, Power was granted to diſpence with all Obligations made by Word, Oath or Bond, relating to the countenancing or concealing of any Violators of the Peace. To ſuch an Heighth of Inſolence had ſome ill Subjects grown in the Minority of this King, that he was fain not only to go in Perſon to ſuppreſs them, as I ſhew'd before; but now alſo to draw forth both the Civil and Spiritual Sword againſt them. But I muſt not here omit, what I find in the Remembrances of this Parliament, that in a Debate held between Sr. *John Grey* of *Rotherfield*, and Sr. *William de la Zouch* before the King and his Council, they grew to ſuch high Words, that at laſt Sr. *John* drew his Dagger upon Sr. *William* in the Preſence: For which preſumption they were both commanded to Priſon, althô they were Barons of the Realm. And being afterwards brought forth to anſwer the Contempt, upon equal hearing the ſaid Sr. *William* was acquitted; but Sr. *John* Remanded to Priſon, there to remain, during his Majeſties Pleaſure. Thus like a Wiſe Builder, did this Monarch begin with a firm Foundation, as thinking it Neceſſary to Govern well at Home, before he could Expect to Conquer abroad.

II. And ſurely now was Fate buſied not a little in preparing Matter for his Sword: *France* was not yet Ripe, and *Ireland* was not Worthy enough to employ ſo Noble an Arm; but *Scotland* to its unhappy Honour, did both ſeem a more equal Enemy, and by its Evil *Genius* was already haſting to ruſh into that War, which of it ſelf came too ſoon upon them.

But becauſe hitherto I have not ſeen any Author, either Foreign or Domeſtick, that ſeems fully to underſtand the Cauſe of King *Edward's* Invading that Realm; ſome ſaying, he did it out of Intereſt (which that he might do partly, I ſhall not deny) [f] others, that demanding *Barwick*, as his Right, and being refus'd, he made that Refuſal an occaſion of breaking the Peace: I ſhall now therefore Faithfully and Diſtinctly ſet down all that I have learn'd of this Matter, and leave it to the Deciſion of the Impartially Judicious.

[f] *Polydor. Virgil. &c.*

King *Edward* had hitherto kept the Quadriennial Peace moſt punctually; ſaving only, that he hindred not thoſe of his Subjects, who claim'd Lands in *Scotland* (which by peaceable Means they could not enjoy) from uſing their beſt endeavours, (thô without the leaſt help from him) for the Recovery of their Right. Nay, we find it expreſly mention'd to his Honour, [g] that theſe *Engliſh* Adventurers undertaking that War without his leave (for he would not, as we ſhew'd before, permit them to paſs thrô his Land into that Realm) he became ſo diſpleas'd at their preſumption; that by Advice of his Council, he cauſed all the Caſtles, Mannors and Lands belonging to the Lord *Henry* Vicount *Beaumont* (the Chief of theſe Undertakers) ſcituate and lying in the Counties of *Warwick*, *Leiceſter*, *Nottingham* and *Derby*, to be ſeiſed into his Hands: Thô ſoon after at the Parliament then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, upon further examination, he had a full Reſtitution of all again. Thus much can truly be ſaid concerning this King's Reputation, as to his Faith in this Matter: Nor yet did he when the Term of the Truce was expired, firſt ſeek an occaſion againſt his Young Brother in Law. For we find that in his Parliament holden again at *Weſtminſter* this Year, on the Day [h] after the Nativity of our Lady, being the Ninth of *September* and a *Wedneſday*, whereas the Parliament was only called, as the Chancellor *John Stratford* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* declared about the *Iriſh* Affairs, and the King's Perſonal Expedition thither (for that was again reſum'd, and the *French* Voyage put off) there was ſuddenly terrible News brought from the *North*, of a *Scotch* Invaſion, which immediately turn'd all their Minds that way. So that in a great Hurry the Parliament was Adjourn'd to *York*, there to meet on the 25 of the ſaid Month, which was the *Fryday* before the Feaſt of St. *Michael*. But before they brake up that Seſſion, the Prelates [i] by themſelves, the Lords by themſelves, and the Knights by themſelves, by their Petitions Adviſed his Majeſty, and Requeſted him not to depart the Land for any Affairs of *Ireland*; only to ſend thither a new ſupply of Men and Money, and himſelf to March with an Armed Power toward the *North*, there to watch the Motions of *Scotland*: Towards which Exploit, they [k] granted to the King one *Fifteenth* of the Temporality, and a *Tenth* of all Cities and Burroughs; ſo as the King would pleaſe to live

[g] *Dugd. Bar. 2 Vol. p. 51. a. ex Clauſ. 4. Ed. 3. m. 12.*

[h] *M.S. p. 18. Sr Rob. Cotton p. 12. §. 3.*

[i] *M. S. p. 18. §. 3. 4. Sr Rob. Cotton p. 13. § 3.*

[k] *M.S. ibid. Sr Rob. Cotton ibid. Walſing. hypod. p. 112.*

of

of his own, without grieving his Subjects by outragious Prises, or such like: Whereupon the King revoked the New Commissions for rearing of Tallages; and promiseth from henceforth to * remise the same according to the old Rate. AN. DOM. 1332. An. Regni VI.

III. But that we may the better understand the Business in Hand, it seems not unnecessary to give a short Account of the *Scotch* Affairs, since the Invasion of *Edward Bailiol* the Conquerour; of which we have made some Relation already in the Year foregoing. After those frequent and memorable Victories, the said *Edward Bailiol* was Proclaimed King of *Scotland*, and Crowned at *Scone*, in Opposition to King *David*: His *English* Assistants were the Chief that both encouraged, and in a manner enforced him to take this Title upon him; they alledging, "That they fought for his Right to the "Crown of that Kingdom, which if now after such fair Beginnings he had not the Cou- "rage to own, he would not deserve to obtain it: But that if he accepted the Title "of King, it would confirm the Hands of his Friends, and weaken those of his Ene- "mies: Besides, 'twas not unlikely to bring over many great Ones to his Party. On these and other the like Considerations, he accepted the Crown, as we shew'd before, and accordingly most of the *Scotch* Nobility came in to him: Thô some did but dissemble to secure their own Estates; till a Fairer occasion might be offer'd to declare themselves with more Advantage.

* In Sr. R. Cotton 'tis remise in M.S. raise

Soon after his Coronation, that he might secure the Crown unto himself, which he had taken upon him, [1] he marched with his gallant little Army from *Scone*, and had another Victory over the Rebel *Scots* at *Roxborough*, where he took the Lord *Andrew* Earl of *Murray*, and sent him prisoner to *Durham*. These thick and manifold Losses, thô able to have broke the Spirits of any but the hardy *Scots*, did only make them more cauteous, and put them almost against their nature upon subtle Contrivances, now they saw how unsuccessfull their Forceable Opposition proved. Whereupon [m] *Patrick* Earl of *Dunbar*, *Archimbald Douglas* and Sr. *John Randulph*, son to the Lord *Thomas Randulph*, late Protector of *Scotland*, with certain other Lords, that were still in their hearts firm to King *David's* Interest, did with subtlety require of King *Edward Bailiol* a Truce till the [n] Feast of the *Purification* following; that then by peaceable Treaty in full Parliament a perfect Union and Agreement might be made among these different Parties of the *Scottish* Nation. The unwary Prince willing by any means to stop the further Effusion of his Subjects blood, presently swallows this Bait, accepts with joy this deceitfull Overture; and either to shew his Confidence in his People, or to create in them a confidence of his peaceable Inclinations, freely dismisses the greater part of his Forces. The Parliament was pretended to be held at *Anan* the chief Town in *Anandale*, about 15 miles from *Caerlile*; whither the perfidious *Scots* (on *Christmas* Day, being ten days before the Parliament was to sit) coming suddenly upon their new King, made a lamentable slaughter of his Friends who were about him, he himself hardly escaping away on an Horse, without either Bridle or Saddle. But there he lost his only Brother, the Lord *Henry Bailiol*, a Man of singular valour, with the Lords *Walter Cumin* and *Richard Kirkeby*; only *Alexander* [p] *Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick* and *Galloway*, had his Life spared at the interception of the Lord *John Randulph*, who was his Kinsman as well upon the account of his relation to King *David*, as because he was one of the latest that yielded to the *Bailiol*. But surely the Lord *John Moubray* of *England* was not now slain, as *Hector* falsly affirms; for we find [q] by undoubted Records, that he died not till 29 years after this time. And here I must not omit to take further notice of the vanity of this *Hector Boetius*, [r] who to advance his Nations Honour as he thinks, sticks not to averr by a most notorious falshood, that this Victory was obtain'd by a just Battle, and after a long and doubtfull Fight: Whereas not to mention, that never any King went into battle deliberately, with his Horse unbridled; nor that it appears by Records, that several of King *Bailiols* chief Abettors and Friends, without whom he neither could nor would maintain a field, particularly, that the Lord [i] *Henry Beaumont* was then in *England*, even *Buchanan* [t] himself acknowledges, that King *Bailiol* was surprised, almost asleep and half naked. He for his part fled away directly for *Caerlile*, where he was kindly [u] received of *Ranulph* Lord *Dacres* of the *North*, then High [x] Sheriff of *Cumberland* and Governor of *Caerlile*, with whom he stay'd during the Holydays. Thence [y] he went into *Westmorland*, where he was honorably entertain'd by *Robert* Lord *Clifford* at his Castles [z] of *Appleby* and *Brougham*; [a] in requital whereof King *Bailiol* then and there granted unto him and his Heirs for ever *Douglasdale* in *Scotland* (which had before been given to his Grandfather the Lord *Robert Clifford* by King *Edward* the First of *England*) if ever again he should recover that Realm of his Adversaries. Not long [b] after this he went into

[1] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 114. *Buchan. l.* 13. *p.* 288.

[m] *Knighton p.* 2562. & *Walsing. ibid.*

[n] 2 *Febr.*

[o] & 6 *Calen. Jan. i.e.* 25 *Decemb. Buchan. p.* 286. *vid. M.S Vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. c.* 223.

[p] *Buchan. l.* 13. *p.* 286.

[q] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 127. *a.* & *b.*

[r] *Hector p.* 314.

[t] *M.S. p.* 17. §. 18. *Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 12. §. 6. *Buchan. l.* 13. *p.* 286.

[u] *Knighton p.* 2562.

[x] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 22. *b.*

[y] *Rob. Southwell.*

[z] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 340.

[a] *Rob. Southwell.*

[b] *Knighton p.* 2562. *n.* 40. *sed lege* Lancastriam *pro illius* Leicestriam.

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to *Lancaſhire* to the Lady of *Ghiſnes* then reſiding at *Mourholme*, where for one week more he tarried with his ſmall Company, who had with him eſcaped from the *Scots*; and this Lady (who was wife to [c] *William* Lord *Coucy*, Earl of *Ghiſnes* in *France*) furniſhed him with Horſe, Arms and Money; for he had loſt all that ever he had, when he eſcaped from the Treaſon of the *Scots*. Moreover King *Bailiol* [d] ſent to King *Edward* his Letters Supplicatory, "Complaining unto him how falſly and treacherouſly "he had been in a little while reduced to ſhame and ſorrow, by the perfidiouſneſs of "his Liege-men, upon whom he had entirely truſted; and praying him for the Love "of Almighty God, that he would maintain and help him againſt his Enemies: On "which Condition he would hold the Crown of *Scotland* of him, and render homage "unto him for the ſame. King *Edward* had great commiſeration of this his forlorn Condition, and promiſed him very ſhortly to give him powerfull Aſſiſtance.

[c] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*761.
[d] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. c.* 223.

IV. In the mean time, while King *Bailiol* was thus recruiting himſelf again in *England*, and rallying his former Friends to his Aſſiſtance, the [e] *Scots* that held for *Bruce*, nothing ignorant of what they were to expect, apply themſelves to *Archimbald Douglas*, who was then Viceroy of that Kingdom (in the place of the Lord *Andrew Murray*, who had been taken before at *Roxborough*) to conſult with him about their Affairs. For they had ſuch an inveterate hatred againſt the *Engliſh*, who ſtill claim'd Superiority over them, that even for their ſakes, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he ſought the Kingdom, and under whoſe Homage they rightly judged he would ſubmit it, as his Father had done before, they now unanimouſly reſolve no way to endure the *Bailiol* for their King. Him therefore they all mark out for a common Enemy, and with more alacrity make proviſion of all things neceſſary to a War; as knowing what a Potent Adverſary they were to deal with. 'Twas here imagin'd, how the *Engliſh* who were to take his part, would firſt begin with *Barwick*; that therefore they firſt furniſh with a ſufficient Garriſon, the Lord *Patrick* of *Dunbar* being appointed Governour of the Caſtle, and Sr. *Alexander Seton*, a worthy *Scotch* Knight to defend the Town and Suburbs. But *William Douglas* Lord of *Liddiſdale*, a Man of great Wiſdom and Courage, is ſent to *Anandale* to guard the *Weſt* of *Scotland*. Here *Buchanan* ſends *Andrew Murray* the Viceroy to *Roxborough*, but *Archimbald Douglas* was now Viceroy, the Lord *Andrew* being a priſoner at *Durham*: And *Bailiol* was not at *Roxborough* now, as he ſays: So mightily do great Men err ſometimes for want of Diligence or Integrity. The Lord *Archimbald* the Viceroy undertook himſelf with more than [f] 3000 Choice men to enter the *Marches* of *England*, and to rob and ſpoil the Borderers to his power; as a while after he did by the way of *Caerlile*, making great havock every where, but eſpecially in *Gilleſland*, and the Lands of the Lord *Ranulph Dacres*; where for 15 or 16 leagues about, he lay'd all waſt before him. And beſides all this, the Lord *John* [g] *Randulph* is diſpatch'd into *France*, to implore the aſſiſtance of King *Philip* againſt his and their ancient Enemy.

[e] *Buchan p.*286
[f] *Knighton p.* 2562. *n.*60. & *Holinſhea. Eng. Chron. p.*895. & *Walſingh. hiſt. p.*114. *n.*10.
[g] *Bucha. p.*286.

V. The news of all theſe Preparations, and the apprehenſions thereof, was that which allarum'd the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* in that manner, as I ſaid before: And indeed gave the firſt Occaſion of renewing that War (by diſcharging King *Edward* of his former Obligations) which afterward proved ſo fatal to *Scotland*. For immediately when the Parliament was reaſſembled at *York*, Sr. *Geoffry* [h] *Scroop* declar'd, "That the King "his Maſter having underſtood, that the Lord *Bailiol* had proclaimed himſelf King of "*Scotland*, for which Crown, on condition of Aſſiſtance, he proffer'd to render Homage to the Crown of *England*; now therefore demanded whether (the Truce being "fully expired) He ſhould fall upon *Scotland* in his own Name, or claim the Demeſne "of the ſame, or by making himſelf a Party ſhould take advantage of Recovering "thoſe Services and that Homage, which his Royal Anceſtours have had before him. But becauſe moſt part of the States were abſent, theſe things at that time were not ſo fully determin'd; ſo that the Parliament was adjourned till the Octaves of St. *Hilary*, the King being fain to ſend out new Summons, ſtrictly enjoyning all Perſons to attend, and on no pretence whatſoever any longer to delay or hinder the Kings weighty Affairs by their Non-appearance.

[h] *M.S.* 19 §.6. *Sr. Rob. Cotton. p.*13.§.6.

This laſt default happen'd thrô the Pride of the Spirituality, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York* not agreeing about the Bearing of their Croſiers; ſo that only the Archbiſhop of *York*, whoſe name was *William Melton*, *Henry Burwaſh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *John Kirkeby* Biſhop of *Caerlile*, with the Abbots of *York* and *Selby* came thither: But *Simon Mepham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all his Clergy forbore coming; whereby was occaſion'd the loſs of a fair Opportunity againſt *Scotland*; beſides the indignity put upon the King, in thus Fruſtrating his Expectation and the Inſup-

Insuppoptable Expence and Trouble that must needs accrue to the whole State by a Reassembly. AN. DOM. 1332. AN. REGNI VI.

I need not say any more of this Parliament, because I cannot find it produced any thing answerable to the present Exigence of Affairs, or to the King's Expectation: Save that upon their Reassembly, [i] Wardens were appointed for the Marches of the *North*; and the King enabled by his Subjects either to Invade or Defend. But *John Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*, and other the Commissioners, that were to consult about certain Matters put to them by the King, either could not, or would not of themselves be fully resolved; but (after the manner of that Age) wished the King to Advise first with the Pope, and also with the *French* King, both which befriended King *David* of *Scotland*, and concern'd themselves in his matters. However King *Edward* was so far from either violating the Peace first, or even when 'twas done by the *Scots*, from precipitating himself into a War; that thô the *French* King did openly abett the *Scots*, and the Pope did abett *France* as palpably; yet he follow'd this Counsel: For we find that about this time, among others, [k] he sent this same Bishop of *Winchester* into *France*, concerning these Affairs. Of whom this is observable, that being then Lord Chancellour, he did not (as afterwards Cardinal *Woolsey* did in the Days of King *Henry* the VIII.) presumptuously carry the Great Seal with him beyond the Seas; but left it in his Absence with those, who both could and would be responsible for it, during his abode in *France*. And these things being thus done, the [l] Commons had all leave to depart; but the Lords were Commanded to attend the next day, at which time the King dissolved the Parliament. It is observable, that on the first day of this Parliaments sitting, Commandment was given to the Mayor of *York*, in Presence of the King in full Parliament, to see the King's Peace kept in the same City, and the Suburbs thereof, and to arrest them that did the contrary. Also that Proclamation against Weapons and Plays, should be made by the Steward and Martial before the Parliament-House, and by the Mayor and Bayliffs in the City of *York*.

[i] *M.S. p. 20. Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 14.*

[k] *Philipot's Catal. Chancell. p. 36.*

[l] *M. S. & Sr. Rob. Cotton ibid.*

VI Thus this Year ended, the Peace not yet broke on the *English* part; but all things being in so loose a Posture, that nothing seem'd more certain, than that a War would inevitably follow.

The Princess [m] *Eleanora*, King *Edward's* Younger Sister, being about fourteen Years of Age, was this Year given in Marriage to *Reginald* the Second, Earl of *Gueldre*, a great Lover of King *Edward* and the *English* Nation: Her Portion was 15000 pounds Sterling, no small Summe of Money in those Days; for we find in Ancient Times, that even the Marriages of the Daughters of *France* [n] exceeded not 6000 Crowns ready Money; thô in our Days a Merchant of *London* has made his Daughter worth Forty, Sixty, and a Hundred Thousand Pounds. This Lady (thô his second Wife) brought to the said Earl two hopefull Sons, *Reginald* and *Edward*, both Dukes successively after their Father: For when afterward King *Edward* was made Vicar of the Sacred Empire, he Created this Earl *Reginald* Duke of *Gueldre*, since which that Earldom became a Dukedom.

[m] *Speeds Ed. 2. p. 564. §. 81.*

[n] *Causin's Holy Court l. 3. part. 1 §. 39. n. 60.*

In her passage to *Guelderland* she was Honourably attended by many *English* Knights, among whom was [o] *William* Lord *Zouch* of *Mortimer*, and Sr. *Constantine Mortimer* his Kinsman, both Branches of that Great Family of the *Mortimers*, late Lords of *Wigmore*: Sr. *Constantine* four Years after became Steward of the Houshold to the foresaid Countess of *Gueldre*.

[o] *Dugd. Bar. 1 Vol. p. 154.*

This [p] Year the Lord *Edmund Plantagenet*, Eldest Son of *Edmund* of *Woodstock* late Earl of *Kent* departed this Life, being at his Death the King's Ward, and so without Issue: Whereupon his Brother *John* succeeded him in the said Earldom.

[p] *Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p. 214. Clauf. 6. Ed. 3. m. 31.*

To repair which Diminution of the Royal Branches in *England*, Queen [q] *Philippa* soon after *Christmas*, was happily deliver'd at *Woodstock*, near *Oxford* of her second Child, a fair Daughter, who was Christened by the Name of *Isabella*, and many Years after by the King her Father given in Marriage to the Honourable and Valiant Lord *Ingelram Coucy*, Earl of *Guisnes* and *Soissons*, and in time Archduke of *Austria*.

[q] *Knighton p. 2560. & Speed p. 590. b. & Stow p. 231. &c.*

CHAP-

An. Dom. 1333. An. Regni VII.

CHAPTER the Sixth.

The CONTENTS.

I. *The Lord* Robert *Earl of* Artois *in* Picardy, *being profecuted by the* French *King, flies into* England *to King* Edward's *Protection, and becomes a Firebrand of the War againſt his Country.* II. *King* Edward *Summons the King of* Scotland *to come and do Homage, as alſo to render* Barwick *unto him, with King* David's *Reply.* III. *King* Edward *in Parliament reſolves on a War with* Scotland, *and ſends his Defiance.* IV. *Mutual Inroads, as Præludiums to the War, with the Siege of* Barwick. V. *King* Edward's *expedition in* Scotland, *and return to the Siege before* Barwick, *where he is met by the Lord* Darcy. VI. *A Combat between a* Scotch *and* Engliſh *Knight, with the Battle of* Halidown. VII. *The Names of the* Engliſh *Lords in that Battle, with an account of the Loſs on both ſides:* Barwick *taken and Garriſon'd by King* Edward. VIII. *King* Edward's *Devotion after the Victory: He leaves* Edward Bailiol *to proſecute the War in* Scotland. *King* David *flies into* France, *and makes a League Offenſive and Defenſive with King* Philip. IX. *King* Bailiol's *Succeſs in* Scotland, *he calls a Parliament at St.* Johnſton, *to which the* Engliſh *Lords, his Aſſiſtants, come and do Homage for their Lands held in that Kingdom. The Year concludes with the Death of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *the Biſhop of* Durham, *and the Lord* Hugh Poynz.

I. THat it may appear, that National Commotions and Deſtructive Wars do come by the Ordinance of God, for the Correction of Pride, Injuſtice, or other Sins; I ſhall here briefly touch at the ſeeds of the *French* War, which being caſt about this time, laſted for ſo many years, and brought forth ſo many ſtrange and notable Events; thô when firſt ſow'd, they ſeem'd ſo ſmall and inconſiderable.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 25. King *Philip* of *Valois*, who now wore the Crown of *France*, [a] obtain'd it at firſt chiefly by the Aſſiſtance, Conduct, and Authority of a Mighty Peer of that Kingdom, named, *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, who was one of the moſt Noble, Valiant, and Politick Lords in *France*, of High Lineage, and Prince of the Blood. He had married King *Philips's* German Siſter, and was ever his Chief and Special Friend and Counſellour; as well before, in his private Condition, as now in his Regal Eminence. Inſomuch, that for the ſpace of three or four Years, nothing of any moment paſſed in all that Kingdom, but at the Adviſe and Diſcretion of the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*.

[b] *Sandford Geneal. Hiſt. p.* 94. This Lord *Robert*, beſides the Relation he bore to King *Edward*, as having Married the Siſter of King *Philip*, who was Uncle to Queen *Philippa*, was alſo by the [b] Mother's ſide deſcended from King *Henry* the *Third* of *England*, King *Edward's* Great Grandfather, by the Lady *Blanch* of *Bretagne*, who was Daughter to *Beatrice*, ſecond Daughter to the ſaid King *Henry* the *Third*. He was the Son of *Philip* Earl of *Artois*, Lord of *Conches* and *Damfront*, and was entituled *Robert* of *Artois*, Earl of *Beaumont le Roger*, Peer of *France*, Lord of *Conches*, *Damfront* and *Mehun*: And as his Blood was Illuſtrious, his Courage was undaunted, and his Spirit unable to brook an Injury.

[c] *Gaguin & Grafton p.* 229. *&c.* Now in proceſs of time, it happen'd, [c] that in a Plea of ſome High Concern, for Lands, between this Sr. *Robert* and his Aunt, the Lady *Mathilda* Counteſs of *Artois*, he had judgement awarded by the Court againſt him, whether becauſe of Letters, that Sr. *Robert* was ſaid to have counterfeited, or for Reſpect to the Lady, who was a Widdow, or out of Envy to him, who was the King's ſole Favourite, or thrô neglect and inadvertency, or for any other cauſe, Juſt or Unjuſt; however the proceeding ſo much incenſed Sr. *Robert*, that he could not forbear to utter in the hearing of many theſe High Words------"By me was *Philip* Crown'd, and by me ſhall he be diſcrown'd again.

Theſe raſh Words had ſurely coſt him his Head, could *Philip* have taken him in his

his anger. But he had wisely voided his Dominions, and cast himself upon his Nephew *John* Earl of *Namur*. The mean while King *Philip* had caused his Lady (thô so near related to himself) with her two Sons, the Lords *John* and *Charles*, to be apprehended and flung into close Prison, [d] in the Castle of *Gastenois*; whence he sware they should never return while they lived, whatsoever he should be advised to the contrary. Nor content with this, he sends to the [e] Bishop of *Liege*, desiring him effectually, that he would for his sake defie, and make War against the said Earl of *Namur*, unless he would deliver up Sr. *Robert* of *Artois*, or expell him his Country. All this the Bishop did accordingly, he was so addicted to the Crown of *France*, and thereupon the Earl was forced, thô unwillingly, to send Sr. *Robert* away: Who went thence directly to his Cozen the Duke of *Brabant*, by whom he was entertain'd with much friendship and generosity. The enraged King, upon knowledge hereof sends the Duke word, that if he continued any longer to foster or entertain this his Enemy in any part of his Countrey, he with all the Realm of *France*, his Friends and Allies, would thenceforth commence an everlasting Quarrel against him. The Duke upon this Menace privately conveys this his Friend to a strong Fortress of his, expecting the Issue of King *Philip's* Intentions: But this angry Prince had so well studied his Revenge, that by his Spies he was acquainted with this Finess of the Duke's. Whereupon taking it very heinously to be thus impos'd on, by his great Importunity, seconded with round Sums of Money, he engaged *John* of *Luxemburgh* King of *Bohemia* (thô he was Cozen German to the Duke of *Brabant*) the Bishop of *Liege* aforesaid, the Archbishop of *Colen*, the Earl of *Gueldre*, the Marquis of *Gulick* or *Juliers*, the Earl of *Bar*, the Lords of *Ros* and *Fauquemont* or *Valkenburgh* (as the *Germains*) with several others, all at one time to concurr in a common Defiance against the Duke of *Brabant*. And accordingly all these having joyn'd the Earl of *Ewe* Constable of *France*, who led a considerable Army himself, defi'd the Duke of *Brabant*, and entring his Country by the way of *Esdan* or *Sedain* on the *Meuse*, came to *Antwerp*, at that time the chief City of *Brabant*, and twice over-ran the Country where they pleased with Fire and Sword. Hereupon *William* Earl of *Heinalt*, out of kindness to the Duke his Kinsman, sent his own Lady *Joan de Valois* (who was King *Philip's* Sister) together with his Brother *John* Lord *Beaumont* of *Heinalt* into *France*, to entreat for Peace, and to obtain a present respit from War for the Duke of *Brabant*. At last, thô not without much ado, King *Philip* was wrought upon to vouchsafe him a Peace upon these Conditions: "That the Duke of *Brabant* "should cast himself upon the favour of the Court of *France*, and of the Kings Coun- "cil, of them to abide the Censure; and also without fail by such a certain time abso- "lutely to banish out of his Territories the said *Robert* Earl of *Artois*.

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[d] *Grafton p.* 267.
[e] *Froiss. c.* 256

The Lord *Robert* being thus eagerly prosecuted from one Country to another, and wholly driven to despair, at last resolves to fling himself upon the more powerfull Protection of the King of *England*, and from this time sets himself with full Bent against his own Country. So dangerously impolitick is it, for a Prince to declare himself irreconcilable to any Great Man, before he has him in his Power: For here he kindled such a Fire, as the blood of more than an hundred thousand *Frenchmen* could not extinguish. He came into *England* disguised, like a Merchant (his Stuff and Riches being all convey'd hither before) about the time that King *Edward* held his Parliament at [f] *York*, in order to his Affairs relating to *Scotland*. The King knew him well, for [g] both he and his Mother had formerly received much kindness at his Hands, when they were persecuted by the *Spencers*, and beside as we have shewn, he was of Kin to the King by the Mother; wherefore readily apprehending of what great use such a Man might prove to his future Attempts, he immediately made him of his Council, and assign'd him the [h] Profits of the Earldom of *Richmond*, till he should provide some other Settlement for him: But of him we shall speak more anon.

[f] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*645.
[g] *Grafton p.*207 *Polydor. l.* 19. *p.* 364.
[h] *Froiss. c.* 26. *& Speed p.* 570. §. 37.

II. King *Edward* before the sitting of this Parliament, had upon Occasion of the foremention'd Rumours from the *North*, sent [i] *Ralph* Lord *Basset* of *Drayton* and Sr. *William Denham*, his Ambassadors to King *David* his Brother in Law, demanding present Restitution of the Town of *Barwick*, which his Grandfather *Edward* the First had held in peaceable Possession; and also to summon him to come into *England* to render Homage unto him, as Superior Lord for that his Kingdom of *Scotland*. To which Message King *David* by advice of his Council return'd thus, [k] "Lords, it is no small "wonder to Us and to all our Barons, that the King your Master, our Good Brother in "Law, should send us such a Message as here you bring us: For it could never appear

[i] *Ashmole p.* 645. *ex Rot. Pat.* 6. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 3. *m.* 3. 14 *Dec.*
[k] *Froiss. ibid.*

"to

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"to us, that the Realm of *Scotland* was of old bound or subject to *England*, either "to yield Homage or any other Service thereto. Wherefore neither would the King "our Father, of famous Memory, ever own any such thing, for all the Wars that "were made against him by your King's Father or Grandfather. The steps of our "Father we Our selves, God willing, intend to follow, in all that is Just and Hono- "rable, even thô thereby we hazard both our Life and Kingdom. As for *Barwick* it "was [1] fairly won by the Prowess of King *Robert* our Father, from King *Edward* Fa- "ther to the King your Master, in time of Open War. And by the same Prowess he "held it with Honour, till by his Death it came with the rest of his Inheritance to Us, "his undoubted Son and Heir; who intend also with our utmost Ability, to hold it in "the best manner we may.

[1] *Vid. John Harding c. 172. and Speed p. 559. § 34.*

"But this Lords, we require of you as Gentlemen and Christians, that you would "do your best to persuade the King your Master, whose Sister we have taken into our "Royal Bed, that he will suffer us peaceably to enjoy our Rights and Franchises, as "his Ancestors have done before; and leave freely in our Possession, what our Father so "valiantly wan, and so quietly enjoy'd, and at last so entirely transmitted to Us with "his Crown and Kingdom. Nor let the King your Master be too credulous of light "Reports; since we intend Religiously to keep the Peace so lately made at *Northam-* "*pton*. Nor let him give too much Faith to evil Counsellors, whose restless Spirits "stirr him up against us: Since if any other Prince in the world intended to injure us, "He ought especially to aid, succour and defend us for his Sisters sake, whom we have "Married and taken into our Bosom.

Upon this Answer the Ambassadors promising to acquit themselves as he had required them, were dismissed; but King *Edward* was nothing content when he heard them report the Answer. I am well aware, that the *Scotch* Writers, imagining the better to colour all their losses, deliver how their King *David* had before this, even upon *Bailiols* Invasion, convey'd himself with his Queen into *France*: But neither doth it seem honourable nor reasonable, that by so weak, thô successfull an Enemy, and at the appearance of such small Forces, their King should be driven to such desperate Courses; nor is it agreeable to other, either Circumstances or Authors, and it is utterly contradicted by *Froisard*, who lived near those Days, and took great Care, and was very impartial in Collecting his History. Wherefore with him we cannot admit that he left his Kingdom in this manner, till the Main of his Forces were overthrown by King *Edward* in the Battle of *Halidoun*, to which now we hasten.

III. The late-mention'd Answer from *Scotland* was no way pleasing to King *Edward*; for whatever Natural affection for his Sister, the Queen of *Scots*, might persuade, he saw plainly by the resolute Answer of King *David*, that he was no longer to be rely'd on as a Friend, than he should want Power of manifesting himself an Enemy to *England*; that the Old League with *France* was more prevalent than this New Alliance with him; that however now in his Pupillage he seem'd desirous of Peace, within a few years he would prove both willing, and able to wage the fiercer Wars. It troubled him also not a little, that while himself was under Age, so Dishonourable a Bargain had been made, wherein he had been induced to resign those Instruments of his Superiority over *Scotland*, which as his Father had purchas'd with much Honourable Difficulty, so till himself had regain'd them he could not be at friends with himself. The present Occasion also seem'd more promising, since the *Scots* had already broke the Peace, and that (on his Part beside) the Limits of the Peace were fully expired; that moreover King *Bailiol*, had in Reality the best Right to that Crown; from whom he might expect not only the accustomed Homage, but also Restitution of what Himself in his Minority had by evil Counsel resign'd, to the extream Diminution of his Honour and Royal Prerogative. Add to all this, that till he had settled his Affairs on that side, he could not safely make any Pretensions to *France*; which the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* from his first coming had vehemently instigated him unto; according to that vulgar Saying,

He that the Realm of France *would win,*
Must with Scotland *first begin.*

[m] *Knighton p. 2562. Walsing. hist. p. 115.*
* *it began to sit in the 2d week in Lent Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 645.*
[n] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 6. 45. Walsing. hist. p. 115. n. 40.*

Now therefore he calls his [m] Parliament, which, as we said before, met at *York* a little after the Purification of the Virgin *Mary*, or rather in the beginning of *March*, the * Second *Sunday* in *Lent* happening that Year on the last of *February*. To this Parliament King *Bailiol*, as holding of King *Edward*, had his Summons; but [n] he understanding,

ſtanding, that his Enemies had laid wait for him in the adjacent Iſles and elſewhere, durſt not adventure to come in Perſon; but ſent his ſufficient Excuſe by the Lord *Henry Beaumont* Earl of *Buquhain*, the Lord *William Montagu* and other Lords and Knights; who ſo evidently declared the Reaſons of his Non-appearance at that time, that their Apology was accepted by the King and his Council. Here the King declaring to all his Lords, the late Anſwer of the King of *Scots* to his Embaſſy, [o] demands their Advice thereupon, and that they would conſider what way he might beſt ſalve his Honour and maintain his Right. AN. DOM. 1333. An. Regni VII. [o] *Froiſ. c.26. fol.15. b.*

The Reſult was, The whole Parliament was of Opinion, that the King could no longer with Honour put up thoſe Wrongs and Injuries daily done unto him, and his people by the *Scots*: They humbly therefore pray'd and adviſ'd his Majeſty to provide ſuch force of Men and Arms, as might not only reduce *Barwick* into his Power, but alſo compell the King of *Scotland* gladly to ſeek his Peace, by rendring unto him the accuſtomed Homage for that Kingdom. In which Enterpriſe they all promiſed to aſſiſt him in Purſe and Perſon.

The King, as he was always very Gracious to his People, thanked them heartily for the Loyal Affection, wherewith they embrac'd his Honour and Intereſt, and ſo having prefixed [p] Trinity Sunday for the time wherein his Forces were to be Aſſembled at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, he Diſſolv'd the Parliament. [p] *Clauſ.7.Ed.3. m.19. Dorſo.*

Thus was a War reſolv'd on: But yet [q] before the King of *England* would draw his Sword, he ſends again to King *David* other Ambaſſadors, to ſummon him to come and do the required Homage, upon peremptory refuſal whereof, they were ſecretly inſtructed with full Authority to defie him. But for all this, the *Scots* were ſo Reſolute upon their Liberty, that no better Anſwer could be obtain'd, than what was return'd before: So that the Defiance was openly made, and War Publiſhed between the two Nations. [q] *Froiſ. c.26. ibid.*

[r] *Tanton' placuit concurrere Motu,*
O Deus, aternâ Gentes in Pace futuras! [r] *Virgil.l.12. v.503.*

IV. Before [s] this King *Edward* had ſent ſome Forces toward the *North*, not to Invade *Scotland*, but to make good the Borders, in caſe of an Invaſion from thence: And well it happen'd, that he had ſo provided. For [t] before the Defiance was made, the Lord *Archimbald Douglas*, on the 20 of *March*, being the *Sunday* after the Annunciation, had enter'd the Marches of *England* (as we [u] ſhew'd before) where he continued four days in great Outrage, without any encounter, and after that got off ſafe, thô with no great Booty. But now King *Edward* had order'd Repriſals to be made upon the Enemy, and ſoon [x] after the Lord *William Montague*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevill*, the Lord *Henry Plantagenet*, Son to the Old Earl of *Lancaſter*, and *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, paſſed with King *Bailiol* into *Scotland*, where they did much Damage to the Enemy; and among the Reſt, they took a certain Fortreſs wherein they found the Lord *Robert Colvile*, a Baron [y] of *England*, Priſoner (whom they releaſed) with many other *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and ſeveral great Ladies of the Country, all whom they deliver'd. Here alſo they found a vaſt quantity of Proviſion of all ſorts, which they kept for themſelves, and ſo ras'd the Caſtle to the ground: From hence they March'd directly for *Barwick*, which they began to lay Siege to, both by Sea and Land.

[s] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.114. n.10.*
[t] *Knighton p. 2562. n.60.*
[u] *L.1.c.5.§.4. p.68.*
[x] *Knighton p. 2562. n.40. & 50.*
[y] *Dugd. Bar. 1 Vol. p.626.*

A little before, to retaliate thoſe Hoſtile Incurſions made by the *Scots* upon the Marches, the Lord [z] *Anthony Lucy* of *Cockermouth*, and *William* of *Loughmaban* with only 800 Reſolute Men had enter'd *Scotland* in Hoſtile manner, for above twenty Leagues, when they were met by the Lord *William Douglas*, Captain of the Fortreſs of *Loughmaban*, attended with a great Multitude of Men of War. However at laſt the Victory fell to the *Engliſh*, the Lord *Humphry Gurdon*, Sr. *William* of *Carlile*, and more than an hundred and ſixty Men of Arms being ſlain; the Lord *Douglas* himſelf, with Sr. *William Ward*, and about an hundred others were taken Priſoners, with a great deal of Booty. But the Lord *Anthony Lucy* on the *Engliſh* part, was very much wounded in the Fight, thô not mortally; and ſo they all return'd with their Prey and Priſoners into *England*. About the ſame time another party of the *Engliſh* Borderers made a ſudden Inroad into *Scotland*, and coming to *Haddington* in the time of a great Fair, they ſlew and took all they found there, ſeiſing on all their Cattle and other Commodities, that were of any Value. [z] *Knighton p. 2563. n.10. & Walſingh. Hiſt. p.114.n.20. & Dugd. 1 Vol. p.565.*

V. But now, while the Siege of *Barwick* was carrying on, King *Edward* himſelf comes thither in Perſon with a well appointed Army; and there reſolutely inveſts the

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Town, declaring, he would never depart thence, till he had reduced the Place, or the King of *Scots* ſhould come thither to give him Battle. Some five Weeks before he had been before *Barwick*, but [a] then he was adviſed not to ſpend his time in a tedious and uncertain Siege; but to ride up in the Land and Deſtroy and Conquer, as his Grandfather had done in the furtheſt parts of *Scotland*; the Forces of King *Bailiol* being judg'd ſufficient to hold a formal Siege, thô not to carry the place by force. Upon this reaſon, and hoping thereby to draw King *David*, or his Lieutenant to a Battle, he follows the advice, Waſting and Deſtroying all the plain Countnry of *Scotland*, and taking in ſeveral fortified Towns, and the ſtrong Caſtle of *Edenburgh* particularly, wherein he placed a Garriſon. Thence paſſing the *Frith* at *Queensferry*, he came to *Dunfermlin*, and deſtroy'd the Town, but not the leaſt harm was done to the *Abbey*, the King giving ſpecial Command to the contrary; hence he overran all the Country about *Scone*, as far as *Dundee*, and on the left hand, as far as *Dunbritton*, an impregnable Caſtle, about five Miles from *Glaſcow*, ſtanding on the River *Cluid*, in the Marches, bordering on the wild *Scots*. To this place King *David* with his Queen was now retired for ſafety; for he had been adviſed by his Council, "not to hazard a Battle, ſeeing, that beſide the common uncertainty of War, he had "but few good Captains remaining, and himſelf was little more than ten Years Old; "the Lord *William Douglas* alſo now being Priſoner in *England*: "But wait a while "(ſay they) till this Tempeſt is of it ſelf blown over; another time we may reco- "ver theſe Loſſes more eaſily. Hereupon the King being thus ſecur'd, the reſt of the *Scots* of thoſe parts had withdrawn themſelves, and the beſt of their Moveables into the Foreſt of *Gedworth*, which was impaſſable, but to thoſe who were well acquainted with the Country. King *Edward* therefore, having thus ravag'd over all *Scotland* at his pleaſure, without the leaſt proffer of Battle made to him (except that ſome Knights and Gentlemen of *Scotland* would frequently Skirmiſh with any ſmall detachments from his Army) and finding it fruitleſs to expect any juſt Oppoſition from King *David*, intends back again for *Barwick*: But in the way thither he took the Caſtle of *Blacknes* belonging to Earl *Douglas*, which being about 10 Leagues or 20 *Scotch* Miles from *Edinburgh*, he Garriſon'd alſo for himſelf, as he had done divers other Caſtles before, intending thereby to make conſtant War upon *Scotland* within its own Bowels.

[a] *Froiſ. c. 26. fol. 16.*

Juſt as the King of *England* was return'd to the Siege before *Barwick*, with a Reſolution not to ſtir thence, till he had taken the Place, or that King *David* ſhould raiſe his Siege by Battle; about the ſame time came to *Barwick*, the Lord [b] *John Darcy* Juſtice of *Ireland*, with a Gallant ſmall Body of Men to the King his Maſters Aſſiſtance. He had three Years [c] before been ſent by King *Edward* into *Aquitain* to the Reinforcement of *William de Burgo*, alias *Burgh*, Earl of *Ulſter*, then Guardian of that Dutchy. But the ſaid Earl being this Year [d] deſirous to paſs into *Scotland* to wait upon the King his Lord, as he was riding to *Knockfergus*, near the Fords of *Ulſter*, and talking familiarly with his Followers about the ſubject matter of his preſent Undertaking, an *Iriſhman* called *Robert Fitzmartin Mandevil*, ſuddenly drew his ſword and ran it into his belly; ſo that there the young Valorous Earl was ſlain (only becauſe he had impriſon'd one *Henry Mandevil* of that *Family*) leaving behind him [e] one Daughter, *Elizabeth*, Heir of all his vaſt Poſſeſſions; which afterwards was Married to a Son of King *Edward's* not yet Born. To Revenge his Death, the Lord *Darcy* leaving *Aquitain*, came now for *Ireland* with this ſmall Army; but underſtanding that the Men of the Country had already done that Work to his hand, by putting the foreſaid *Mandevil* and his Fellows to due Execution, he ſet Sr. *Thomas Burgh* in his place, as Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and ſo made directly for *Scotland*, whither he came juſt in time to give a Specimen both of his Loyalty and Valour.

[b] *Thoroton's Notting. p. 264.*

[c] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 371.*

[d] *Knighton p. 2563. & Holinſhead Chron. Ireland p. 70. ad An. 1333.*

[e] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 167.*

For in this very juncture the *Scots* having gotten together a conſiderable Army, reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege from before *Barwick*; but when they ſaw too much difficulty in the undertaking, they proceeded over the *Tweed* into *Northumberland*, where being informed, that the young Queen of *England* was in the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, near the River *Warne*, they immediately laid their Siege thereto; if by any means, for her ſake at leaſt, they might ſo oblige King *Edward* to riſe from before *Barwick*. But this Prince was not ſo Uxorious; and beſides he well knew the Great ſtrength of that Place, and that his Queen had ſufficient Proviſion both of Men and Victuals; ſo that for all this he ſtirred not, thô he heard likewiſe, how the *Scots*, during this their Siege before *Bamburgh*, [f] overran the whole Country with their Detachments, Ravaging and Deſtroying whatever they could find, for ſix days together.

[f] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 114. n. 30.*

During

During this Siege of *Barwick*, there aroſe [g] a great Controverſie between two *Engliſh* Knights, the one Sr. *William Fackenham* Appellant, and the other Sr. *John Sitſylt*, alias *Cecil*, Defendant. The Quarrel was concerning an Enſign of Arms, which were, [h] A Field Barry of Ten pieces, Argent and Azure, on ſix Eſcutcheons, three, two and one, Sable, as many Lions Rampant of the Firſt. Which Arms each of theſe Knights challenged as his Right, and proffer'd to maintain the ſame by Combat in their proper Perſons. But it pleaſed the King, that the Heralds ſhould decide this matter by Law and Juſtice, without ſhedding of Blood; and ſo the Right of bearing thoſe Arms was ſolemnly adjudged to Sr. *John Cecill*, as Heir of Blood lineally deſcended from the Body of *James Cecill*, Baron of *Beauport*, ſlain at the Siege of *Wallingford* Caſtle in the Fourth of King *Stephen*. Which Lord *James Cecill* was Son of Sr. *Robert Sitſylt* (for that is the right Ancient Name) who in the Days of King *William Rufus*, went with *Robert Fitz-Haimo* to the Conqueſt of the County of *Glamorgan*; after which he Married a Lady, by whom he had *Alterennes*, and other Lands in *Hereford* and *Gloceſterſhire*. From theſe *Cecills* in a direct Line is the Right Honourable [i] *James*, the Preſent Earl of *Salisbury*, Vicount *Cranburne*, deſcended: Who, when at St. *Johns* College in *Cambridge*, was pleas'd to allow me the Honour of his Acquaintance, whereby I am able upon Knowledge to declare, that he is a Gentleman, who for Loyalty, Generoſity, and affability, is moſt likely to Advance the Ancient and Honourable Name of the *Cecills* to the utmoſt Period of Glory.

But to proceed to our Hiſtory; all this while the *Scots* within *Barwick* had not been idle, but always defended themſelves gallantly, and ſometimes by briſk and vigorous Sallies offended their Enemies not a little: For the Town was well furniſhed with Men of War and Proviſion of all ſorts, as having had a timely warning of what they were to expect beforehand. Once they undertook to fire the *Engliſh* Navy, thô without effect, at which time Sr. *William* [k] *Seton*, the Baſtard of Sr. *Alexander Seton*, a Man of great valour, being about to leap on board an *Engliſh* Ship, his own Veſſel was ſuddenly wrought ſo far by the violence and motion of the Waves, that falling ſhort between the two Veſſels, he was unfortunately loſt in the great hurry of the Engagement, to the infinite regret of all that knew him. Once there happen'd a ſudden fire in the Town, when the Captains fearing the *Engliſh* might make uſe of that advantage to their Ruine, begg'd a Truce and Reſpit, only while they might quench the Fire, promiſing thereupon to yield the Town afterward, if they had no Succour by that time: But the danger of the Conflagration being once overcome, they perſiſted in their Obſtinacy. Thus for three Months the Siege continued with much trouble to the Beſieged, as well otherwiſe, as becauſe of their frequent Sallies, wherein for the moſt part they always had the worſe; in one of them One of Sr. *Alexander Setons* legitimate Sons being alſo taken Priſoner. So that at laſt Sr. *Alexander* was ſo much oppreſt, that he gave his Eldeſt ſon Sr. *Thomas Seton* an Hoſtage to King *Edward*; that he would now without fail yield up the Town, if he were not ſuccoured by ſuch a Day. The King of *England* [l] would have had all yielded up ſimply on Diſcretion (whereas the Beſieged required their Lives and Goods to be ſaved) till he was obliged to comply with their Requeſt by the Advice of his Council, eſpecially of the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, who being with him in all this Expedition, and obſerving the Barrenneſs of *Scotland*, and the unprofitableneſs of theſe Wars, ſtill egg'd him on with all the earneſtneſs imaginable to make an end here, and to enterpriſe the Conqueſt of *France*, which was his by Right of Inheritance, and was rich enough to fill his Armies with Plunder. Upon this account the Truce being granted, and the Hoſtage deliver'd, [m] the Lord *Patrick* of *Dumbar* and Sr. *Alexander Seton*, ſent away Sr. *William Keth* to the Siege of *Bamburgh*, to require the *Scotch* Lords ſpeedily to come back to their Aſſiſtance, aſſuring them, "That if they would Couragiouſly diſpoſe themſelves to fight "with the two Kings, they would undoubtedly prevail, great Numbers of the *Engliſh* "Army being beſtow'd about in Garriſon; and as for the Reſt, they muſt either di"vide themſelves when they were to fight, or the Town and Caſtle would be at "liberty to fall on their Backs, while the Army engaged them in the Front. Now when Sr. *William Keth* had brought this Meſſage to the *Scotch* Lords before *Bamburgh*, they, becauſe alſo by this time the Caſtle ſeem'd impregnable (as we may partly gueſs by thoſe Ruins of the Walls, which are yet, or were very lately, to be ſeen) reſolve to Riſe from before the Place, and to advance againſt the Enemy. Wherefore the ſeventh Day from their coming thither, they began their March toward *Barwick*, and ſo repaſſing the *Tweed*, fetch'd a compaſs, and at laſt encamped in a place called *Bothul* near *Halliden* (vulgarly *Halidoune*) Hill, on the North ſide of *Barwick*.

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[g] *Powel's Hiſt. of* Wales *p.* 147 *ex Joh. Boſwel's Concords of Armory fol.* 80.

[h] *Aſhmole p.* 715. & 716. *in Kts.* 355. 391. 400. 417. & *Sandford p.* 378 *In Margin.*

[i] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 408. *Vid. Powel's Hiſt. of* Wales, *ubi tota hujus Familiæ Genealogia, à p.* 142. *ad p.* 147

[k] *Buchan. l.* 9. *p.* 287.

[l] *Froiſ. c.* 26. *fol.* 16.

[m] *Walſing. Hiſt. p.* 114. *Vid. M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C. c.* 223.

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But before I come to the Battle, I must not omit a Story, which the *Scotch* Writers call (thô nothing at all credible) lest thereby I may seem partially to rob that Nation of what is esteem'd so honourable by those indiscreet Authors. Both the Besiegers and the Besieged saw this Approach of the Lord *Archimbald Douglas* with an Army of above Sixty thousand Men: At which time (as they [n] report) King *Edward* of *England* calls forth his Hostage Sr. *Thomas Seton*, together with his brother *William*, whom he had taken prisoner, and erecting a Gibbet in sight of the Town, sends an Herald to assure Sr. *Alexander*, that unless he would forthwith yield up the Town, they should both be speedily executed. What should the Captain do in this case, he had already lost his Bastard son, who for his worth and valour, was no less dear to him than One of these. Both these, who were now ready to die, except he yeelded, were also Young Men of great Hope, and to a Father not less dear than Life it self. Yet Manly honour, and the Duty he ow'd his Country, pleaded strongly against Fatherly Affection; and now in a manner he is resolved to conquer importunate Nature, and make her as is fit, give place to vertue; when e're he was aware, casting his watry eyes toward the Gallows, and beholding again both his Sons, his only Hopes, ready to be sacrificed by the Hangman, the violence of Natural Affection return'd again, and wholly master'd his Nobler Thoughts of Honour. But just then, as he is resolving out of Paternal piety to be Impious to his common Mother his Country, behold his Lady, the Mother of the young Men, putting on the Spirit of a Man (which her Husband had laid off) began to confirm his late-wavering Mind, by laying before him, "What Duty he ow'd to his King and Country, and how untainted the Honour of "his Family had hitherto been: That thô these their Children should thus perish, "they might have Others, for neither was he, nor her self as yet uncapable of "producing more (which we shall examin by and by) that thô they should now e-"scape, once they must surely die; but if now the Name of *Seton* should be blackned "with Treason, no time would purge it from their Posterity. That she had often "heard from the discourses of wise Men, the Praise of those who had voluntarily re-"sign'd their Children to death for the sake of their Country. Beside, should he prove "Disloyal in hopes to save their Lives, how could he assure himself to preserve them "thereby? Or that the perjur'd Tyrant (says she) would then keep his Word, who "had broke it already; the day being not yet come, on which he was engag'd to "yield? But the Succour being ready at hand, which ought to secure the Hostage? "That therefore he should not seek to redeem an uncertain or short satisfaction, for a "certain and perpetual Blot of Infamy! This Speech settling the Good Man in his Loyal Resolution, she withdrew him from the Walls, that he might no more be stagger'd when he should behold the shamefull End of his dear Children.

[n] *Buchan. l. 9. p. 288. & Hector l. 15. p. 314. n. 60.*

To say the truth this is a very pretty Tale, and would make as much for the Honour of that Noble Virago, as it reflects upon King *Edward* a stain of Inhumanity and Injustice: But as I said before, it is no way credible, if we consider the little Authority wherewith it is confirmed, only *Hectors* and *Buchanans* Word for't; the utter Improbability, that so Gallant a Prince should be so ungenerously Cruel; the Inconsistence of that part of the Speech, wherein 'tis affirmed that they were both capable of having more Children; when her youngest Son was now so great a Soldier, as they make him in the Sally wherein he was taken; his Elder brother Sr. *Thomas* having been given as Hostage, and yet an Elder than him, named Sr. *Alexander*, was a great Captain and slain at *Kingcorne*, when *Bailiol* first landed in *Scotland*, two Years before. But above all, we shall find a few Pages hence, that this Sr. *Alexander* the Father, the Town of *Barwick* being yielded, when among others he had his choice to go or stay, chose rather to yield Homage to King *Edward* of *England*, which certainly neither his Lady would have suffer'd him to do, nor Nature it self, had his Children been now so unjustly and barbarously put to death by that King. Not to take notice of the Declamatory Art, wherewith this Ladies Speech is fraught, she in one place alluding to the stories of *Macaria* or *Iphigenia* among the *Greek* Tragedians, or perhaps to the *Tragedy* of *Jeptha*, which *Buchanan* himself had put forth; and yet *Hector* is much more florid and rhetoricall in the Speech he makes her; and he says too, that the *Scotch* Army was not yet come neither. But having thus, for fear of being thought willing to conceal any Truth, told an Incredible story to the Honour of a *Scotch* Lady, I hope, I may be allow'd at the same time to tell another, every whit as well attested of an *English* Knight.

Now it is to be premised, that in these Days there were found in the Great Wood of *Caledon* a sort of huge wild white Bulls, called [o] *Bisons*, with shaggy and curled Mains,

[o] *Gesneri Hist. Quadruped.*

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Mains, like [p] Lions, otherwise not unlike to ours: These [q] were so Fierce and Savage, that they could never be made familiar, nor would they taste of any Herb, or Grass, on which they found the Scent of a Man, after many days: When they were taken (which was very hard to do) they would refuse all sustenance, and starve themselves to Death. Whatever came against them they would with great Fury and Violence run at, neither fearing Dogs, Nets, nor any kind of Weapon. It is said the late King of *Scotland*, *Robert Bruce*, who greatly delighted to hunt these Bulls, was one time overthrown by one of them, and in evident Peril of his Life: When a certain young Esquire, that was at that instant near his Person, running up to his Rescue, and seising upon the Bulls Horns by plain Force, overthrew him to the Earth, and so held him, till the Hunters came up and slew him. For this Notable Fact of his, the King endued him with large Possessions, and from that time his Name became *Turnbull*, which is retained by his Posterity even to this day. Now this *Turnbull* being at this time of such Renown, as also of incredible strength and Courage, and of unusual Stature, resolv'd to venture his Life for the Honour of his Country, and accordingly on the Vigil of St. *Margaret*, being the [r] 19 of *July*, and a *Monday*, before the Battles joyn'd, came out of the *Scottish* Host, and standing between both Armies, by an Herald [s] Challenged to fight a Mortal Duel with any One of all the *English*. While every Mind was busied about this bold Defiance, a young Knight of *Norfolk*, whom *Baker* calls *Venile*, *Stow*, *Venale*; but by good Authority, I find his Name was Sr. *Robert Benhale* (the * same who in the Parliament An° 1331 was Fined for a Riot) offer'd himself before the King of *England*, and kneeling desired his leave to undertake the Combat. This granted, he Arms himself, and with his naked Sword walks forth fair and softly to meet the Enemy: Before they joyn'd, it is reported, that a Monstrous Fierce black-Mastiff, an [t] attendant of *Turnbulls*, flew out against the *English* Knight, who nothing daunted at the unexpected meeting of so uncouth an Enemy, raising his Right Arm on High, with a quick and sprightly pace, advanced up directly before him, till just upon the Shock he nimbly skips on the right side of the Mastiff, and at the same instant let fall his Right Arm so strongly, that he cut him in sunder at the Loins; and as fully secure of his own unerring hand, on he proceeds leisurely, without once looking back to see what he had done. This Resolution of Mind, and this Activity of Body, as it greatly comforted all his Party, so it much disturbed the Bulky Challenger, who could not but look on this as an unlucky Omen to himself. But Honour, and indeed Necessity, oblig'd him now to Muster up all his Courage; for by this, Sr. *Robert Benhale* was at him, wisely observing, what part of his Body was most assaultable.

[p] *Hector Boeth. p. 6. n. 70.*

[q] *Holinshead Descript. of Scotland p. 13. c. 7.*

[r] Lit. Dom., C.

[s] *Stow p. 231. & Sr. Rich. Baker in Men of Note in K. Edward's time.*

* *Vid. l. 1. c. 4. §. 6. p. 64.*

[t] *De Canibus belli societatem gerentibus vid.* R. Sheringham *de Anglorum Origine c. 1. p. 6.*

The Giant laid most Manfully about him, and it seem'd, that a few of his strokes might suffice to decide the Controversie: But the Defendant was Young, Vigorous, and Nimble, ever at him, and yet ever at a distance from him; still offering, and never resolving to strike, till he might once do it to purpose. When *Turnbull* thought himself sure of his Head, his Adversary was three paces out of his reach; and yet it behov'd him to make use of all his skill to defend himself; for immediately he was in upon him again. Thus for a while it was a delightfull sight for the Spectators to behold, how the Unwieldy *Turnbull* behav'd himself, with as much Skill and Courage as was possible; but the Active *English* Knight traversing his ground with no less skill, and renewing his approaches with no less Courage, breath'd his Bulk pretty handsomely. All that beheld the Combat were full of Concern, according to their several Interests; but the *English* had the greater share of Hope, when they saw what Methods their Champion us'd to tire his Antagonist, and how neat a Master he was of his Weapon. *Turnbull* well knew this Dilatory way was not for his Advantage, and therefore resolv'd to take the first opportunity to strike home with a vengeance. Sr. *Robert*, who well observ'd his Eye and Hand together, and easily apprehended his Design, came one time briskly so near, that the *Scot* was now sure to himself of good Fortune. He strake at him with all his Might, Sr. *Robert* suddenly eludes the Blow, and while the Adversary bending down his Right side, and Rearing at the same time his left Arm, was recovering his overpois'd Body, in that very instant, *Benhale* steps boldly in, and with one home blow divides his left Arm from his Body; and just then (to the Admiration of all) while the *Scot* was lending a full stroke, he avoided out of his reach. And now, had he so pleas'd, he might have danc'd him to Death, the Blood gush'd out so mainly: But he had Courage, as well as Activity, and immediately counterfeits a Design at his right Leg; many Falsifies he made toward his Head, but seem'd chiefly to aim lower: When the Giant considering his Condition requir'd

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quir'd diſpatch, and hoping to requite the Loſs of his Arm, with his Enemies Death, Levels a deadly Vengeance at Sr. *Robert's* Head. This was alſo fully avoided, becauſe craftily invited; when quick as Imagination, he throws himſelf in upon him and with one full Blow, to which he lent both his Hands, cuts off *Turnbulls* Head. 'Twas ſo ſuddenly done, that it could not eaſily be judg'd, whether the Giant rais'd his Arm before or after the ſtroke was given: The Trunk ſtood ſome moments, but preſently yielded to Death, falling forward to the Ground, at which Inſtant the Heavens Rang with the Shouts of the *Engliſh*. The Knight addreſs'd himſelf forthwith to ſpoil the Body, or at leaſt to gather up the Head and ſword of *Turnbull*: When of a ſudden a Troop of Horſe from the *Scots*, came forward upon the Spur to deſtroy him baſely, who had defended his Life with ſo much Honour. King *Edward* was not aware of any ſuch unworthy Action; ſo that the Knight was well near ſurrounded, by that time the King had commanded a Troop out to his Aſſiſtance. However, Fortune ſo well ſeconded his Valour, that he eſcap'd alive from this Field; for in the [u] Tenth of this Kings Reign we find him again in the Wars of *Scotland*, and two Years after in the Expedition into *Flanders*, and two and twenty Years after that he had Summons to Parliament amongſt the Barons of this Realm.

[u] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 154.*

The *Scots* came freſhly forward in Four Battails about the time of Evenſong, at which time the Floud was up at *Barwick* in the Water of *Tweed*; ſo that none might paſs over on Horſe, or Foot, the River being between the *Engliſh*, and the Realm of *England*: Wherefore the *Scots*, who were on the other ſide the *Engliſh*, expected, that thoſe who fell not on their ſwords, would be drown'd in the Water.

This was the Array of the Scots, *when they came in Four Battails againſt the Two Kings of* England *and* Scotland.

In the *Scotch* Vaward [x] were theſe Lords, *John* Lord *Murray*, who that day ſupply'd the Place of the Lord *John Randulph*, Earl of *Murray*, he being detain'd by ſickneſs; the Lord *Andrew Fraiſier*, with his two Brethren, *Simon* and *James*; *Reginald Cheyne*, *Patrick Graham*, *John Graunt*, *James* of *Carlile*, *Patrick Parker*, *Robert Caldecotes*, *Philip Meldrun*, *Thomas* and *Gilbert Wiſeman*, *Adam Gourdon*, *James Gramont*, *Robert Brady*, *Hugh Park*, with 40 Knights new dubbed, 600 men of Arms, and 3000 Commons.

[x] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. c. 224. & Knighton p. 2564. n. 10.*

In the Firſt half of the Second Battail of the *Scots*, were theſe Lords, *Robert Steward* of *Scotland*, with his Banner, *James Stuart* his Uncle, with his Banner, the Earl of *Menteith*, the Lord *William Douglas*, *David Lindſey*, *Malcom Flemin*, *William Keth*, *Duncan Campbell*, with 30 Batchelours new dubbed; and in the Second half of the ſaid Battail, were theſe Lords, *James Stuart* of *Colden*, *Alan Stuart*, *William Abernethy*, *William Morrice*, *William Friskin*, *Adam Moreſt*, *Walter Fitz-Gilbert*, *John Gretton*, *Robert Walthew*, the whole Battail amounting to 700 Men of Arms, and 17000 Commons.

In the Third Ward of the *Scotch* Army were theſe Lords, *Hugh* Earl of *Roſs*, *Kenneth* Earl of *Southerland*, and the Earl of *Strathern*, *William Kirkeby*, *John Cambron*, *Gilbert Say*, *William Ramſey*, *William* [y] *Prondegeſt*, *Criſpin Hard*, *William Gourdon*, *Arnold Ward*, *Thomas Duplin*, with 40 Knights new-dubbed, 900 Men of Arms, and 15000 Commons.

[y] *Knighton l. Prendeſoit.*

In the Fourth Ward of the Army of *Scotland* were theſe Lords, *Archimbald Douglas*, with his Banner, the Earl of *Lenox*, *Alexander Bruce* Earl of *Fife*, *John Campbell*, Reputed Earl of *Athol*, *Robert Sterenlow*, *William Vipount*, *Robert Lawether*, *John Lindſey*, *Alexander Graham*, *Patrick Prolleſworth*, *David Wimes*, *Michael Scot*, *Thomas Bois*, *Roger Mortimer*, *William Umphranville*, *Thomas Vaux*, *William Landis*, with 30 Batchelours, 900 Men of Arms, and 18400 Commons. Beſides this the Earl of *Dunbar*, Keeper of the Caſtle of *Barwick*, holp the *Scots* at this time with 50 Men of Arms, and Sr. *Alexander Seton*, Captain of the Town with an 100 Men of Arms; and the Commons of the Town with 400 Men of Arms, and 10800 Footmen: For all was ſet upon the Fortune of this Battle.

So the Summ of the Earls and Lords amounts to 65; the Summ of Knights Batchelours new-dubbed, comes to 140; the Foot of the Computation of Men of Arms makes 3650, and of the Commons, 64200: The Total of the whole Army ariſes to 68055. And the 65 Great Lords lead them on in Four Battails, as we ſaid before, all on Foot; having deliver'd their Horſes to their Servants.

Now becauſe the Garriſon of *Barwick* was almoſt exhauſted, and by the Conſent of both Nations, the Matter was to be determin'd by this Battle, there was no neceſ-

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sity of leaving any *Engliſh* Troops at the Siege; wherefore *Edward* King of *England*, and *Edward* King of *Scotland*, having drawn out all their Forces into the Field, had alſo by this time well Marſhal'd their Men in Four ſmall Battails, to fight on foot againſt their Enemies. And then the *Engliſh* Minſtrels blew aloud their Trumpets, and founded their Pipes, and other Inſtruments of Martial Muſick, and Marched furiouſly to meet the *Scots*. Now to each Battail of *Engliſh*, were two Wings of choſen Archers, who [z] ſhot this day ſo thick, and ſo home, that the *Scots* could by no means maintain their Order: So that the *Engliſhmen* of Arms and Footmen enter'd in among them, and beat them down by Heaps. Yet ſtill the *Scots* fought valiantly; and while the Lord *Archimbald Douglas* liv'd, kept the Field with great Courage, thô much to their Loſs: But when they ſaw him ſtruck thrô the Body with a Spear, they began to flee for ſafeguard of their Lives, thô to very little purpoſe. For when the *Scotch* Valets and Pages ſaw the Diſcomfiture, they ran away upon the Spur, with their Maſters Horſes to ſave themſelves, taking no Care for their Maſters. But when the *Engliſh* men of Arms ſaw that, they leap'd on their Horſes, and follow'd the Chace with great Fury; then were the *Scotch* men trodden down on all ſides, their diſplay'd Banners fell'd to the Ground, all torn and hack'd in pieces; and many a good Habergeon bathed in the Owners Blood. Yet frequently did the *Scots* gather together in Companies to diſpute the point with their Purſuers; but ſtill they were diſcomfited. And thus, ſays my [a] Author, it befell as God would, that the *Scots* had that day no more Power nor Might againſt the *Engliſh*, than twenty Sheep would have againſt five Wolves; and ſo were they diſcomfited, althô they were almoſt five to one of the *Engliſh*: And in this Battle were ſlain of the *Scots*; 35712, and of *Engliſhmen* only Seven, according to the foreſaid Author, and thoſe were Footmen. Their Writers confeſs, that a Wing of *Engliſh* wheeling about, intercepted them in their Flight, and that they were [b] even wearied with the ſlaughter of the *Scots*; and yet at the ſame time, *Hector* allows but 14000, *Buchanan* but 10000 to be ſlain: So fearfull are they to ſpeak an ungrateſull Truth, thô they have not Art enough wholly to conceal it. They themſelves acknowledge that theſe Great Men fell that day; namely, the Lord [c] *Archimbald Douglas* their General, the Lords *James*, *John*, and *Alan*, *Stuarts*, *Hugh* Earl of *Roſs*, *Kenneth* Earl of *Southerland*, *Alexander Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, Sr. *William Tudway*, Sr. *John Graham*, Sr. *Alexander Fraiſier*, and his two Brethren, *James* and *Simon* Knights of High Birth and Valour: Sr. *Duncan Campbell*, and Sr. *John Campbell* who call'd himſelf Earl of *Athol*, the Earls of *Lenox* and *Menteith*, and many more: So that this day ſeem'd to take away whatever of the *Scotch* Nobility was left in the Battle of *Duplin*. The *Engliſh* followed the Chace five Miles, making a Bloody Purſuit till Night: For the *Scots* as they gather'd together, made frequent Returns upon their Enemies; inſomuch, that in all they loſt upon this Occaſion 8 Earls, 90 Knights and Baronets, 400 Eſquires, and about 32000 (or as ſome ſay [d] 35000) of the Common Soldiers. For the Lord *John* [e] *Darcy* with his *Iriſh* Troops on the one ſide, made a great Slaughter; while the King, with a choice Brigade of Men of Arms and Archers on Horſe-back ſo encompaſſed them on the other ſide, that very few could eſcape, except thoſe who firſt of all began the Flight. Not a few alſo were taken alive, as Sr. *William Keth*, who was the Occaſion of this Loſs to his Country, by perſwading them againſt their Opinions, to joyn Battle with the King; Sr. *William Douglas* the Son of Sr. *James*, who died in *Spain*, Sr. *Robert Kirkpatrick*, Sr. *William Campbell*, Sr. *Gilbert Wiſeman*, Sr. *Alexander Graham*, Sr. *Oliver Sinclare*, with many more, all whom, as *Hector* ſays, King *Edward* the next day cauſed to loſe their Heads, except ſuch, as for Rewards were privily conceal'd from Death by the ſouldiers. This ſhamefull lie *Buchanan* however wholly omits, not out of good Nature we may be ſure, but becauſe of its Notorious Falſity. And *Froiſard* frequently Reports of the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, that of all other Nations they were moſt Fierce againſt each other in time of Battle, but mutually Kind and Courteous to their Priſoners. Nor durſt any ſouldiers for Gain conceal them, nor could they if they would, and we ſhall find ſeveral of theſe, ſaid here to have been Beheaded, in Action hereafter: For thô *Hector* in ſubtlety left out the Names of the Priſoners, we have recovered them elſewhere, and cannot but obſerve the Malice of the Man, who when he makes Calumnies, many times uſes ſuch General Terms, as plainly ſhews he was not furniſh'd with Particulars. Thoſe, who were privately ſaved by ſome *Engliſh* Souldiers, make a plauſible excuſe for the Forger to evade by, when we ſhall produce him any of theſe Priſoners alive afterward.

VII. Now the moſt Famous Barons and Leaders that were with King *Edward* in this Battle, [f] were Prince *John* of *Eltham*, the Kings own Brother, and Prince *Thomas* of *Bro-*

[z] *Confer H. Knighton p. 2563. n. 50.*

[a] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. c. 224.*

[b] *Hector p. 316. n. 10.*

[c] *Knighton p. 2563. n. 50. & c. & Hector p. 316 n. 20. & Buchan. p. 289. & Aſhmole p. 645. & Holinſhead Engl. Chr. p. 896.*

[d] *Walſing. Hiſt. p. 112. Knighton p. 2563. Stow p. 231. lin. 50. Fabian p. 199.*

[e] *Thoroton Nottingh. Antiqu. p. 264. & Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 371.*

[f] *Vid. Dudg. Bar. 1 & 2 Vol. ſub his Nominibus, Brotherton, Montague, Mauley, &c.*

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Brotherton his Uncle, *William* Lord *Montagu*, *Peter* Lord *Mauley*, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevil* of *Raby*, *Henry* Lord *Percy*, *John* Lord *Gray* of *Codonor*, the Lords *Alexander Hilton*, *Ralph Camois*, *Thomas Furnival*, *Gilbert Aton*, *Adam Wells*, *John Moels*, alias *Mules*; beside the Lords *John Willoughby*, and *John Fauconberg*, both who fought Valiantly under the Banner of the Lord *Ebulo le Strange*: There were also these Lords *John Moubray*, *Bartholomew Burwash* senior, *Robert* Lord *Clifford*, *William* Lord *Clinton*, *Hugh* Lord *Audley* junior, afterwards Earl of *Glouceſter*; *Ralph* Lord *Baſſet* of *Drayton*, Sr. *John Roos* and *Thomas* Brethren to *William* Lord *Roos*, Sr. *Hugh Courtney* son and Heir apparent of the Lord *Hugh Courtney* the Elder, and Sr. *Robert Pierpoint*, [g] whose services that day were so Considerable, that they obtain'd him an High Place in the Kings Favour: And from him the present Thrice-Noble Earl of *Kingston* is Descended.

[g] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 458.*

It is [h] generally agreed, that the *Scotch* Army did by far exceed the *English* in number; and the Courage of that Nation was never justly called in question; yet thus by their own want of Experience, or disadvantage of Ground, or Divine Judgment, they were slain, taken and routed by a far less number of *English*; who yet in the whole Action lost but one Knight, one Esquire, and twelve or thirteen Footmen, fifteen being the most that are said to fall on our side. So great and signal a Victory could not but enforce the yielding up of the Town and Castle, which were before so much distressed, and could now expect no other timely Succour. Accordingly [i] that very day, or rather (as [k] some say) the next, both were deliver'd up to King *Edward*, who gave the Townsmen [l] a Truce for 40 days, in which space of time they might sell, or otherwise dispose of their Goods, such as had a mind to depart; but as for those who were willing to become his Liege Men, he gave them free leave to remain in their dwellings still, and enjoy their own, they giving unto him their Oath of Fealty. Of these were Earl *Patrick* of *Dunbar*, late Captain of the Castle, and Sr. *Alexander* [m] *Seton* himself (Captain of the Town) who certainly would never have sworn Loyalty to him, had he so cruelly executed his Sons, as the same *Scotch* Writers too rashly report. Sr. [n] *Alexander Ramsey* also, and Sr. *Robert Miners*, with Other the Chief of the Town, to save their Houses and Lands there, took the Oath of Allegiance.

[h] *Walsing. hist. p. 114. n. 40. & Knighton p. 2559. n. 10 & 20.*

[i] *Id. ibid. n. 29.*

[k] *Walsingh. p. 114. Fabian p. 199. Holinsh. p. 896. & M.S. ibid. &c.*

[l] *Knighton p. 2564. n. 60.*

[m] *Hector l. 15. p. 316. l. 32. & Buchan. p. 289.*

[n] *Knighton p. 2564.*

King *Edward* entred into *Barwick* with great Solemnity, where having tarried twelve days, he appointed King [o] *Bailiol* to rule all the rest of *Scotland*, and left with him the Lord *Richard Talbot* and many other valiant Leaders with a sufficient Army to keep that Realm, that is, all beyond the *Scottish* Sea; but he himself claim'd *Barwick* both by Inheritance from his Ancestors and his own Conquest. And there therefore in his own Name, he immediately places the Lord *Henry Percy*, as Governor of his Castle of *Barwick*, with his Lieutenant Sr. *Thomas Grey*, and the Lord *Patrick* Earl of *Dunbar* was joyn'd in Commission with them, as Wardens jointly of all on this side the *Scotch* Sea, which he had received to his Peace. Only Earl [p] *Patrick* had this Penance imposed on him by King *Edward*, "That since upon the first Arrival of the *English*, he had (thrô "despair to keep it) caused his Castle of *Dunbar* to be dismantled and rased to the ground, "he should now at his own charge rebuild it, and admit an *English* Garrison therein.

[o] *Froiss. c. 26. & Grafton p. 228.*

[p] *Hector l. 15. fol. 316. lin. 37.*

The Lord *John* [q] *Darcy* having obtain'd much honour in this War, return'd now with all his Forces to his Province of *Ireland*; where all along he exercis'd much wisdom and integrity in that his Government, and upon his return presently deliver'd *Walter Bermingham* Primate of *Armagh* out of the Castle of *Dublin*; of which matters to enlarge would be foreign to our purpose.

[q] *Thoroton Nottingh. Antiq. p. 164.*

VIII. But the Pious King *Edward* of *England*, in [r] Memory of this great Victory, which happen'd as we have shew'd, on the Eve of St. *Margaret* the Virgin (that Festival being in the *Roman* Calendar on the [s] 20 of *July*) repaired the Church and Convent of the Nuns, near the place where the Battle was fought (it having upon that Occasion been burnt and destroy'd) and caused an Altar to be therein erected and dedicated to that Virgin-Martyr. He further granted to those Nuns and their Successors for ever, 20*l. per annum* out of the Issues of the Town and County of *Barwick*; untill Lands to that value might be settled upon them; to the end, "That annually "on the Eve and Day of St. *Margaret* for ever they should commemorate the Goodness of God for his so prosperous Success in that Battle.

[r] *Ashmole Garter p. 645.*

[s] *Male ergo* Ashmole 13. *ibid.*

As for the *Bailiol*, about the Feast of St. [t] *Laurence*, which is the tenth of *August*, even before the King of *England* had left those parts, he put himself in the Head of an Army of about 26000 men, all *English*, or such *Scots*, as had yielded to serve him; and to prosecute this Victory, marched forth into the very Heart of *Scotland*, taking

[t] *Knighton p. 2565. n. 1. &c.*

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Towns and Castles at his pleasure; for none resisted him: And there he took up his Winter Quarters, all the Country being subjected unto him; as we shall shew more fully anon. AN. DOM. 1333. An. Regni VII.

About this time it was as the best Authors agree, that King [u] *David Bruce*, being thus in a manner deprived of his Kingdom, was both advised by his Friends, and forced by Necessity to forsake his Native Country for a while, and fly to the protection of his old Confederate of *France*. All this was happily effected by the Loyal assistance of *Malcome Flemein* of *Cumirnald*, the Captain of the impregnable Castle of *Dunbriton*; under whose Conduct, departing secretly with his Queen and a small Company, he set sail for *France*, and arrived safely at *Bouloigne*; whence riding to *Paris*, he was heartily welcom'd of King *Philip*, who received him with extraordinary Courtesie, offering him freely to command any of his Houses or Castles to reside in, and to take up whatsoever he should want either for Use or Pleasure, provided he would engage never to make any final Agreement with King *Edward* of *England* without his Consent first had and obtained; thô at the same time the Lord [x] *Bartholomew Burwash* the Elder, and other Commissioners late sent from *England*, were then in *France* about renewing a Truce toward a full Establishment of Peace. And indeed King *Philip*, who knew that the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, his Mortal Enemy, was harboured and protected in *England*, did not at all question, but that he would do his utmost to embroil the Affairs of *France*; nor was he ignorant, what just pretences King *Edward* might make to his Crown, beside the ancient and inveterate Antipathy that seem'd almost Natural between the two Kingdoms. He gave therefore to King *David* the Castle of *Galliard* upon the *Seyne* to reside in, during his Necessitous condition, and assign'd him a truly Royal Allowance; for nothing could be got from *Scotland* considerable enough to maintain a Port becoming the Majesty of a King. Nor was it long e're *Philip* sent into *Scotland* to those Lords, who held against the *English*, honourable Messengers with many large Promises of great Assistance both in Men and Money, provided they would engage never to strike up a Peace with the King of *England*, but by the consent and allowance of him and *David* their King.

[u] *Fabian p.* 199. *& Froiss.* 33.

[x] *Dugd. Bar. 2 Vol. p.* 34.

This Message so encouraged the *Brucean* Lords, that they readily accepted the Motion, and sware to keep the Covenant, which they sent back to the *French* King, with their Seals thereto annexed. The Contents whereof were but the same with those, which their King *Achaius* of old had made with *Charlemaine* King of *France*, and which were usually from King to King renewed between the two Crowns, till at last in our Fathers Days *Scotland* was happily united to the Crown of *England*: Which Covenant, since the Articles are but short and few, it will not I hope be amiss, here once for all to record.

[y] 1. That a firm and perpetual Alliance and Confederacy should be maintained between the *Scots* and *French*.

[y] *Favin's Theatre of Hon. 2 Vol. p.* 795.

2. That when the *English* made War upon either the *Scots* or *French*, they should both give mutual Succour reciprocally one to the other.

3. That if it happen'd, the *English* should war in *France*, the *Scots* should then give them Succour with Men of War, to be waged and maintained at the Expences of the *French*; They also engaging to do the like for them, if it happen'd the *English* should make War in *Scotland*.

4. That neither *Scots* nor *French* should for the future aid or assist the *English* with Men, Money, Victuals or Advice, without the consent of the Kings of both Nations, under penalty of being declared guilty of High Treason.

5. That the *French* should make no Peace or Truce with the *English*, except the King of *Scots* may be comprised, named and allowed therein.

6. And lastly, That the Covenants and Conditions above-named, should be confirmed from King to King, and at each Change or Succession of them, that their Pragmatical Sanctions should be sealed and confirmed reciprocally on both Sides.

This is the summ of that ancient League with *France*, which was now renewed again; And accordingly King *Philip* soon after [z] sent into *Scotland* to the assistance of the *Bruceans*, Men of War under the Command of the Lord *Arnold D' Andreghan* (who after became Marshal of *France* and a Famous Warrier) and the Lord *Garenciers*, with many other Captains, Knights and Esquires. Besides which he [a] mann'd out ten Men of War to the Reinforcement of the *Scots*, but these meeting with a Terrible storm at Sea, were driven into *Flanders*, and so beaten, that after much loss of their Stuff and Provision, they were fain to return home inglorious and without effect.

[z] *Froiss. c.* 33.

[a] *Fabian p.* 209

King *Edward* the mean while, having so happily obtained the Victory aforesaid,

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and ſettled his Affairs at *Barwick* and thereabouts, adding Piety to his Valour, [b] goes according to the Superſtition of thoſe Times, with a few Attendants to viſit ſeveral Places in *England*, which were moſt fam'd for Sanctity, and there offer'd his Thanks to God Almighty, the Bleſſed Virgin Mother, St. *Cuthbert* at *Durham*, St. *Edward* at *Weſtminſter*, St. *Erkenwold* at St. *Pauls* in *London*, St. *Thomas* at *Canterbury*, and St. *George* at *Windſor*, for at that beloved Seat of his he finiſh'd his Pilgrimage. After which in * *November* he again marched toward *Scotland*, as we ſhall ſhew in the beginning of the next Chapter, and kept his * *Chriſtmas* at *York*, being ſtill [c] attended with the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, who never ceaſed day nor night to ſet forth before him the Great Right which he had to the Crown of *France*; and the King took pleaſure to hear him: But as yet matters were not fully ripe.

[b] *Walſing. hiſt. p.*114. *n.*40.

* *Fabian p.*200.
* *Grafton p.*229
[c] *Froiſ c.*26. *fol.* 16.

IX. And now was *Scotland* for a while quite out of breath, her Nobility being ſo mightily conſum'd by the continual Wars, and their own too great Courage; and none remaining, who was any way able to encounter or impeach King *Bailiol*, who from this time had the ſirname of *Conquerour* attributed to him. So that now with his [d] Army aforeſaid, wherein was the Lord *Richard Talbot*, and many young Knights and Eſquires of *England*, he took in almoſt all *Scotland*, diligently viewing every Place, and prudently ſettling his Affairs; for the moſt part furniſhing his Garriſons with *Engliſh*, as not yet daring, ſince the late Treacherous ſurprize, to repoſe much confidence in the revolted *Scots*, whatever Submiſſion they now pretended. Only a few Caſtles continued true to King *David* in this Alteration, which as they could not then be eaſily taken for their ſtrength, ſo for their Number were they very inconſiderable: If any thing may be ſaid to be ſo in a War, when no leſs than a Kingdom lies at ſtake.

[d] *Hector f.*316. 40. & *Buchan. l.*9. *p.*290.

Hereupon King *Bailiol* finding himſelf pretty well eſtabliſhed in his Throne, [e] ſummons a Parliament to meet him at *Perth*, *alias* St. *Johnſton*, to which thoſe *Engliſh* Lords that claim'd Poſſeſſions in *Scotland*, came and there did their Homage to him for the ſaid reſpective Lands held under him, reſerving ſtill the Allegiance they ow'd to their natural Lord and Soveraign the King of *England*. Among theſe was *Henry* Lord *Beaumont* Earl of *Buquhan*, who had to wife the Lady [f] *Alice*, one of the Siſters, or rather as others ſay, Coſins and Heirs of the Lord *John Cumin* Earl of *Buquhan* and Conſtable of *Scotland*; of the Lands of whoſe Inheritance, doing Homage therefore, he had [g] Livery and Seiſin in the Sixth of *Edward* the Second, thô afterwards he was diſpoſſeſſed, as other *Engliſh* Lords were till this time. This Great Lord they ſay, did firſt adviſe King *Bailiol* to implore the King of *England*'s Aid toward the recovery of his Right; and till the King's Mind might be known, had conceal'd him at the Lady *Veſci* his ſiſter's Houſe. The Lord *Richard Talbot* was now alſo reſtored to the Lands which he claim'd in right of his Lady [h] *Eliſabeth*, another of the Coſins and Coheirs of the ſaid Lord *John Cumin* of *Badenagh*, Earl of *Buquan*; as *David Strabolgi* Earl of *Athol*, in Right of his Mother [i] *Joan*, the other Coſin and Coheir, whoſe Name Others reckon to be *Katherine*, had Livery of his Lands at the ſame time. Beſides theſe King *Bailiol* gave to the Lord [k] *Henry Percy* of *Alnwick* Caſtle in *Northumberland*, a Grant of the Inheritance of the Pele of *Loughmaban*, as alſo of *Anandale* and *Moſſetdale*, with all the Knights Fees and Advowſons of Churches within thoſe Valleys, in as full and ample Manner as the Lord *Thomas Randulph*, ſometime Earl of *Murray* ever had them; And moreover, of divers Lands in that Realm which had belonged to other Men of the *Brucean* Party. The like Grants were given to *Ralph* Lord *Nevil* of *Raby*, *John* Lord *Moubray*, and Sr. [l] *Edward Bohun*, Brother to *John* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, and Conſtable of *England*, all Men of great Nobility and Valour. Theſe with ſome few more came to this Parliament, held by King *Bailiol*, as Peers of *Scotland*, and as owing Homage for their reſpective lands held of him, partly to ſettle their own Affairs, and partly [m] as Commiſſioners from the King of *England*, to ſee thoſe Agreements ratified and confirmed, that had been made between the two Kings. And in this Parliament [n] were revoked, and made null and void all Acts, Statutes and Ordinances which the late Kings of *Scotland*, *Robert* or *David* had made; and it was enacted, That all ſuch Lands and Poſſeſſions, as either of the ſaid *Bruces* had given, granted or confirmed to any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſhould be now taken away and reſtored to the former and true Inheritor. Thus was *David* ſeemingly unking'd, and *Bailiol* to all appearance fixed in the *Scottiſh* Throne; but we ſhall quickly ſee him at the bottom of the Wheel again, and once more King *David* muſt be lifted up, thô to his greater loſs and trouble.

[e] *Walſing. hiſt. p.*115. & *M.S. vet. Angl.* &c.

[f] *John Cumin* Earl of *Buquhan* died without Iſſue, but *Alexander Cumin*, his brother left three Daughters, his Coheirs, of which this *Alice* the Eldeſt. *Mills Catal. Honor. p.*957.

[g] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*50. *b.*

[h] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*326.

[i] *Dudg.* 1 *Vol. p.*96.

[k] *Dugd.*1 *Vol. p.*274.

[l] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*184.

[m] *Rot. Scoc.* 7. *Ed.*3. *m.*2.

[n] *Holinſh. Eng. Chron. p.*896.

But now we muſt ſhut up this Active year with a few Memorandums of Mortality: For *Lewis Beaumont* Biſhop of *Durham*, departing this life in *September*, on the 19 of *December*,

[o] *Godwins Cata. Bps p.* 661.

December following Dr. *Richard Bury*, formerly the Kings Tutor, was consecrated Bishop in his stead, in the presence of the King and Queen of *England*, and of King *Baliol* of *Scotland*, besides 2 Archbishops, 5 Bishops, 7 Earls, and many other Noble Personages both Lords and Ladies: So obligingly Gracious was this Mighty Monarch to the Man that taught him; as indeed for his great Learning and Abilities he did well deserve. Also on the 12 of *October* following, Dr. *Simon Mepham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* deceased at his Mannor of *Magfield*, and was succeeded in that See by Dr. *John Stratford* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, a Man of great Learning, Judgment and Loyalty. And on the 13 of the same Month Sr. *Hugh Poynz*, a noble and valiant Knight and Baron of this Realm went the way of all Flesh, leaving behind him *Nicholas* his Son and Heir, from whom many worthy Branches are descended.

[p] *Godwins Catal. Bps p.* 132. *& Thorne's Chron. p.* 2066.

[q] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.* 2.

CHAPTER the SEVENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *A Parliament held at* York. II. Edward Bailiol *King of* Scotland *renders Homage to King* Edward *of* England, *whereby the* Scots *begin first to be distasted again.* John *Duke of* Bretagne *likewise renders Homage to the King of* England *for his* Earldom *of* Richmond. III. *A Council at* Nottingham, *which produces a Parliament at* Westminster. *Wherein King* Edward *shews his Resolution to go with the* French *King to the Holy Land; Upon which he sends Ambassadors to the Pope and King* Philip; *but that Design is broke.* IV. *King* Bailiol *causes a disgust among his Friends, whereat his Enemies take Advantage; till being reconcil'd again, he grows stronger. However his Enemies get to a Head again, and for a while prosper.* V. *King* Edward *startled at the News, prepares for another Expedition to* Scotland *in Person: He arrives with his Army at* Newcastle: *The Lord* Edward Bohun, *Brother to the Earl of* Hereford *and* Essex, *unfortunately drowned.*

I. KING *Edward* of *England* in his March toward *Scotland*, which as we have observed, he began in the *November* foregoing, [a] stay'd to keep his *Christmas* at the City of *York*: Thence he went and laid Siege to the Castle of *Kilbridge*, which he presently took by fine force, and thereupon having confer'd with King *Bailiol*, and pretty well settled Affairs in those parts, he return'd again after *Candlemas* [b] to *York*, in order to hold his Parliament, which he had summon'd to meet him there the next day before St. *Peter* in *Cathedrâ*, being the 21 of *February*, and a *Monday*, the second Week in *Lent*. AN. DOM. 1334. AN. REGNI VIII.

[a] *Fabian p.* 200. *& Grafton p.* 229.

[b] *Holinshead p.* 896.

Here it was [c] Enacted, that the Great Charter of the Forest, and other Statutes should be observed, and that what Clauses therein were obscure, should be by good Advice more fully Explain'd.

[c] B. Dom. Lit. Pasc. 27 Martii. *M.S. Rec. Parl. p.* 20, 21. §. 1. *&c. Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 15 §. 1. *&c.*

It was also petition'd, that in every County one Justice of the Peace Learned in the Law, should be appointed, as Chief over the Rest; before whom all Offences should be sued to the Outlawry: And that these were yearly to make an Account of their Doings before the King. To which the King replying, he would be advised, granted that they should yearly send up an Extract of their Proceedings into the Treasury; and to Encourage them the more herein, undertook to [d] provide, that each of them should have certain and limited Fees allow'd him. To the Petition, that no Pardon be granted to any Outlawed, by any suggestive means, but only by Parliament; his Majesty answer'd, that the Statutes made should be observed; and whereas it was Requested, That Sheriffs might continue but one Year, according to the Statute of *Lincoln* and *Woodstock*, he told them that the Statutes made should stand, and that the Chancellour, and others, who were appointed to make Choice of Sheriffs should name Able Men, who were to continue One Year, or longer, according to their Demeanour.

[d] *Ibid.* §. 4.

It was now Enacted, that the Justices of the Kings Bench, and the Common Bench, Justices of Assise, and of the Peace in every County, should Determine of false Jurors and Maintainers: Moreover, the King by his Letters Patents charged all Archbishops and Bi-

An. Dom. 1334. An. Regni VIII.

shops, to cause Excommunication weekly in every Parish, to be Denounced against all such Offenders.

Upon Request of the Commons, that all Men might have their Writs out of the Chancery for Fees of the Seal only, without any Fine, according to that of *Magna Charta*---- *Nulli vendemus Justitiam*; the King granted, that Writs, which were of Course, should be so, and that for such as were of Grace, he would Command his Chancellour to be therein Gracious.

It is Enacted, that Bigamy shall be Tryed only in Court Christian.

It is Enacted, that Justices of Assise, after their Assise taken, shall not depart, before they have made Delivery of their Goal, on pain of loosing their Fees.

It is Enacted, If any Delivery be taken before any other Justices, than such, as are appointed thereto, contrary to the Statutes at *Northampton*; that the same may be void.

It is Enacted, that no Purveyance be made, but for the King.

The Commons Petition, That Remedy may be had against Oppressions of the Clergy, for Probates of Wills, and Citations for Trifles:

The King will herein do his Best, and chargeth the Bishops to do the Like.

That every Infant acknowledging any Statute or Recognisance, may at his Full Age, Averre his Nonage. The King reply'd, There was a better Law, than by Averment.

That all Men may have Delivery of their Beasts, which escape into any Hay, or Forest, without any Fine to the Forester, who accounteth them Forfeits, and that Coroners may Execute their Office there.

The Coroners shall Execute their Office there, and Wardens of Forests shall be commanded to keep their Officers from Extorting.

That certain may be appointed to hear the Debates between the Town of Great *Yarmouth*, and Little *Yarmouth*.

The Judgements therefore made between them shall stand.

That Remedy may be had for the true making of Woollen Cloaths according to the Assize.

The King will Provide for the Execution of the Statute.

That no money be Exported out of the Realm.

The King will Provide therefore.

That Pardons may be granted for the Debts due to King *John* and *Henry* the Third, for which Process came daily out of the Exchequer.

The King will Provide an Answer the next Parliament.

That Remedy may be had against Sheriffs and their Officers for Gathering of Green Wax.

The Statute therefore made shall stand.

[c] *In Dorso ejusd. Rot*

For [c] that the Staple was ordain'd to endure at the Kings Pleasure, It is now Enacted, that the same Staple should be revoked; and that all Merchants-Strangers may freely buy any Staple Wares, paying the due Custom.

Sundry Justices in several Counties were appointed to enquire of the Felonies of *Bennet* of *Normanton*.

Lastly, because Sr. *Geoffry Scroop* Lord Chief Justice was to be employ'd in the Kings Weighty Affairs; it was Enacted, that the Kings Bench should be continued in *Warwickshire* after *Easter* next; Sr. *Richard Willoughby* being appointed to supply his Place for the time, with the Assistance of Sr. *William Shareshull*, one of the Justices of the Bench.

II. This is the Summ of what I find transacted in this Parliament, which being adjourn'd, the King, who was desirous to keep a watchfull Eye over *Scotland*, passed on, and held his *Whitsuntide* [f] at *Newcastle* upon *Tine*: Whither soon after *Edward Bailiol*, King of *Scotland*, Sirnamed the Conquerour, came to him well and Honourably attended with the Nobility of either Nation, and there [g] on the Day of *Gervasius* and *Prothasius* (which is the 19 of *June*) in the Church of the *Preaching Fryers*, render'd his Homage, and swore Fealty unto him for his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Isles thereto belonging, with the Ceremony of Kneeling (while the Words of the Homage were pronounced) after which he [h] kissed the King of *Englands* Cheek; all being performed in the Presence of several Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and many other Barons of both Nations. Here King *Bailiol* acknowledged the King of *England*, as Superior Lord of *Scotland*, swearing to hold his Realm of him, his Heirs, and Lawfull Successours for ever. Then and there also he gave and Granted to King *Edward*, in Requi-

[f] Whitsunday *fell on the* 15 *of* May.

[g] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 115. *& Holinshead p.* 896. *& Ashmole p.* 645.

[h] *Vid. Selden's Tit. Honor. p.* 32.

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tal of his Expences and Labour in the Wars on his Behalf, Five whole Counties next adjoyning to the Borders of *England*; as *Barwick*, *Roxborough*, *Peblis* and *Dumfres*, with the Towns of *Hadington* and *Gedeworth*, and the Caſtles, and Fortreſſes of *Selkirk*, *Etherick* and *Gedeworth*: So that all and each of theſe, ſhould from thenceforth be wholly ſeparated from the Crown of *Scotland*, and annexed to the Crown of *England* for ever: And all this was confirmed by Oath, Scepter, Writings, and Authentick Subſcription. AN. DOM. 1334. An. Regni VIII.

Moreover King *Bailiol* by the Advice and Conſent of his *Scotch* Nobles, in Requital of King *Edward's* Coſt and Labour for his Sake, and to Nouriſh a continual Sence of his Gratitude; Granted for him and his Heirs Kings of *Scotland*, to King *Edward* and his Heirs Kings of *England* for ever: That [i] whenſoever he, the ſaid King of *England*, or any of his Heirs, ſhould have War either at Home or Abroad, the *Scots* at their own proper Coſts and Charges, ſhould aſſiſt him or them with 300 Horſe and a 1000 Foot, well Furniſhed for the War, which ſaid 1300 Men, the *Scots* were to pay for one whole Year: But if the King of *England* ſhould not within the ſaid Space end his War, then he, the ſaid King of *England*, ſhould take them into his Pay, as he doth his own Souldiers. [i] *Fabian p.202.*

But this Homage of the *Bailiols* was ſo highly ſtomached by the hardy and courageous *Scots*, that thô for the preſent they were neceſſitated to ſmother their Reſentments, and indeed could never be able to drive him wholly from his Kingdom (as upon the ſame account was done to his Father) he being conſtantly ſuſtained by the *Engliſh*: Yet what with their reſtleſs ſtrugglings for Liberty, and their frequent and obſtinate Rebellions, they ſo tired him out at the long run, that ſeeing himſelf alſo old and childleſs, he at laſt was fain to reſign the whole Kingdom, with all his Right and Title thereto, unto his Superior Lord King *Edward* of *England*; as hereafter will be ſhewn at large.

Yet at the ſame time [k] *David Strabolgi* Earl of *Athol*, Sr. *Alexander Moubray* and other *Scotch* Lords, that held Lands, Tenements and Fees in *England*, did their Homage to King *Edward* for the ſame. When alſo the Lord *John* [l] *Dreux* Duke of *Bretagne* in *France*, and Vicount *Limouvicen*, Son to *Arthur* once Duke of *Bretagne*, and Nephew to *John* the brother of *Arthur*, late Duke thereof (who died without Iſſue the 8 of *February* this Year) performed [m] his Homage to King *Edward*, on the 24 of *June*, at *Newcaſtle*, for the Earldom of *Richmond* in *England*. Which Earldom, thô our common Hiſtorians ſay, it was lately given to the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, as I have ſhewn before, appears [n] yet to have been and continued in this Family of the *Dreuxes* ever ſince the year 1268, in the days of King *Edward* the Firſt, untill this time and ſeven years after, when upon the Death of this *John de Dreux* without Iſſue, King *Edward* gave this Earldom to his Fourth Son, [o] *John Plantagenet*, ſirnamed of *Gaunt*. Nevertheleſs, thô I know not how nor when, the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* had the Title of Earl of *Richmond*; but I never could find that he had any Creation thereto. But this *John Dreux*, as we intimated juſt now, died ſeven years after, in the 15 of this King, leaving no Iſſue behind him; thô he had been thrice Married: To whom *John* Earl of *Montford* his Half-brother, ſucceeded in the Dukedom of *Bretagne*; which *John* was Father to *John* ſirnamed the *Valiant*, after his Fathers deceaſe Duke of *Bretagne*, of whoſe Wars and gallant Exploits this Hiſtory makes honourable mention.

[k] *Knighton p. 2566. n. 50.*

[l] *Mill's Catal. Honor. p. 606.*

[m] *Walſing. Hypod. p. 113. n. 10 & Adam Murimouth.*

[n] *Catal. Honor. p. 603. ad p. 606*

[o] *Ibid. p. 610.*

III. Immediately after this Enterview at *Newcaſtle*, the two Kings parted, the One toward *Scotland*, the Other for *Windſor*; whence King *Edward* ſpeedily iſſued out his Summons to the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, commanding them to meet him at *Nottingham* on the 10th of that inſtant *July*; there with him to adviſe about Affairs concerning the Weal of the Realm. In this Council 'twas ordain'd, that a Parliament ſhould be call'd at *Weſtminſter*, to meet on the 24th of *September*, or the *Exaltation of the Holy Croſs*, the day bearing ſome proportion with the Deſign, which was to *exalt* the intereſt of *Chriſtendom*. At which time the Parliament being aſſembled, the Pious Young King did then declare, "That being thereto invited by his Kinſman the "Duke of *Bretagne*, who came in Embaſſy from *France*, he had formed a Reſolution "to march with his Coſen the *French* King and other Chriſtian Princes into the Holy "Land, to advance the Croſs of *Chriſt* againſt the *Turks* and Infidels. For, thô he "had not as yet anſwer'd King *Philip* directly, when he requeſted his Society in this *Croiſade*, becauſe he had been credibly informed that King *Philip* about this time had victuall'd and mann'd out ten great Ships, which he deſign'd for *Scotland* in purſuance of King *Davids* Quarrel; yet foraſmuch as thoſe Veſſels being miſerably ſhatter'd at

Sea,

An. Dom. 1334. An. Regni VIII. Sea, were at laſt forced to return home without any effect; and becauſe now *Scotland* ſeem'd fully ſettled under the government of King *Bailiol*, all things appearing ſafe from thoſe Quarters, and quiet at home, himſelf alſo flouriſhing with Riches, Honour, Children, and full and vigorous Youth; he declares as we ſaid before, to this Parliament, his Reſolution to partake with *Chriſtendom* in this pious and honourable Enterpriſe. And thô he did not expreſly limit the time, ſince there can be no exact certainty before hand of ſuch weighty and ſlow-moving matters; yet then he appointed Dr. *John Stratford*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as his Ambaſſador, to go to the Pope and to the *French* King, to conſider and agree with them, as of other things, ſo eſpecially about the Time, when the two Kings ſhould ſet forward to the Holy Land together.

But for all this, althô the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* could by no means prevail to divert the King from this Deſign, to that of claiming his Right in *France*, which he earneſtly labour'd to perſuade him to: Yet thrô ſome ſecret Ordinance of Providence it happen'd, even while this Parliament ſat, that by other means he was compell'd to take other Meaſures: Which were not indeed ſo happy for *Europe*, but nothing leſs glorious to this *Engliſh* Monarch.

IV. For King *Bailiol* being thus fully ſettled in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and no way fearing that his Enemies had any Ability left, ſufficient in the leaſt to ſhake his Throne, began firſt himſelf to open a way to his own Ruine, by imprudently occaſioning Diſcord among his moſt powerfull Friends.

Many of his Followers had been long diſinherited of their Rights in *Scotland*, and ſeveral interchangable Marriages happening the while among them, it was utterly impoſſible to avoid, but that ſome Controverſies would happen in deciding matters now by adjuſting all things equally. And beſides all this; not a few, who had no great Concerns in that Kingdom before, could not yet but merit high Conſiderations from the *Bailiol*, in regard of their late Services. Among Others *John* Lord [p] *Waren* Earl of *Surry* was now by full conſent of *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Nobles, created Earl of *Strathern* inſtead of *Maliſius*, the late Earl, who had forfeited that his Honour by Rebellion: Thô afterwards [q] at the ſollicitation of *Maliſius* his Friends, great endeavours were uſed for Revocation of that Judgment and Forfeiture. This was one difficult Point, inſomuch that King *Edward* of *England*, whoſe clearer Judgment ſaw the ill Conſequences of theſe matters, had by his Letters to King *Bailiol*, deſired him that the Buſineſs might be publiquely diſcuſſed by his Nobles and Faithfull Peers of the Realm, and not by ſuch whoſe Fidelity might be called in queſtion; And he had alſo ſent his Letters to *Henry* Lord *Beaumont*, one of the chief of King *Bailiols* Council, requiring him to uſe his utmoſt intereſt for preventing any ſudden Determination in that buſineſs: Conſidering of what ill Example it would be, as alſo of peril to himſelf and others in the like caſe. But there aroſe another Controverſie higher than this by far; For whereas the Lord *Henry Beaumont* had already received what he claimed in Right of his [r] Lady *Alice*, one of the Coſens and Coheirs of the Lord *John Cumin*, Earl of *Buquhan*, as was ſhew'd before; now it ſeems her Uncle, Sr. *Alexander Moubray* a potent Man, lately brought over to the *Bailiol*, claim'd a Purparty of her Lands from the ſaid Lord *Beaumont*. The Cauſe was debated in Parliament with great heat, the Lord *Richard* [s] *Talbot* and *David Strabolgi*, Earl of *Athol*, taking part with the Lord *Beaumont* their Kinſman; and Others, as their Opinions, Humour or Intereſt lead them, with the Lord *Moubray*. King *Bailiol* thinking himſelf ſure of his Old Friends, and hoping now for ever to bind faſt unto him this late-reconciled Enemy, too raſhly adjudged the matter in behalf of Sr. *Alexander Moubray*.

As it was too ſoon done, it was too late repented of; for the other Party was immediately ſo exaſperated, that in the very Parliament Houſe they could ſcarce forbear flying to extremities: But the Parliament hereupon being preſently adjourn'd, the Quarrel ſeem'd to ſleep for a while. Yet however King *Bailiol* (who by the greatneſs of the Smoak perceived what a dangerous Fire was kindled, doubting the worſt, made towards *Barwick* in all haſt for his better ſecurity, with Sr. *Alexander Moubray* in his company. The Lord [t] *Richard Talbot* in deep Indignation, that his Adviſe was ſo little reckon'd of, haſted with ſome few of his Friends and Attendants for *England*; but being ſurpriſed in the way by a ſtrong Party of the *Bruceans* (who knew well how to make their advantage of theſe private Diſſentions) after he had loſt ſix men of Arms, and many more Foot, was himſelf taken Priſoner, and ſo carried to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dunbriton*. The Lord *Beaumont* in as great diſpleaſure hies him to the Caſtle of *Dundarg* in *Bucquhan*, [u] of his Wifes Inheritance, which having well victual'd and

[p] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 81.*

[q] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 51.*

[r] *Hector p. 316. 60. & Buchan. l. 9. p. 290.*

[s] *The One was Lord* Beaumont's *Wife's Siſter's Huſband, the other Siſter's Son. vid. l. 1. c. 6. §. 9.*

[t] *Hector fol. 316 60. & Buchan p. 290.*

[u] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 51.*

and fortifi'd, he not only by continual Excurſions ſubjected to himſelf the Lands late in Controverſie, but all the Country round about him. *David Strabolgi* goes to *Athol* with the ſame Diſcontent, and there makes great Proviſion for his own Defence. AN. DOM. 1334. An. Regni VIII.

Hereupon King *Bailiol* too late ſeeing his Error, and doubting not a little, what all this might come to, as alſo fearing, leſt his only Protector the King of *England* might take theſe Proceedings in evil part, by an action as weak as the other was raſh, revokes now his own former Sentence, grants the Lord *Beaumont* the Lands in conteſt, appeaſes the Earl of *Athol* with many and large Poſſeſſions belonging to the young Lord *Robert Stuart* (who afterward was King) and promiſed them both to ranſom their Kinſman the Lord *Talbot* at any rate whatſoever. Having thus with much adoe reconciled thoſe great Perſonages to himſelf (thô Sr. *Alexander Moubray* was again loſt thereby) he reſolves if poſſible, to be beforehand with his Enemies, whom he knew to make huge Preparations againſt him; being the more animated by the late Acceſſion of Sr. *Alexander Moubray*: Suddenly therefore he comes before *Reinfrew*, a City in the Province of *Cunningham* near the River *Cluyd*, which he as ſuddenly reduces; and having ſettled Matters there, paſſes over into the Iſland of *Bute*, where Sr. *Alan Lile* Sheriff of the Iſland, preſenting him with the Keys of *Rothſay*, had the Caſtle and whole Iſle committed to his Charge again. After this he took the Caſtle of [x] *Dunnow* in *Kyle*, whereby he terrified the greater part of his Enemies into a Compliance, having ſeized on all the Lands belonging to the [y] *Stuarts*, and lying in the Iſlands of *Bute* and *Arran*, about *Reinfrew*, *Cunningham* and *Kyle*, beſides what belonged to many others, who like that Noble Family, ſcorn'd to ſave their Lands by forfeiting their Loyalty. Many of his own Friends he now rewards moſt liberally with Lands and Poſſeſſions taken from his Adverſaries, as well of his own Natural Bounty (for he was a Prince of great Worth and Gallantry) as with Deſign to bind them faſt to his Intereſt.

[x] *Buchan. l. 9. p. 291.*

[y] *Id. p. 292.*

At the ſame time he [z] made a narrow ſearch after the young Lord *Robert Stuart* aforeſaid, that by his Death he might ſecure himſelf on that ſide; as who was Nephew to the late King *Robert Bruce*, (being eldeſt Son to King *David's* eldeſt Siſter) and had even in the days of King *Robert* been ſworn and own'd, as the next Heir Apparent to his Son *David*. For as for *David* who was then an Exile in *France*, he thought himſelf pretty ſecure of him, and now look'd upon this innocent young Lord, who was ſo powerfull in Wealth and Allies, and had the Right to the Crown of *Scotland* next after *David*, as a moſt Dangerous Perſon. But God had order'd it otherwiſe, and the Hopefull Prince *Robert*, being then ſcarce fifteen years of Age (thrô the ſecret Goodneſs of Providence, which deſtin'd mighty things for him and his Poſterity) with the great care and foreſight of his Friends, eſpecially of Sr. *William Heriot* and Sr. *John Gilbert*, was privatly by water conveyed to the impregnable Caſtle of *Dunbritton*, and there earneſtly recommended to the Care of that Loyal and valiant Lord *Malcome Flemein*, who was ſtill Governour of that Place.

[z] *Hector l. 19. fol. 317. &c.*

In the mean time the Lord *Andrew Murray* (Viceroy of *Scotland* for King *David*) being lately redeem'd from *England* with a good round Summ of Money, beſtirs himſelf vigorouſly for his diſtreſſed Country, and now at laſt having joyn'd Sr. *Alexander Moubray* (who thrô diſpleaſure had lately revolted from King *Bailiol*) he ſtrictly beſieges the Lord *Henry Beaumont* in his ſtrong Caſtle of *Dundarg*.

During this Siege, 'tis [a] ſaid that King *Edward* of *England* himſelf upon news thereof, with a great Power entred *Scotland* and relieved him. The time indeed of this Siege may well enough agree with King *Edwards* Winter Expedition; for thô upon good reaſon I have laid the foregoing Story together, yet the whole Procedure took up more than the ſpace of twelve Months: but yet in this matter the *Scotch* Writers are more agreeable to Truth; who ſay, that he was forced to yield himſelf on certain Conditions: Thô ſurely One was not, as [b] *Leland* ſays, that he might have liberty to retire freely into *England*, nor was he ſuffer'd, as *Hector* ſays, to depart upon parole, only giving his Oath never to return into *Scotland* any more, unleſs in King *Davids* Quarrel; but he was fain to pay a good Ranſom for his Liberty, as it evidently appears from the [c] Records, which plainly ſhew, that when about a Year after King *Edward* in requital of his Services, acquitted him of all ſuch Debts as were due from him to the Exchequer, he eſpecially forgave him among the reſt four hundred Marks formerly lent unto him at *York*, towards the Payment of his Ranſom, upon this his Impriſonment in *Scotland*.

[a] *Walſingh. hypod. p. 113. n. 24*

[b] *Leland Collect. 1 Vol. p. 797.*

[c] *Pat. 9. Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 22. & Sr. Will. Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 51.*

V. The News of the foreſaid Siege, and of the taking of the Lord *Richard Talbot*, was [d] brought to King *Edward*, during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, which as we ſhew'd, began about the 24 of *September* this Year: Whereupon the late

[d] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 116. & Hypod. p. 113. n. 14*

An. Dom. 1334. An. Regni VIII.

late Reſolution for the Holy Land was Suſpended, and his Majeſty thought it neceſſary in Perſon to undertake one Expedition more into *Scotland*, and not to deſiſt, till he had wholly ſubdu'd that untractable People, and cut off from them all poſſibility of future Rebellion. He was alſo extreamly exaſperated [c] at the News, that *David Strabolgi* Earl of *Athol*, had Revolted to the *Bruceans*; the truth of which Buſineſs was, That being, as we ſhew'd before, by large Gifts and Promiſes, as well as by the Revocation of Judgement in the Lord *Beaumont's* behalf, Reconciled again to King *Bailiol*, he was [f] ſuddenly one time ſurpriſed by the *Bruceans*, who then began to beſtir themſelves apace, by whom (thô for the preſent he eſcap'd them) he was ſo cloſely Hunted and Purſued on all Hands, that at laſt, after he had with much Difficulty ſuſtain'd himſelf with Roots and Water for a while, he was compell'd to yield himſelf at *Louquhabre* on this ſide the High Mountains of *Ardmanoth*: At which time, to ſave his Life, he was fain to take an Oath to be thenceforth true to King *David*, and his Adherents.

[c] *Walſing. Hypod. p.* 113. *n.* 22.

[f] *Hector fol.* 318 *n.* 50. *&c.*

But thus the Report came to *England*, that he had voluntarily quitted ſides, and turn'd to the Rebels, as the *Bruceans* were then called; whereat King *Edward* was ſo Highly incenſed at this his Treaſon, as he thought it, that immediately he [g] gave Command to the Sheriff of *Kent* to ſeiſe all his Lands; and he himſelf made great Preparation, as well to chaſtiſe his open Enemies, as his treacherous Friends. Towards which chargeable Enterpriſe he had in the foreſaid Parliament a [h] Grant of one *Tenth* from the Clergy, of all Cities and Burroughs a *Tenth*, and the *Fifteenth* of their Temporals.

[g] *Rot. Fin.* 8. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 2. *Dugd.* 1. *Vol. p.* 96.

[h] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 116. *n.* 20.

And now preſently after; to wit, about the [i] Middle of *November*, King *Edward* came in the Head of a Gallant Army to *Newcaſtle*, to the Aſſiſtance of King *Bailiol*; with which Forces in the Winter time, he entred *Scotland* by *Galloway*, and there without any conſiderable Oppoſition, he paſſed as Conquerour, farther than ever his Victorious Grandfather *Edward* the Firſt had penetrated, even beyond *Caithnes* and the Mountains, where the High-landers, and Wild-*Scots* inhabit, where the Extremities of *Scotland* are waſh'd by the *Deucaledon* Sea, above two hundred Miles from *Barwick*. But for the Particulars of this War, as they rather belong to the beginning of the next year, ſo thither I ſhall refer them, that they may make the better impreſſion on the Readers memory, being methodically ranged together.

[i] *Walſingh. hiſt. ibid. n.* 5.

But we muſt be juſt to the Aſhes of a Noble Young Lord, who unhappily was taken away about the cloſe of this Year: It was [k] Sr. *Edward Bohun*, a Right Valiant and Worthy Gentleman, being Brother to *John* Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Kings Coſin, who as he was driving a great Booty of Cattle over the *Solway Fryth* in the Marches of *Scotland*, was loſt in this manner. For cauſing his Guide to ride ſoftly before him thrô the water; he preſently ſaw, that what with the ſlipperineſs of the ſtone whereon they were, and the ſtrength of the Current, thrô which they paſſed, his ſervant together with his Horſe was overwhelmed in the Water: When Sr. *Edward* out of meer Compaſſion, indeavouring to recover the Man, chanced in like manner to looſe his right Ground, and ſo being oppreſt with the weight of his Armour, periſhed unfortunately in the Channel, [l] leaving no Iſſue behind him.

[k] *Knighton p.* 2565. *n.* 33. *Stow p.* 232. *& Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 116. *n.* 38.

[l] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 184.

CHAPTER the Eighth.

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wall's *Succeſs*.. VI. *King* Philip *ſends again to King* Edward, *with King* Edward's *Anſwer*. VII. *The* Scotch *Nobility ſubmit to King* Edward, *with the Articles of their Submiſſion*. VIII. *King* Philip *makes this their Agreement fruſtrate: King* Edward's *care to prevent a Revolt*. IX. *David Strabolgi Earl of* Athol, *upon his Pardon, appearing an Enemy to the* Scots, *is by them ſlain, with the manner of his Death*. X. *Two Prodigies, with the Death of two Great Barons of* England.

I. WHile things paſſed thus in *England* and *Scotland*, the *French* [a] King was very hot in his long-deſign'd Preparations for the Holy War: Of his Progreſs wherein, with his Motives to it, and the occaſion of its Interruption, we ſhall in this place take leave to ſpeak a little more fully once for all. AN. DOM. 1335. An. Regni IX.

[a] *Froiſ. c. 27. fol. 16. &c.*

In the Beginning of this Year King *Philip* of *France*, together with *John* King of *Bohemia*, Son to *Henry* of *Luxemburgh*, late Emperour of *Germany*, the King of *Navarre*, and many Great Princes, Dukes, and Barons in his Company, made a Royal Progreſs to *Avignion*, the Chief City of *Venaiſſin* in *Provence*, where at that time the Seat of the *Roman* Biſhops was, to viſit Pope *Benedict* the XII, partly out of Devotion, and to [b] pay his Vows for the late Recovery of his Eldeſt Son *John* Duke of *Normandy* from a dangerous Sickneſs, and partly to procure his Aſſiſtance toward the Holy War, as well as out of Curioſity, and to Congratulate his Election to that Supream Eminence of Spiritual Dignity: For he had been but newly Elected and Conſecrated Pope in the Place of *John* the XXII, who departed this Life on the Fourth of *December*, the Year foregoing: Of whom one Word by the by. This Pope *John* had all along been an Implacable Enemy to *Lewis* of *Bavaria* the Emperour, whom he Excommunicated, and not only ſought to Domineer over him, but the *Greek* Church and Empire too. But as the Emperour of *Germany* ſtood up ſtiffly againſt his Pretences, and once ſet up an Antipope *Nicolas* to ballance him; ſo from *Greece* he received ſuch a *Laconic* Reply, which well ſhew'd how little they valued his Authority; and that was this--- [c] "Thine uncontroulable Power we firmly believe; "Thine Exceſſive Arrogance we cannot endure, thy boundleſs Avarice we are unable to "ſatisfie: The Devil be with Thee; for God is with Us. And certainly he was ſo bent upon amaſſing up Money, that he is ſaid to have left behind him at his Death [d] 1250000 Pieces of Gold, or as *Ciaconius* hath it, 24 Millions of Gold, whereof 17 were coyned, the other 7 *Or* and rude Ingots; thô others make the whole to amount to 25 Millions in all; the manner how he Collected it, being confeſſed by the foreſaid Author of the Lives and Actions of the Popes and Cardinals: An incredible Summ, and far beyond what any of his Predeceſſors could ſhew. So true was the Proverb vulgarly Current in thoſe Days,

[b] *Fabian p. 267.*

[c] *Rob. Barnes & Joh. Baleus de Rom. Pontif. l. 6. p. 375. & Cluverii Epit. Hiſt. p. 570. ex Græcis, &c.*

[d] *Dinothi Adverſ. hiſt. p. 377 & Ciacon. & Victorell. in Vitt. Pontificum 1 Vol. p. 872. & Addit. ad Abbat. Urſperg. f. 376. Mezeray ad an. 1334.*

[e] *He, that the* Roman *Flock doth keep,*
Without the Wooll won't feed the Sheep.

[e] *Curia Romana non paſcit Ovem ſine lanâ. vid.* Cluver. *Epit. Hiſt. p. 569.*

thô *Odoricus* * *Rainaldus* ſays, he intended all this for the Holy War.

But whatever this his Avarice brought him to after Death, 'tis certain, his Succeſſor Pope *Benedict* made no ill uſe of that ill gotten Treaſure; but kept great Hoſpitality, and beſtowed much in Magnificent Buildings, and Deſign'd many Great and Worthy Matters indeed; ſome whereof took no Effect, thô a ſpecial Occaſion ſeem'd to be offer'd now at this time by the coming of the King of *France*, and thoſe with him.

* An. 1330. *n.* 40.

Upon their firſt Arrival, his Holineſs, and the College of Cardinals Received them with much Honour and Reſpect, appointing for them all according to their Quality, convenient Lodgings at *Villeneufe* without the Town: After whom within few days came thither [f] *Alphonſo* King of *Aragon* alſo, as well on the ſame Deſign with the others, as to require the Popes Aſſiſtance in the adjuſting of Matters between *James* King of *Majorica*, and himſelf, relating to *Sardinia* and *Corſica*; for * which (Received on the Conditions which Pope *Boniface* the VIII had impoſed) he had by his Ambaſſadors done Homage to Pope *Innocent*, Predeceſſor to this *Benedict*. While theſe Great Perſonages remain'd thus at *Avignion*, Highly Honoured and Entertain'd by the Court of *Rome*; tidings came, that in *Granada*, *Pruſſia*, *Paleſtine*, *Armenia*, and *Greece*, the Enemies of God became ſtrong; that the *Africans* and *Saracens* of *Granada* infeſted *Spain*; the Turks *Grecia*; the *Egyptians* and *Babylonians Armenia*; that *Orchanes* eſpecially, and his Captains had Wonderfull Succeſs againſt *Chriſtianity*;

[f] *Victorellus* James 1 *Vol. p.* 871. *ſed* Pedro *apud Froiſ.* Alphonſo *Rainald ad Baron.* 1335. *n.* 39. *recte.*

* *Victorellus ibid.*

An. Dom. 1335. An. Regni IX.

anity; that well nigh all the Realm of [g] *Rascia* was overrun by the Infidels; and that the King thereof (being a *Christian*) was by them most Barbarously Martyr'd, and put to Death.

These News greatly Afflicted the Hearts of all those Christian Worthies; insomuch, that the Pope himself on the *Good-Fryday* following, Preached before the Kings and Princes a Passion-Sermon with much Devotion: "Wherein, after he had most feelingly set forth the Wonderfull Condescention of our Lord *Jesus* for our Sakes, "the unspeakable Extremity of the Pains he underwent for us, and at last, even Death "it self, a most bitter and Ignominious Death, the Memory whereof was continually "with most sorrowfull Compunction Recorded by all good *Christians*, in especial Man-"ner on that day; after this and more to the like Purpose, he earnestly Exhorted "his Royal Auditory, in Pious Gratitude for all these transcending Benefits, to ad-"venture now something for their Gracious Lord and Masters Sake; with *Christian* Cou-"rage to undertake his Battles, and with the Hazard of their Frail Bodies to op-"pose the Enemies of his most Holy Religion, the Blasphemers of his Great and "Glorious Name. To all which he added, the Examples of many *Christian* Princes, "their Predecessors; the Everlasting Renown, that would recommend their Names "to Posterity; the Great Rewards they would purchase thereby, as here an Absolution "from all their Sins, and in the end an Eternal Weight of Glory.

[g] *Rascia vulgò le Rasce pars Regni Hungariæ latè sumpti, &c.*

All the Princes, but especially King *Philip*, were sensibly moved by this Pious and Eloquent Harangue, which was insinuated with very Pathetical Applications, exaggerated with many Figurative Expressions, Illustrated with much Copiousness of Language, and Variety of Historical Instances; but above all, deliver'd with so much Zeal, and shining with so much Truth and Sincerity, that it easily made way into the very Souls of those, who came before with a good Affection to the Cause: So that what thrô Pity joyn'd with Royal Courage, what thrô the Hopes of worldly Honour and Eternal Felicity, what thrô the Confidence of sufficient Assistance, and the Feasability of the Matter, first of all King *Philip* Bravely professes himself a Champion of *Christ*, and Vows to take upon him the Croisade: Especially, having consider'd in his Mind, that long since this same Matter had busied his Thoughts; thô he could never absolutely fix upon it till now, for want of sufficient Motives and Leisure from other Affairs.

His Holiness highly Applauded this Heroick Resolution, and besides, a Liberal Assistance in Money promised to all the Undertakers, a Plenary Indulgence, and full Absolution *ab omni pœnâ & culpâ*: From which Encouragement, and the Example of so great a King, were moved to the same Resolution, *John* K. of *Bohemia*, *Philip* King of *Navarre*, *Alphonso* King of *Aragon*, and many Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Esquires, with four Cardinals, [h] *Talayrand* Earl of *Perigort*, Cardinal of St. *Peter ad Vincula titulo* Eudoxiæ Prior of the Priests; *Neapoleo*, Cardinal of St. *Adrian*, Prior of the Deacons; *Gauceline* Bishop, Cardinal of *Alby*, a City of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and *Bertrand de le Puy* Bishop of [i] *Ostia*, which latter by right is Senior Cardinal, and is by his Place to Crown the Popes of *Rome*.

[h] *Victorell. p. 880.*

[i] *Lloyds Poet. Diction. tit. Ostia.*

Presently hereupon was the Croisade published thrô all *Christendom*; whereat, as many as were truly Pious or Valiant, rejoyced Highly; those supposing Religion would be much Advanced thereby, and these hoping to purchase Immortal Honour by their Deeds of Arms and Noble Chevalry. The whole business therefore being thus thoroughly agreed on at *Avignion*, the Kings and the other Grandees having taken their leave, went their ways to provide for this Weighty Affair. King [k] *Philip* went along with the King of *Aragon* as far as *Monpellier*; at which place he tarried a while, till he had made a full Reconciliation and Peace between the King of *Aragon*, and the King of *Majorica*. After which *Christian* Work he returned by small journeys, but with great Expence into *France*, visiting his Towns and Castles as he went thrô *Auvergne*, *Berry*, *Beausse* and *Gastinois*, till he came to *Paris*; where he was Received with Great Triumphs and Feastings. At that time the Kingdom of *France* was very Puissant, and Flourishing with Nobility, Gentry, and good Men of War; as also with much Plenty and Riches, the Consequences of a long Peace and Prosperity.

[k] *Froiss. ibid.*

But besides this, the Pope gave that King a Large Assistance in Money, and promised much more; but especially, he Granted him a [l] Tenth of his own Subjects for [m] six Years to come towards this intended War: Such was the Policy of Popes, whereby they came by Degrees to so great Authority over Princes; for first they granted things gratefull to them; Kings being willing to connive at these their Encroachments, which were so profitable to themselves; and afterwards they pleaded

[l] *Knighton p. 2567.*

[m] *Victorell. 1 Vol. p. 865. §. c.*

prescri-

prescription to dispose Matters, as well against, as with, the Pleasure of *Christian* Monarchs. King *Philip* indeed gave his Oath to his Holiness, not to put these sexennial Tythes to any other use, except that of this Holy War: Thô afterwards he either forgot, or dispensed with this Oath, being in a manner necessitated to break it, when King *Edward* of *England*, like a sudden Inundation rushing upon him, drove all his High Designs and Vast Preparations another way. AN. DOM. 1335. An. Regni IX.

I will not here dissemble, that this first Mention of the *Croisade*, and what else I have now related, is (nor without good Reason and Authority) placed more forward by [n] four Years: But be sure the great Heat of all was about this time, and I could not find a more proper place to mention the whole in, than this, upon several accounts; wherefore also, I believe *Froissard* chose to fix it hereabouts, naming the Pope, who sat then, *Benedict*, who notwithstanding entred not his Papacy till this Year.

[n] *Victorell. p. 865. ibid.*

King *Philip*, who was look'd upon as the Chief General of this War, and was so [o] stiled by the Pope, made the greatest Preparation, together with his Friends and Allies, that ever yet had been seen, either in the Days of *Godfrey* of *Bouloigne*, or any other time before or after. For in the Havens of *Marseilles*, of *Aquæ Mortuæ*, of *Narbon* and *Mompellier*, were provided as many Vessels, Ships, Carricks and Gallies as would suffice for 60000 fighting Men, with all their Horse, Arms, and other Warlike Furniture, and Provision for 3 Years: And besides, [p] being assisted with the Popes Legats, he had so wrought with Senior *Philippo Belegno*, *Blasio Zeno* and *Marino Morisini* the *Venetian* Ambassadors, that this Agreement was made; the Pope and the *French* King setting out 20000 Horse and 50000 Foot to the War, that the *Venetians* should furnish them with a Fleet of an hundred Sail, whereof there should be Gallies man'd with 4000 Souldiers; the Ships of burthen being fraught with Provision, Engines and other things necessary for War; as Bisquet, Wine, Fresh-water, Powder'd Flesh, Salt-Fish and the like. Moreover King *Philip* sent his Ambassadors to *Charles* King of *Hungary*, requesting him to open the Passages of his Country for these Holy Pilgrims; who receiving the News gladly, sent word of his Readiness to comply in all things with his Pleasure. He sent also to *Hugo* the noble and valiant King of *Cyprus*, to his constant Friend *Robert* King of *Sicily*, and to the *Genoans* also to joyn the *Venetians* at Sea; all who assured him, they would gladly concurr with so great a Prince in so good an Enterprise. The Grand Prior of *France* also was sent to the Isle of *Rhodes*, to agree with the Knights of St. *John* to prepare things necessary in those Quarters: The *Rhodians* lightly consented on certain Conditions to supply the Army from the fruitfull Isle of *Candy* (anciently called *Crete*) and at that time under the Dominion of the *Venetians*) who had agreed with them of *Rhodes* to that purpose.

[o] *Knighton p. 2567. & Victorell. 1 Vol. p. 865.*

[p] *Pantaleon's Hist. Rer. Gest. Johannitarum, Rhodior. & c. l. 4. p. 100. & Odoric. Raynald. ad Baron. An°. 1333. §. 11.*

Thus in [q] a manner all Christendom with one consent embrac'd this Holy War; so that more than 300000 Men were ready to take the Cross upon them in this famous Expedition: The *Venetians* had [r] already sent forth their Admiral *Peter Zeno*, who being joyn'd with the Fleet of *Rhodes* by a wonderfull course of Victory, chasing and destroying the *Barbarians* far and near, secur'd all the Sea-coast which respects *Syria*, about the Isles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, from the injuries of the *Saracens* and *Tartars*. King *Philips* Navy also was ready in *Provence*, and he had view'd it, and made his Son *John*, then about fourteen Years of Age, his Lieutenant or Regent during his absence, having commanded all his Lords to swear Obedience to him. Nor content with all these vast Preparations, he sent to our *English Edward*, desiring also his Company in this his most *Christian* Undertaking; but he being otherwise busied about his Wars in *Scotland*, and not a little displeased, that King *Philip* had interested himself in that his Quarrel, made as then no direct Answer to his Embassy, so that *Philip* perceiving he was not well satisfied in his mind, and doubting to leave so Powerfull a Prince behind him in Discontent, thought fit before he set forward to search his Mind more narrowly; and thereupon by the Lord [s] *Ralph* Earl of *Ewe*, and High Constable of *France*, he repeated his Embassy unto him. These Ambassadors with some difficulty obtain'd an Audience; thô little more was concluded on with them, than that King *Edward* promised very speedily to send his Ambassadors over into *France*, to confer about certain Points then in difference between the two Kings: For said [t] he, "The seat of this "Holy War is not so far off, as King *Philip* pretends; it lies not in *Palestine*, I am "well assured, but in *Aquitain*, which evidently appears by his Offers that way alrea-"dy: That as yet (he said) he could not consent to agree with him, who had not "agreed with his own self; but had forgot, if not broken, the Promise made at *Amiens*, "about the Restoring of what he had seized on in *Gascoigne*: That when once these "Matters should be fully adjusted, he would be rather more ready to undertake that Ex-

[q] *Froiss. ibid.*

[r] *Pantaleon l. 4. p. 100.*

[s] *Gaguin. p. 133. & Fabian p. 199*

[t] *Pantaleon l. 4. p. 100. & Gaguin. l. 8. p. 133.*

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"pedition than their Master. With this short Answer he dismissed them, promising to follow them with his Ambassadors.

II. Accordingly soon after there were [u] sent Dr. *John Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Richard Bury* Bishop of *Durham*, *William* Lord *Montagu*, and the Lord *Geoffry Scroop* of *Masham*; who being come to *Paris*, could not be admitted to King *Philips* Presence, in requital, as it should seem, of King *Edward's* Reservedness lately shewn to his Ambassadors; or perhaps to make them surmise, that he feared not War much, who was so little carefull of making Peace: But when the *English* Lords had roundly told the Earl [x] of *Ewe*, the Marshall of *Troyes*, and *Peter Roger* Archbishop of *Roüen*, how highly they resented this coldness of the King's, and withall intimated, how reasonable their Masters Requests would be, they were forthwith order'd to be brought before him, well received and graciously heard: So that immediately the Matter about which they came, was propounded to be taken in hand and throughly discussed.

[u] *Gaguin. ibid. & Pantaleon. ibid. & Holinshead p. 897. & Stow p. 232. & Odoric. Raynald. An° Bened. XII 3. §. 42.*

[x] *Gaguin. l. 8. p. 134.*

King Edward's *Demands from the Crown of* France *were only these,*

1. That perfect Peace and Amity between the two Kings should be inviolably maintained to both their Powers.
2. That all Towns and Castles, heretofore taken from the *English* in *Gascoigne* by the Lord *Charles* of *Valois*, Father to King *Philip*, should be entirely restored to the King of *England*.
3. That the said King *Philip* should swear never to give any Aid or Succour to the *Scots* against the King of *England*.

All which being fully Ratified and Granted, King *Edward* would be ready to accompany the *French* King to the Holy Land, in order to fight against the Common Enemies of *Christendom*.

In the discussing and debating of these Articles, the King of *France* was so zealously bent on the Holy War; and such diligence was used by his Council, not one at that time daring on the suddain to contradict, that in the end a full Conclusion of the Peace on the Terms proposed was agreed on, and Matters proceeded so far, that Proclamation was order'd to be made thereof the next day in *Paris* and the Towns thereabouts. But whether by the Fickleness and Inconstancy of King *Philip*, or the Advice of some *Scotch* Pensioner in his Council, or a sense of Generosity, and a Commiseration of King *David's* exil'd Condition; or by some secret Impulse of Heaven for the sins of *Christendom* and the punishment of *France*, scarce were the *English* Ambassadors return'd to their Lodgings, but they were remanded back again to Court, where presently new Scruples were started, which chiefly concern'd the third Article: For tho as to the second Demand, King *Philip* stood stifly against it at first, unless all the Charges his Father *Charles* had been at in those *Gascoigne* Wars, were repaid him by the King of *England*; yet that (when 'twas made appear, that the War it self was unjust) he easily remitted: But now as to the third Article, King *Philip* answer'd peremptorily:

"That he could not either in Honour or Equity, desert his Friends the *Scots* in this "their Oppression; they being his Confederates and just Men: Nor ought he to esteem "King *Edward* worthy of his Friendship, while he continued War against them. That "himself was, as all Kings ought to be, a Friend to Justice, from which he should ne"ver swerve, either for Affinity or Advantage, or any other Consideration whatsoever; "but that he would to his Power vex and molest all the Disturbers of the Peace of "*Scotland*. For said he, there will never be perfect Peace and Quietness in *Christen*"*dom*, till the King of *France* shall stand as Umpire between the Realms of *Scotland* "and *England*. And therefore he briefly told the Ambassadors, that having better "consider'd of it, he was resolv'd to conclude nothing as to Peace with *England*, un"less King *David* also might be comprehended in the same League; so as that he "might be restored to his Kingdom, and the *Bailiol* wholly excluded.

Surely, how gallant soever this Speech might seem, 'twas neither modest enough, prudent nor seasonable: For had he temporised so far, as thereby to have obtain'd King *Edward's* Company in this Holy War, the *Bailiol* might easily have been ruin'd by King *David's* Interest alone: And it was more likely, that then by fair means & modest Reasonings King *Edward* might have been wrought upon by a personal Conference, than by this rash and imperious way of Prescribing: For from these peremptory Words the Breach became so wide, that without bloody Wars Peace was not likely to be obtained. Not to say, that if King *Philip* did really intend this Holy Expedition, he was not very wise to talk so high in such a juncture; and if he did not intend it, he was scarce sincere enough in his pious Resolutions.

However the *English* Ambassadors replied, their Commission extended not so far, as

as to reach to King *David*, or to make any Conceſſion to his Advantage; ſo the whole matter was broke off and the Breach made wider than before. AN. DOM. 1335. An. Regni IX.

Now the moſt exact Account of the firſt Original of theſe Unkindneſſes between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, which is by no Hiſtorian over-exactly handled, is to be found only in the publique Records of the Peace ten years before this, made between King *Edwards* Father and *Charles* the Fair of *France*, a Copy whereof was then ſent to Pope *John* XXII. and afterwards from the Library of *Avignon* brought into the *Vatican*, and being ſeen and diligently weighed by my [y] Author, becauſe from the Breach thereof, the Wars which exercis'd *England* and *France* for ſo many Ages, ſeem'd to take their firſt Occaſion, yield us theſe Obſervations. In the Year 1325. which was the 19 of King *Edward* the II. of *England*, by the diligence of Qu. *Iſabella*, with her Brother K. *Charles* of *France*, together with the aſſiſtance of *William* Archbiſhop of *Vienna*, and *Hugh* Biſhop of *Orange*, Nuntio's from the Apoſtolick Seat, a Peace was made between the two Realms on this Condition, [z] ſays *Villani*, that what had been won by *Charles* of *Valois* in *Aquitain*, ſhould remain wholly to the *French*; but in the publique [a] Records ſigned with the Seal of the King of *France*, that Condition is not expreſſed, but very cunningly cover'd with obſcure and deceitfull Circumlocutions, which when the Inventers of theſe politick Fetches contrived, then they ſcattered the Seeds of a moſt inveterate Enmity between the two Realms to the infinite Dammage of *France*: When the *French* wreſted the Articles to their own purpoſe, and the *Engliſh* exclaim'd, that they were falſly and treacherouſly deceived; for it was added, that as to thoſe Lands the *French* King ſhould determin according to Law, the King of *England* demanding his Right: And ſo the Quarrel was not ended. But now this Condition in that Treaty is evident, that the *French* King ſhould ſet over *Aquitaine* to adminiſter juſtice a Perſon of integrity, and one not ſuſpected by the King of *England*, and ſo the Armies on both ſides ſhould be disbanded, and the King of *England* on the Aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin ſhould meet the *French* King at *Beauvais*, and do Homage to the Crown of *France* for *Aquitain*, which was then to be reſtored entirely unto him, the foreſaid Lieutenant being called back. And this Agreement at the inſtance of Queen *Iſabell* and the Pope, was by conſent of the Ambaſſadors of both Parties, unanimouſly eſtabliſhed in the Year aforeſaid, as appears by the Letters of both the Kings. But now when afterwards King *Edward* II had conferr'd on his Son the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and a while after by Civil Tumults miſcarried, and *Edward* the III ſucceeded in the Throne, the former Wars began to bleed freſh again, our Young *Edward* being obliged to ſeek that Right by Arms, which by Law he could not obtain; but leſt the Laws of Nature and the Peace of *Chriſtendom* ſhould be violated, theſe Diſcords at the inſtance of the Pope, who ſent *William* Archbiſhop of *Vienna*, and *John Grandeſſon* Biſhop of *Exceter* for that purpoſe, were compoſed on this Condition; That as ſoon as might be, what had been taken by the *Engliſh* in *Aquitain*, contrary to the Form of the foreſaid Agreement ſhould be reſtored; and on the other ſide, that what had been taken by the *French* ſhould be rendred to King *Edward*, the ſaid King *Edward* being to pay 50000*l.* Sterling towards the reparation of Dammages, and thoſe *Gaſcoigners*, who as Ringleaders of the foreſaid Diſſentions, had been by the *French* King adjudged to death, for King *Edwards* ſake were only now baniſhed. At this time alſo the Articles of the former League were reſtored, and publique Inſtruments thereof made at *Marmanda* the *October* following, and on the 20 of *February* in the beginning of the next Year were ſigned at *Paris* with the Kings Seal. But this Peace was intricate and doubtfull, becauſe King *Charles* died before he had reſtored the Lands to his Nephew King *Edward*, which had been taken away in *Aquitain*. But hereupon *Philip* of *Valois*, who had been preſent at the Ratification of the Peace, being raiſed to the Throne, neither would reſtore thoſe Places won by his Father, nor could by the Pope's perſwaſions be moved thereto; and ſo dealing more hardly, and too unkindly as well as unjuſtly with King *Edward*, never remitted any thing of his Haughtineſs, till he had obliged the Young Prince to begin a War in the behalf of his Right, which had almoſt brought the Kingdom of *France* to utter deſtruction. But of this hereafter.

[y] *Odoricus Raynaldus Continuat. ad Baronium tom. XV. Ad an. Chriſti* 1327. §. 44.

[z] *L. 9. c. 314.*

[a] *Extant in Arch. Vatican. ex Avenion. delat. ſign. n. 10. in Chart. Pergam.*

III. This mean while King *Edward* doubting what might happen, reſolv'd to be beforehand with his Enemies, and as he queſtion'd not, but that a War would ſoon be open'd from *France*, ſo he wiſely deſign'd by a full Conqueſt to ſtop it the other way from *Scotland*. Soon after *Chriſtmas* therefore he went to *Newcaſtle*, that he might bear an eſpecial Eye to the Affairs of that Realm. From whence [b] he made the Lord *Hugh Courtney*, a valiant old Gentleman, Earl of *Devonſhire* upon this occaſion. This

[b] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 638.*

Hugh

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Hugh had for many years, after the Death of *Isabell de Fortibus*, Countess of *Albemarl* and *Devonshire*, quietly possessed the Lands and Fees of the Earldom of *Devonshire*, as being [c] sole Heir to the foresaid Countess, thô he had neither the Title nor Investiture of an Earl: But at length there arose great difference between him and the Kings Officers of the Exchequer, concerning the payment of the third Penny, which, as they said, he being no Earl ought not to receive; and thereupon the Sheriffs of *Devonshire* declin'd to pay it him any longer. Wherefore he wrote his letters Supplicatory to the King being then in *Scotland*, who immediately directed his Precept to the Lord Treasurer and Barons of his Exchequer, requiring them to make search into the Records and Memorials remaining in their Hands, and to certifie him thereof: Which being done, the King having well consider'd the Matter and the Merit of the Man, return'd this Answer. *Rex Dilecto & Fideli suo* Hugoni *de* Courtney *seniori, Comiti* Devon. *Salutem, &c.* [d] "The King to his Well-beloved and Trusty *Hugh Courtney* "senior, Earl of *Devonshire*, greeting. Whereas you, as appeareth by your Petition "exhibited to Us and our Council, have for some time been sued for the Annual Pay- "ment of xviii *l.* vi *s.* viii *d.* of the yearly Fee of the Earldom of *Devonshire*, which "*Isabell de Fortibus*, late Countess of *Devonshire* (whose Heir you are) and the Pre- "decessors of her the said Countess and yours, Earls of *Devonshire*, yearly received "at the hands of the Sheriffs of that County, that were for the time being, and which "you likewise after the Death of the said Countess, as her Heir, received for some "time. And whereas the said Summ hath since been from you detained, because you "have not used the Name and Title of an Earl, as by the Certificate of our Treasu- "rer and of the Barons of our Exchequer, by our Commandment made into our Chancery, "doth appear. Forasmuch as the Inheritance of the foresaid Countess, and of her "Predecessors and yours, Earls of *Devonshire*, is unto you descended by Hereditary "Right, and that you at this present do hold the said Inheritance; We therefore wil- "ling to provide, as well for our own Dignity and the Equity of our Kingdom, as "for your Honour and Support, Will and Command you, in requesting you, that by ta- "king to you the Name and Honour of an Earl, you cause your self henceforward to "be called Earl of *Devonshire*, being assured, that we will cause the foresaid Fee to "be yearly paid unto you, as it hath been wont to be paid to the Earls of *Devonshire* "your Predecessors. Witness the King at *Newcastle* upon *Tine* the 22[d] of *February*, "and in the Ninth Year of our Reign. *Edward* R. And to enforce this the more he sent his Precept to the then Sheriff of *Devonshire*, the Writ beginning---*Rex Vicecomiti* Devoniæ *Salutem, &c.* Commanding him forthwith by publique Proclamation, both in his County, and all other places of his Bailywick, to require all Persons thenceforth to esteem and call him Earl of *Devonshire*. And likewise another Precept to the Lord Treasurer and Barons of his Exchequer, that they should cause the said Summ of xviii *l.* vi *s.* viii *d.* to be annually paid unto him, *nomine Comitis*, by the Title of an Earl, as his Ancestors formerly had received it.

[c] *Vid. quomodo Mill's Catal. Honor. p. 465.*

[d] *Claus. 9. Ed. 3. m. 35. in dorso. Mill's Cat. Honor. p. 465. Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 638. Time's storehouse p. 524.*

[e] *Walsing. Hypod. p. 113. n. 30. & Holinshead 898. & R. Southwell, &c.*

Now [e] about the Feast of the *Ascension* the King held his Parliament at *York*, concerning his Affairs then in hand, relating to the *Scotch* War; at which time were Enacted sundry Statutes very serviceable for the Peace and Weal of the Realm: And here by the Interception of King *Philip*, who sent thither the Bishop of *Auranches* and others for that purpose; he granted the *Scots* a Truce, till the Feast of St. *John Baptist*, then next ensuing.

IV. But about *Midsummer* (the Truce being near expired) he went in the Head of his Army to *Newcastle* again, whither King *Bailiol* came unto him from *Carlile*: And here it was finally agreed between them and their Council, that King *Edward* of *England* should pass to *Carlile*, and on the 12 of *July* enter *Scotland* that way in Hostile Manner, with these Lords and Captains in his Company, Prince *John Plantagenet*, sirnamed of *Eltham*, Earl of *Cornwall*, the Kings own Brother, the Lord *Henry Plantagenet*, Son to the Earl of *Lancaster*, the Kings Cosin, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *John Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwash* Senior, the Lord *Adam Wells*, *Ralph* Lord *Bulmer*, the Lord *Ebulo le Strange*, who dying this Year, left his Wife and Title of Earl of *Lincoln* to *Hugh de Frenes* who was also in this Expedition, together with *John* Lord *Willoughby*, *Henry* Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, *Robert* Lord *Ferrers*, *William* Lord *Montague*, the Lord *Hugh Audley* junior, the Lord *William Clinton*, the Lord *John Norwich*, the Lord *John Bardolph*, the Lord *John Tibetot*, or *Tiptot*, and the Lord *John Grey* of *Codnore*, with Sr. *Mawrice Barkley*, Brother to *Thomas* Lord *Barkley*, and many others of High Quality and Courage: On the other Hand King *Bailiol*

Bailiol was appointed to go to *Barwick*, till the Truce was fully expired, and then on the same 12 day of *July* to enter *Scotland* in Hostile Manner with his Forces, the Chief Captains whereof under him were *John* Lord *Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, in *England*, and of *Stratherne* in *Scotland*; *Richard Fitz-Alan* the Stout Earl of *Arundel*, *Henry* Lord [f] *Beaumont* Earl of *Buquhan*, who it seems had made no Oath to the Contrary, as the *Scotch* Writers affirm; but was redeem'd from his Imprisonment by a good round Summe of Money, as we shew'd before; the Lord *Ralph Nevil*, and the Lord *Henry Percy* were here also, together with the Lords *Nicolas Cantilupe* and *Ralph Stafford*, all Barons of great Valour and Conduct; who (thô Subjects of *England*) being for the most part ally'd to King *Bailiol*, with their several Retinues, and a choice Band of lusty *Welchmen*, enter'd *Scotland* on the One part, at the same time that King *Edward* enter'd on the Other, as it had been before appointed. Two such Mighty Torrents of War were not likely to be much resisted by the almost-exhausted Powers of the *Bruceans*: So that in a manner they ravag'd the Country at their Pleasure, wasting and burning all before them.

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[f] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 51.*

On the 12 [g] of *July*, being a *Wednesday*, King *Edward* of *England* began his March from the City of *Carlile*, passing over the *Solway Frith*, and so entring into *Scotland* in good Order of Battle. On the *Tuesday* following, being the 18 of *July*, the Lord *William Montague* with certain other Barons of *England* rode forth, coasting on the left hand, towards the Parts of *Caerlaverock* in *Nidisdale*, to fetch in Prey for the Army; and the next day they return'd all safe with some Hundred Head of Cattle. On **Thursday* the King passed the Ford of *Anand*, which giveth Name to *Anandale*, and then he rear'd his Banners Royal, and made many Knights; but to the Lord *William Montague* he granted his Crest with the Eagle, and a gallant Courser with Caparisons, adorn'd with the Arms of *Montague*, which are Argent, three Fuzils in Fess, Gules: Moreover he gave him the Reversion of the Mannor of *Wodeton*, and *Mersewode*-vale with the Advowsons of the Churches; as also of the Mannor of *Pole*, with the Advowson of the Church, after the Death of *Robert Fitz-Paine*, and *Ela* his Wife, without Issue; paying to the King, his Heirs and Successors upon *Christmas*-day, whersoever he or they should happen to be, a sword of 3 shillings and four pence for all Services. Encouraged with this Bounty of his Prince, the Lord *Montague* pierced yet farther into *Scotland*, making great Havock and Spoil, and continually bringing in huge Quantities of Victuals, and Prey to the Army.

[g] *Knighton p. 2566. &c.*

* Julii 20.

On that same day, a certain Knight of *Heinalt*, Named Sr. *Enend*, came before King *Edward* with a Present from his Father in Law, *William* Earl of *Heinalt*, which was a very Gorgeous and Princely Helmet, Richly beset with Precious Stones, and adorn'd with the Coronet and other things, in the same manner as the Earl himself was us'd to wear it on Festivals, and when he appeared in the Greatest Splendor. The King was extreamly pleased with this Present, and immediately Rewarded the Messenger with an Hundred Pounds sterling. 'Tis likely he wore it long after for the Sake of the Donor: For I have seen several ancient Pictures, that Represent him in such an Helmet.

On the **Sunday* after St. *Mary Magdalene*, King *Bailiol* on the other hand took a strong Castle of the Earl of *Athols*, called *Cambremouth*; which would hardly have been master'd so soon, but that in time of the Assault, whether by chance, or from without, there happen'd such a fire in the Castle, as compell'd them to yield presently, together with all their Ammunition, and Provision lay'd up for a long time, or else they had all perished by Fire, or been put to the sword. Here they found the Lord *David Marshal* with his Lady, also the Relict of the Lord *Archimbald Douglas*, and the Wife of Sr. *Philip Moubray*, beside meaner Prisoners.

* Julii 23.

Yet all this while, neither of the Kings found any Considerable Opposition: For long [h] now had the *Scots* been us'd to these Harassings, and therefore the better avoided them at this time, by retiring with the best of their Substance into their Fortresses among the Marishes and thick Forests: This manner they were first taught by their King *Robert Bruce*; who in the Days of King *Edward* the First, being so hardly hunted and pursued, that neither Town, City, nor Castle could, or durst entertain him, betook himself to these Forests with good Success: And still, when the said King *Edward* was return'd for *England*, he would forth again, and appear on his Countries Behalf with sword in Hand; straight Rally his broken and scatter'd Forces, and presently recover, either by Strength or Policy, all that he had lost, as far as to *Barwick*: Upon News whereof King *Edward* would return with his Power, and win all again. Thus King *Robert* wan and lost the Kingdom of *Scotland* by turns for four or five times together, when

[h] *Froiss. c. 26. f. 16.*

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when being at last Chaced into [i] *Norwey*, his Mighty Adversary, King *Edward* the First died in a good old Age at *Burgh* upon the Sands near *Caerlile*. But while he lay on his Death bed he sent for Prince *Edward* his Son, and gave him Counsel "to "be Mercifull and Just, and Constant in all his Words and Deeds, to love his Bre- "thren; but to avoid Flatterers, and especially *Piers Gaveston*: After this he made "him [k] swear upon his Blessing, that when he should see the Breath out of his Body, "he should take his Corps and boyl it in a Cauldron till the Flesh should all come off: "Then to bury the Flesh, but to keep the Bones in a Coffin, and to bear them along "with him, whensoever the *Scots* should Rebell; for whether by Imagination, or Superstition, or secret Revelation, he promised certain Victory against the *Scots*, as often as his Bones were carried into the Field against them. We read indeed in profane Story many such Instances, and particularly, that the *Turks* had some such Opinion of *Scanderbeg's* Bones; but however King *Edward* the Second, either out of Filial tenderness, or pure disobedience, buried his whole Body at *Westminster*, where it remains Honourably Entombed to this day; yet surely he never prosper'd against the *Scots*, besides that he came to an unhappy end, as we shew'd in the beginning of this History; whether for want of his Fathers Bones, or his Blessing; for generally the Blessing of God goes along with a Parents just Benediction: But this by the by.

[i] *Martin p.* 87. *& Fabian p.* 148 *& Grafton p.* 192.

[k] *Froiss. c.* 26. *f.* 16. *b.*

While after their old Manner, the *Scots* thus again at this time to avoid King *Edward's* Fury, retired into their Fastnesses, the [l] *Welchmen* who were with King *Bailiol*, being Highly incensed for want of Opposition, spared neither Religious Persons, nor Places; but put all that came in their Reach to Fire and Sword. The mean while the Mariners of *Newcastle*, with part of the Kings Fleet (which *Hector* vainly makes to be so dreadfully shipwrack'd) made shift to come in at the Mouth of the River *Tay*, where they burnt a great part of the Town of *Dundee*, which stands between *Brechin* and St *Andrews*. And at the same time [m] *John* Lord *Darcy* Justice of *Ireland*, having well settled Affairs at home, sailed with a Fleet of 56 Ships (with the Chief of the *Irish* Nobles in his Company) making a short cut to the Parts of *Scotland*, next adjoyning to *Ireland*, where having wasted the Isles of *Aran* and *Bute*, he return'd with great Prey and Glory. For which his Voluntary and Signal Services, a while after King *Edward* granted unto him and the Heirs Male of his Body Lawfully begotten, the Mannors of *Rathwar* and *Kildalk* in *Ireland*.

[l] *Holinshead Engl. Chron. p.* 898.

[m] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 371.

V. But however, thô thus the poor *Scots* were Harassed on all sides, yet were they resolved not to betray their Country, either for want of Care, or Courage; but being in strength unequal to these Forces, they were obliged to act more wisely, and to lie chiefly upon the Catch; nor altogether without Success: For about this time [n] 500 Archers of *England* with other Footmen, upon some occasion, returning homeward in great Security, as having seen no appearance of an Enemy in *Scotland*, were suddenly set upon, being intercepted by *Andrew* Earl of *Murray*, *Patrick* Earl of *Dunbar*, and Sr. *William Douglas*, by whom they were all put to the sword. In this season *John* the young Earl [o] of *Namur* (whom the *Scotch* Writers by mistake call the Earl of *Gueldre*) with his Brother Sr. *Robert* of *Namur*, came into *England* to serve King *Edward*, for the Sake of Sr. *Robert* of *Artois* their Uncle; and boldly undertook to enter *Scotland* only with a Choice Band of an Hundred Men of Arms, and seven or eight Knights and Barons, their Leaders, which came over with them, and a few *English* from *Barwick* for their Guides. But before the Earl could recover *Edenburgh*, he was so hotly assaulted by the Earl of *Murray* and *Dunbar*, and the Lord *William Douglas*; that althô the Strangers bare themselves Right Worthily, yet being oppressed by Multitude, they were compelled to give back, thô honourably by little and little, still maintaining the Fight, and by sudden Chargings defending themselves, till they reached *Edenburgh*, and recovered the Hill whereon the Castle had stood, thô now it lay in ruines. Here they most manfully kept their Ground till the next day; when despairing of any Succour, and utterly destitute of either Meat or Drink, they were content to yield themselves on certain Conditions. The *Scots* not willing to drive these Men to despair, whose Natural Valour they found scarce matchable, and knowing that the weak Estate of their Country required them to be frugal of their Persons, accepted their Conditions: And here the Earl of *Murray*, either of Generosity or Policy, or for the sake of the Leader the Noble Earl of *Namur*, whom he admired, or hoped by obliging to gain to his Side; quitted them all of their Ransom, and gave them present liberty of returning into their own Country; he himself for their further Security, and desirous to gratifie the King of *France*, whose near Kinsman the Earl of *Namur* was, conducting them as far as the Borders: But this Compliment was ill-timed; for upon his

[n] *Knighton* 2567. *n* 30.

[o] *Holinshead Engl. Chron. p.* 898.

Return

Return [p] being unhappily encountred by an *Engliſh* Party, belonging to the Garriſon of *Roxborough*, he was by them overthrown, himſelf being taken Priſoner by Sr. *William Prieſtwood*, and the Lord *Willam Douglas* eſcaped very narrowly, but his Brother Sr. *James Douglas* was there ſlain upon the Spot with many more. AN. DOM. 1335. An. Regni IX.

Among the [q] Bodies of thoſe few Strangers, that were ſlain in the paſſage to *Edinburgh*, 'tis reported, that there was found the Body of a Woman of exact Beauty, but more than ordinary Stature: She had been obſerved in the beginning of the Battle to ſtep forth before all her Companions, where ſingly ſhe overthrew a ſtrong Eſquire of *Scotland*, named *Richard Shaw*; and long and well ſhe fought with the *Scots*, till finally, ſhe not flinching, and her Company not able to come up to her, being encompaſſed by the *Scots*, unknown as ſhe was, ſhe was there ſlain. 'Tis thought, becauſe ſhe was left in ſo deſperate a condition, that her own Party was ignorant of her Sex; and it might be, that for the love of Sr. *Robert* of *Namur*, who was a Batchelour, young, beautifull and couragious, or thrô ſome Heroical Diſpoſition proceeding from high Birth, or Conſcience of unuſual Strength, or deſire to emulate the ancient Viragoes, called *Amazons*, ſhe thus adventur'd to take the Field: But her indiſcreet Obſtinacy to the Death, when Retreating was not inglorious, ſhew'd her unwiſe, and too much a Woman.

[p] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.116. & Holingſhead p.898*
[q] *Holingshead Scotland p.236.*

But of the Fight, wherein the Earl of *Murray* was taken, Others report a little otherwiſe, ſaying, [r] How theſe *Scotch* Lords now in their paſſage toward the Borders were no leſs than ten thouſand ſtrong, as reſolving upon ſome notable Exploit, either thereby to requite their Loſſes at home, or to oblige King *Edward* to leave *Scotland* for the Defence of his own People, and eſpecially for his Queens ſake, whom hearing to be as then in *Bamburg* an impregnable Caſtle of *Northumberland*, they went thitherward to inveſt the Place. But being on their way met by 5000 *Engliſh* ('tis probable, as appears by and by, under the Conduct of Prince *John* of *Eltham*, who was coming this way at that time, either before parted from the King his Brother, or not till now come to joyn him) however after a ſharp Conflict, the *Scots* were wholly broken and routed, leaving 5000 of their Companions on the ground with Sr. *James Douglas*; only the Earl of *Murray* of their Captains being taken Priſoner, but Earl *Patrick* and Sr. *William Douglas* eſcaped. This Victory however coſt the *Engliſh* 400 Men, 'twas fought ſo obſtinately before the Day inclin'd to them.

[r] *Knighton p. 2567.*

It is certain, [s] that about *Lammas*-tide Prince *John* of *Eltham* Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Kings Brother, with the Forces of *Yorkſhire* and *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Anthony Lucy* of *Cockermouth*, with the Men of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, entring *Scotland*, [t] ravag'd and deſtroy'd in *Galloway*, *Carrick*, *Kyle* and *Cunningham*, and all the *Weſtern* Parts which held againſt the *Bailiol*, or had lately revolted from him. The Lord *William Douglas* indeed with certain Troops of light Horſe, ſtill coaſted them from far, waiting for ſome Advantage, but by the Policy of their Princely General they ever kept good cloſe Order; ſo that at laſt without any conſiderable loſs, Prince *John* with his little Hoſt paſſing by *Lenox*, *Menteith* and *Stratherne*, came laden with Spoil and Prey to St. *Johnſton*, where he found the King of *England* his Brother, lately return'd thither from his victorious March beyond the *Scottiſh* Mountains. This Town had been lately deſtroy'd by the *Scots*, who deſpair'd to maintain it for their own behoof: But now King *Edward* order'd it to be rebuilt, fortifi'd and encompaſſed with a ſtrong Wall, Ditch and Rampire.

[s] *Aug. 1. Holinſhead p. 899.*
[t] *Hector Boeth. l. 15. fol. 320. n. 40.*

VI. The King of [u] *France* all this while did what he could by Policy to hinder King *Edwards* Proceedings, and withdraw him home again, before he might perfect any Conqueſt in *Scotland*: To that end again he ſends his Ambaſſadors to him, and procures Others to be ſent from the Pope, with Letters bearing date (*apud Pontemſorgiæ Avenionenſis Diœceſis, 2 Kal. Aug. Anno Pontif.* 1.) to endeavour a Peace between King *David* and him, and to requeſt his Company once more in the Holy War: But King *Edward* obſerving his pragmaticall Curioſity in Affairs no way relating to him, and alſo his unſincere way of Addreſs, ſent him ſhort Word, "That he was able of himſelf "(bleſſed be God) without any help from him to wage war with the Infidels, when "he ſhould ſee fit, unleſs He and his Adherents by their Malice and underhand Dea- "lings ſhould ſtand in his way: And that he neither could nor would undertake any "Foreign Expedition, while his Enemies the *Scots* continued ſo rebellious againſt him, "who were alſo by him abetted and encouraged in their Rebellion: Thô both as a "*Chriſtian* Prince and a Kinſman he ought rather to compoſe War and Strife among "two *Chriſtian* Nations, and even to aſſiſt him with all his Might in his juſt Wars, than "to nouriſh up his Capital Enemies unjuſtly againſt him.

[u] *Knighton p. 2567.*
[x] *Vid. Odoric. Rainald. ad An. 1335. §. 36*

An. Dom. 1335. An. Regni IX.

VII. Thus King *Edward* put him off at that time, and proceeded with ſuch ſucceſs in his Affairs in *Scotland*, that about the Feaſt of the [y] *Aſſumption* of our Lady, moſt of the *Scotch* Nobility being wholly tired out, and fearing yet much more, [z] came in and ſubmitted themſelves to King *Edward* of *England* at St. *Johnſton*, where both the Kings then were; among whom, thô the Lord *Strabolgi* came not in perſon, for fear of the Kings ſudden Diſpleaſure, yet by his Advocates and Letters he ſo humbly ſued for Peace and Pardon, and ſo well acquitted himſelf of all Treaſon, that he with the reſt was accepted on theſe Conditions.

[y] *Auguſti* 15.
[z] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 116. & *Adam Murimouth*

[a] Theſe are the Points and Articles agreed on betwixt the Council of the Kings of *England* and *Scotland* on the one Party; and the Lord *Alexander Moubray*, the Lord *Geoffry Moubray*, the Lord *Geoffry Roos*, Dr. *William Bullock* Clerk, and the Lord *Euſtace de Lorrain*, having full power from *David Strabolgi* Earl of *Athol*, and *Robert Stuart* of *Scotland* on the other Party, to treat on, accord and confirm all Points enterparled and to be enterparled, betwixt the ſaid Kings and the ſaid Earl and *Robert Stuart*, as appeareth by the Letters Patents of either Party.

[a] Ces ſont les Choſes & le Pointz accordez, &c. *Murimouth*, &c. *Stow p.* 232. & *Knighton p.* 2566. *n.* 30. &c.

1. "*Imprimis*, it is accorded, That the Earl of *Athol*, and all the Great Men, and "Others of the Commonalty of *Scotland*, which were willing to come in to the King "of *Englands* Peace, ſhall have Life and Limb, Lands and Tenements, Fees and Of- "fices, which they ought by right, or by inheritance to have in *Scotland*, thoſe except "which by common Aſſent ſhould be excepted. In ſuch manner, that all Offences and "Miſdemeanours, which they had committed in the Realm of *England* from the begin- "ning of the World to the Date of theſe Preſents, ſhall be pardon'd without Impriſon- "ment, or any other Moleſtation.

2. *Item*, That the Earl of *Athol* and the Lord *Alexander Moubray* ſhall ſtill hold thoſe Lands, Tenements, and Fees in *England*, which they held at their departure from *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, when they paid Homage to the King of *England*.

3. *Item*, That the Franchiſes of the Kirk of *Scotland* ſhall be maintained after the ancient Uſage: And that the Laws of *Scotland* in Burroughs, Towns and Sheriff-wicks within the Lands of the King of *Scotland*, be uſed after the Old Way, as they were uſed in the time of King *Alexander*: And that the Offices of *Scotland* be adminiſtred by Men of the ſame Nation; yet ſo, as that the King of *Scotland* of his Prerogative Royal may at any time according to his pleaſure advance to places of Office Men of any Nation whatſoever.

4. *Item*, That all thoſe, who being in the ſame caſe with the Earl of *Athol*, have Lands and Tenements within the Lands of the King of *England*, ſhall ſtill hold thoſe Lands and Tenements, Poſſeſſions, Fees and Offices, as they had them at their departure from *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, when they paid Homage to the King of *England*; thoſe except, who by common Aſſent ſhall be excepted, and if they be impleaded for their Lands and Tenements aforeſaid, they may have their Defence and Recoveries in any Court according to Law.

5. *Item*, As touching the Demand which the Earl of *Athol* claimeth, that the King of *England* would releaſe him his Lands in *England*, which he hath in gage for 800 Marks, the King neither ought nor will do that; but as for his Mannor of [b] *Bulindon*, which the ſaid Earl laid to pledge for [c] two hundred Pounds, it is accorded, That if the ſaid Earl of *Athol* come within one Year, and make true payment of the ſaid Money, that the King ſhall cauſe the ſaid Mannor to be reſtored unto him.

[b] *Stow, Byphingdone*, quod corrigo autoritate *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 96. ubi legitur *Bulindon in Com. Buck.*
[c] *Stow* 250 *l. ſed Knighton* CC *li. ubi li pro l. a Stow acceptum per errorem: cum ſtat li. pro libris.*

6. *Item*, That as touching the Caſtle and Lands of *Chilham*, the ſaid Earl ſhall be in the ſame point that he was before, at his departure from *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, when he paid Homage to the King of *England*, and ſhall have his Recovery by Law; and the King promiſeth in good Faith to take Order, that he ſhall have the Law of his Kingdom without favour on either Party.

7. *Item*, That as touching the Lands which the ſaid Earl claimeth in *Norfolk*, whereof he hath Charters, the King promiſeth, that having ſeen firſt his Charters, by Advice of his Council he will do him reaſon. And if in any caſe any man ſurmiſe Treaſon upon the ſaid Earl, he may defend himſelf with his Body, according to the Laws and Uſage of *Scotland*, and upon the Marches; And that all thoſe in his caſe have the like Grant.

8. *Item*, that as to the Pardon, which *William Ramſey* Knight demandeth for the Treſpaſs by him done to *William* Lord *Montagu*, in beating down his Caſtle of *Haghterdorne*, the ſame *William* ſhall be ready to make ſatisfaction in ſuch manner as ſhall be by the Kings of *England* and *Scotland* deviſed.

9. *Item*, That the Lord *Euſtace de Lorrain* ſhall have his Lands and Tenements, which

which he ought to have within the Realm of *Scotland*, and if any man hath treſpaſſed againſt him, he ſhall have his Recovery by Law. Dat. at St. *Johnſton* in *Scotland* the 18 of *Auguſt Anno Dom.* 1335. AN. DOM. 1335. An. Regni IX.

Now whereas it was before remembred, that theſe Commiſſioners were empowred not only from the Earl of *Athol*, but alſo from the Lord *Robert Stuart* himſelf; it is not ſo much to be admired, that ſo great a Man as Prince *Robert*, who was now ſole Governour of *Scotland* for King *David* his Kinſman, ſhould yield ſo far as to admit of an Agreement ſo much to his Maſters Detriment with the King of *England*: I ſay, it is not ſo greatly to be admired, if we but conſider the extream Neceſſity that drove him to it in that juncture, he himſelf being very ſick at *Dumbriton*, and his late Partner in the Government, the Lord *John Randall* Earl of *Murray*, being at the ſame time priſoner at *London*, and likely to continue in that Condition; becauſe he had both before and now alſo refus'd to accept of King *Edwards* Peace.

Thô indeed no great ſincerity was on the *Scots* Party, but the wonderfull Streights they were in, required a little Diſſimulation and outward Compliance till a better Opportunity: Nay 'tis ſaid by a very [e] ancient and authentick Hiſtorian, that the greateſt part of the *Scotch* Nobility (among whom the foreſaid Lords, no doubt, are included) being wearied out by theſe continual Haraſſings and Deſolations, came in voluntarily and ſubmitted themſelves entirely to the King of *England* on theſe Conditions, "That "they ſhould obey the *Bailiol* as their King, during his Life; the mean while King "*David* with his Queen to live privately but honourably at *London*; and upon the "Death of King *Bailiol*, who as yet had no Children, to ſucceed: That they would "oblige King *David* to come to the Parliament, which was to be at *London* the next "*Michaelmas*, and to ſtand to the King of *Englands* Awardment and Arbitration: In "the mean while they yielded their Homage to him, as to their Superior Lord.

[e] *Knighton p.* 2568. *n.*10.

VIII. But the King of *France*, having knowledge hereof, out of Envy to King *Edward's* Glory, or becauſe he found it more conducible to his own Affairs, to have the Intereſts of *Scotland* and *England* ſtill divided, dealt ſo aſſiduouſly with the *Scots*, by promiſing himſelf to ſtand by them, that all this came to Nothing; nor did King *David* appear at all in that Parliament, as they had engaged he ſhould do.

The mean time King *Edward*, thô he had great hopes that the *Scots* would at laſt ſtand to this their own Agreement, however thought it not becoming the Wiſdom of a King to repoſe himſelf too much on the Faith of others; eſpecially, conſidering the Mutability of that People, and their ſtrong Inclinations to *France*: Wherefore he reſolves ſo to ſtrengthen himſelf, that if they ſhould be Falſe, they ſhould not be over Dangerous; and ſo having already [f] fortified St. *Johnſton*, he now goes to *Striveling*, where, on the plat of ground on which the late Caſtle had ſtood, he built a ſtrong Fortreſs called the *Pile*; thence he proceeded to *Bothwill*, where he added much ſtrength and a Garriſon to that Caſtle, appointing *Thomas* Lord *Barkley* to victual it from *Edinburgh*; who was ſo good a Convoy to what he brought thither, that he diſcomfited one night the Lord *William Douglas*, who lay in Ambuſh for him, with little or no loſs to himſelf; but with ſuch an entire Victory, that *Douglas* himſelf with only three more could hardly eſcape, and that by the Benefit of the Night too. *Edinburgh* alſo about this time is rebuilt, and committed to the [g] Cuſtody of Sr. *John Striveling*, afterwards a Baron of this Realm. And having thus provided for the Peace of *Scotland*, the King returns in Health and Honour into *England*, leaving a good part of his Forces behind him with King *Bailiol*, and other his Captains, for the better Security of his Affairs that way. A little before which the Famous Warrier, the Lord [h] *Richard Talbot*, was Redeemed from his Impriſonment for 2000 Marks, by the Favour of Prince *Robert Stuart*, who highly Reſpected Worth, thô in an Enemy.

[f] *Holinſhead Scotl. p* 236. & *Aſhmole p.* 646.

[g] *Buchan. p.* 297 & *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 143.

[h] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 327.

IX. But the Lord [i] *David Strabolgi*, Earl of *Athol*, having now fully obtain'd a Pardon from King *Edward*, as we ſhew'd before; that he might again purchaſe his good Opinion, reſolves to be in Action for him with the foremoſt: Having therefore provided himſelf with competent Forces, Horſe & Foot, and other Neceſſaries, he preſently lays Siege to the Caſtle of *Kildrummy*, on the River *Done*, that held ſtill for the *Bruceans*. The mean while certain of the *Brucean* Lords, as *Patrick* Earl of *Dunbar*, the Lord *Andrew Murray*, *William Douglas*, and others, prepar'd to go againſt him, as well to puniſh his Revolt and Perjury, as to Relieve the Beſieged. Of this the Earl having timely notice, ſeemingly Raiſes the Siege, but indeed Marches directly forth in good Order of Battle to meet the Enemy. Both Armies joyned in the fields of *Kilblaine*, where began a very fierce Encounter; for generally in Civil Diſſentions, when

[i] *Walſing. Hypod. p.* 113. & *Holinſhead Scot. p.* 236. & *Buchan. l.* 9. *p.* 295 & *Hector Boeth. l.* 15. *p.* 319.

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mens Minds are mutually exasperated, the Animosity, wherewith they contend, is greater than that of different Nations: As the fallings out of old Friends are usually more fierce than those of Strangers. But at length the Earl of *Athol*, who was Superior in number, and no way Inferior in Skill or Courage to his Enemies, had carried away a Compleat Victory, had not Sr. *John Crab*, the Captain of *Kildrummy* Castle, instructed either by secret Notice, or his own Conjecture, issued out of his Castle with 300 fresh Men, who coming suddenly on the Backs of the *Atholians*, in the very Instant of their Victory, and falling on with great Fury, Noise, and Clamour, so terrified them, and added such Courage to the almost Conquer'd *Bruceans*, that the Victory now presently enclin'd the other way. Upon this, Earl *David* disdaining to fly, or to be taken alive to suffer a Publique Execution, or perhaps not dispairing by a Vigorous Opposition to wrest back the Victory again, with a Select Troop of his Best Friends, makes a Desperate Impression upon the Enemy: Where Fighting a while Valiantly he was notwithstanding finally slain by the Hands of Sr *Alexander Gurdon*. There fell with him of the Nobles [k] Sr. *Robert Brady*, and Sr. *Walter Cumin*; whose Brother Sr. *Thomas* being taken alive, was the next day condemned to lose his Head: Some few escaped into the Castle of *Camoron* with the Captain thereof *Robert Menneth*, who yet were compelled to yield the next day for want of Provision.

[k] *Buchan. p.* 295

This Victory, thô not of it self considerable, did yet prove a Mighty Refreshment to the dejected Minds of the *Scots*; especially, since the Numbers of each Party were so unequal, that the *English* exceeded the *Scots* almost three times in Number: For [l] one says, that the Earl of *Athol* had 3000 Men, the *Bruceans* being but 1100, beside those 300 fresh Men, who by their sudden Sally quite turn'd the Scale of Victory: Thô the most Resolute Men in the World being so surprised from behind in the heat of an Engagement, when nothing is certain, and as little can be deliberated, may well be frighted into a Fatal Confusion.

[l] *Fordon.*

Yet [m] others report the matter something otherwise, saying, that upon this sudden Sally of the *Scots*, the Earl of *Athols* Men thrô Treason, or Panick fear fled all from him, except about 13, who being content to partake of the same Honourable Fortune with their Valiant Leader, were all slain with him.

[m] *Walsingh. Hypod. p.* 113.

This Earl *David Strabolgi* (whom *Hector* and *Buchanan* erroneously call by the Name of *David Cumin*) was a Baron also of *England*, where he had large Possessions; for he died [n] seised of the Mannor of *Gainsborough*, in Com. *Linc.* *Bulindon* in Com. *Buck.* *Posewyke*, *West-Lexham*, *Styvely*, and *Holkeham* in *Norfolk*, as also of the Castle of *Mitford*, with two parts of the Mannors of *Pont-Eland* and *Calverdon*, and certain Lands in *Mollesdown* in *Northumberland*, beside what he held in *Scotland*, leaving behind him *David* his Son and Heir then three Years of Age, and *Catherine Beaumont*, Daughter to the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, his Wife surviving; he himself being but eight and twenty Years of Age at his Death.

[n] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.* 96. *b.*

This Battle was struck on the last day of *December*, from whence the distressed *Bruceans* Raised themselves with Hopes, that the succeeding Year would prove more favourable to their Cause.

X. This Year [o] there was found in the Forest of *Wolmer* a young Mule with two Heads, and two Necks, of equal bigness, in other parts nothing different from another. She was kept alive for some time after, in the yard of Sr. *Edward* St. *John*, Warden of the said Forest.

[o] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 118.

It is also [p] reported, that a young Woman, named *Joane*, living in the Parish of *Kingsley* in the Diocess of *Winchester*, and the Decanate of *Aulton*, being on the fourth of *June* at Night, advised by a voice to go and meet her Sweet-heart *William* in the Forest of *Wolmer* aforesaid, early in the Morning met with an *Incubus* in his Shape, who then and there carnally knew her. At her return home she fell into a grievous Malady, and then upon Conference with her Sweet-heart *William*, it appeared, that she had been seduced to her Confusion by an Evil Spirit: Whereupon with great Contrition and Lamentation she bewailed and confessed her sins, all the house being filled with an intolerable and noisome Savour. In this deplorable Condition she held for three days, and then died, having her whole Body extreamly swoln, and her bosome and privy Parts most dismally Black and Dreadfull; and so prodigiously heavy, that eight lusty Men could hardly bear the Body to the Grave. I know not how far it may please God sometimes for the Punishment of Impure thoughts and Unchast desires, as well as for Example to others, to permit *Satan* to Tyrannize by his Illusions. Many Grave Authors have not doubted to attest Instances of the like Nature: However, be this true or not, I leave it to the Decision of others, and the credit of the Author.

[p] *Id. ibid.* & Odoric. Rainald. *contin. ad Baronium.* An. 1335. *n.* 58.

King

King *Edward* this Year [q] confirmed to his Cozen *Henry de Torto Collo* Earl of *Lancaſter*, the County of *Provence* in *France*, being the Inheritance of Queen *Eleanor*, Wife of King *Henry* the Third of *England*, and Second Daughter of *Raimond* Earl of *Provence*, Grandmother to the ſaid Earl *Henry*: which Inheritance the ſaid Queen *Eleanor* granted to her ſecond Son *Edmund*, ſirnamed *Crouchback*, Father to *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, who dying without Iſſue, this *Henry* the younger Brother became his Heir. I know not how valid this Grant of the Kings might be, but ſure at this time *Provence* was in other Hands, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

[q] *Pat. 9. Ed. 3. par. 1. & Sandford Geneal. hiſt. p. 109. & Speed p. 539. §. 106. & §. 107.*

This Year the Lord *Ebulo le Strange*, who in Right of his Wife *Alice*, Daughter and Heir of *Henry Laſcy*, Earl of *Lincoln*, obtained the Title of Earl of *Lincoln*, [r] departed this Life in *Scotland*: His Relict the ſaid Lady *Alice*, of whoſe Laſciviouſneſs I ſhall ſay nothing here, immediately upon his Death Married a certain Knight, called *Hugo de Frenes*, who likewiſe in her Right was entitled Earl of *Lincoln*; but he alſo died the next Year in *Scotland*, as we ſhall ſee in due place. *Ebulo's* Heir was the Lord *Roger le Strange* of *Knokin* Senior, his Coſin.

[r] *Sandford p. 109. & Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 668.*

Beſides there died the Thrice-Noble Lord *John Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, and High-Conſtable of *England*; he deceaſed [s] at *Kirby-Thure* in *Weſtmoreland*, on the Feaſt of St. *Fabian* and *Sebaſtian*, and was buried at *Stratford*, near *London*; but leaving no Iſſue behind him, was ſucceeded in his Honours and Eſtate by his next Brother *Humphry*, a Man Famous for Military Affairs, as we ſhall have Occaſion to take Notice.

[s] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 184.*

CHAPTER the NINTH.

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I. UPon the News of the Earl of *Athols* Death, the Lord *William Montague*, and the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, his Father in Law, were greatly diſpleaſed, as were alſo the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*: For he was a Man of Conſiderable Power, Valour, and Conduct: But eſpecially the Lord [a] *Beaumont*, to ſhew his Reſentment, put every one to the ſword he could lay Hands on, that had been of the adverſe Party at the Battle of *Kilblaine*, where he was ſlain.

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[a] *Hector l. 15. fol. 320. n. 50. & Holinſhead Scotland p. 237 n. 60.*

But the Lord *William Montague*, and the Lord *Henry* [b] *Plantagenet*, Son to the Old Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Robert Morley*, *John* Lord *Molins*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, *Gilbert Umphravill* Earl of *Angos*, the Lord *William Clinton*, the Lord *John Segrave*, and Sr. *Hugh Audley* Junior, with the Lords *Nevil*, and *Piercy*, and *Staffford*, and Sr. *Robert Benhale* of *Norfolk*, who fought the Duel at *Halidoun*, as we ſhew'd before, the Lord *John Leyburne*, and many other Noble Captains with near 20000 fighting Men, went and laid Siege to the ſtrong Caſtle [c] of *Dunbar*, which had been lately rebuilt, and well furniſhed by Earl *Patrick* himſelf at the Command of King *Edward*, when he took *Barwick*: But now both the ſaid Earl had Revolted, and the Caſtle was held for the behoof of King *David*, which was a great Eyeſore to the *Engliſh*,

[b] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p. 902. Dugd. Bar. ad ſingulorum nomina, &c.*

[c] *Buchan. l. 9. p. 296. & Hect. Boeth. l. 15. fol. 321. n. 10.*

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Engliſh, as being ſcituated on the Sea Coaſt between *Barwick* and St. *Andrews*, and the Garriſon thereof doing them much miſchief.

This Siege began on the 27 of *January*, and was continued with pertinacity enough for the ſpace of [d] 19, or as ſome ſay, 22 Weeks: Within the Caſtle at that time was the Counteſs of *Dunbar* her ſelf, ſirnamed Black *Agnes* of *Dunbar*, who was ſo liberal of her Hands to her Souldiers, and ſo pleaſant in her Speech, that ſhe Encouraged them wonderfully to acquit themſelves like men upon all Occaſions. Once it chanced, that as the *Engliſh* Pioneers approached near to dig down the Walls under the Covert of a certain Vaulted Engine, called a *Sow*, ſhe beholding it, ſaid merrily, "that unleſs they look'd well to their *Sow*, She would ſoon make her caſt her Pigs; and within a while the Engine was deſtroy'd accordingly. Nor yet were the *Engliſh* able with all their Coſt and Labour to purchaſe much Honour or Advantage at this Siege: For when they had almoſt brought the Caſtle to a Surrender [e] Sr. *Alexander Ramſay* came once at Midnight as privately as boldly, thrô the *Engliſh* Fleet, and ſupply'd the Counteſs with 40 Select Warriours, and ſufficient Store of Ammunition; and thereupon taking ſome of the Garriſon to thoſe with him, he made a Brisk Sally upon the Beſiegers, who fearing nothing leſs than ſuch a matter from Men who were almoſt reduced, received a Conſiderable Loſs by this ſurprize. This being performed as was intended, the next Night Sr. *Alexander* eſcap'd away again thrô the *Engliſh* Galleys, in the ſame manner as he paſſed by the Night before. Nor did the *Engliſh* underſtand any thing of the matter, but ſuppoſed the Garriſon was in ſo good State ſtill, as of themſelves to undertake ſuch daring Actions. Wherefore ſoon after, either by the ſubtle Colluſion of the *Scots*, who by Mediation of Meſſengers from the Pope and *French* King, required and obtained a Truce, or by the *Engliſh* mens Deſpair of taking the Place, as ſome ſay, or rather, becauſe the Lords that lay there, had a great mind to attend the King their Maſter into *Brabant* and *Flanders*, whither (as they heard) he was now preparing to go; for ſome or more of theſe Reaſons the Siege was Raiſed Inglorioufly, under pretence of a Temporary Truce, whereby the *Engliſh* generally became looſers. But certainly, however the Vulgar deſcanted on the Matter, or whatever prejudiced Authors deliver of it, the *Engliſh* Lords aforenamed, that began and left the Siege in this manner, were all Perſons of great Valour, Prudence, and Loyalty; wherefore we for our Parts dare not by any means raſhly condemn them, thô we underſtand not what Reaſon they ſhould have to leave the Siege.

[d] *Walſing. Hiſt. p.* 118 *& Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 646.

[e] *Buch. p.* 297.

[f] Maii 9.

II. Before the [f] *Aſcenſion*, King *Edward* ſent word to King *Bailiol* to take with him the Lord *Henry Plantagenet*, whom he had [g] lately made Captain General of all his Armies in *Scotland*, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Oxford*, with divers other Lords and Captains of either Nation, and with them and their Forces to take the field. Accordingly [h] after *Whitſuntide* the foreſaid King *Bailiol* paſſed with an Army over the *Scottiſh* Sea, and went to St. *Johnſton*, where they waited the King of *Englands* further Order.

[g] April 7, 10. *Ed.* 3. *& Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 784.

[h] Maii 19.

The mean while King *Edward* held his High-Court of Parliament at *Nottingham*, where he underſtood, [i] that the *French* King had ſworn to Uphold and Protect the Intereſt of King *David* and the Rebel-*Scots*, as they were then called, againſt *England*, and had to that purpoſe ſent over ſeveral Eminent Commanders with Conſiderable ſupplies of Men, Money, and Ammunition. With this News King *Edward* was very well ſatisfied, as well becauſe the *French* King had thereby apparently given him a juſt Occaſion of turning his Arms againſt *France* it ſelf; as alſo verily believing that the *French* and *Scots* together, would not fail now of affording him Battle. He therefore [k] leaves the Lords and Prelates at their Debates in Parliament, and himſelf with a Select Company Poſts away *Incognito* for *Scotland*, till he came to *Barwick* upon the *Tweed*: From thence borrowing a few Men of Arms for his Guard, he rode forth to St. *Johnſton*, where he found King *Bailiol* ready appointed with the Forces of either Nation, as he had commanded.

[i] *Knighton p.* 2568.

[k] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 119. *& Adam Murimouth ad An.* 1335. *&c.*

The *Bailiol* and all the Lords with him were as much ſurpriſed as pleaſed at this ſudden coming of the Kings, and not a little ſatisfied with themſelves, that they were found in ſuch Readineſs, as they ought to be.

Now before King *Edward*'s Arrival at St. *Johnſton*, [l] Earl *Patrick* of *Dunbar*, the Lord *William Douglas*, and Sr. *William Keth*, Chief Captains of the *Bruceans*, taking freſh Courage from their *French* Auxiliaries, had won the Caſtles of St. *Andrew* and *Bothwill*, and thence proceeded to Beſiege the Caſtle of *Striveling*. The Place was vigorouſly Aſſaulted, and as well from within Defended; but when the *Scots* heard of

[l] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 117. *n.* 30.

of King *Edward*'s drawing near to the Reſcue, then they made a General Aſſault with more Fury than ever. But it was ſtill ſo well maintain'd, that nothing was got but the Loſs of many of the Aſſailants, among whom was ſlain Sr. *William Keth*, a Valiant, but a Raſh Leader, and he who occaſion'd the overthrow at *Halidown*: Whereupon together with the Apprehenſion of King *Edward*'s approach, they brake up the Siege, before he could come upon them. As did alſo another Party of the *Scots*, [m] then lying at the Siege of *Lochindoris*, wherein was encloſed the Lady *Catherine Beaumont*, Relict of the late Earl of *Athol*, who before their coming, having Intelligence of their Deſign upon her Caſtle, had Requeſted King *Edward*'s Aid, which was one occaſion more of this his Expedition: But now the Fame of him did what was deſired from his Sword; for the *Scots* upon Report of his coming brake up their Siege and departed.

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[m] *Holinſhead Scotl. p. 236.*

The mean while [n] King *Edward* paſſed with his Army by *Dunkelden* thrô *Athol* and *Murray*, as far as *Elgin* and *Innernes*, where *Scotland* is bounded that way, in purſuit of the Enemy, if by any means he might come to a Battle: But for all the Aſſiſtance from *France*, they durſt not at that time look him in the Face, but [o] kept themſelves in Foreſts and other Faſtneſſes; only in the night-times they would make falſe Alarms to terrifie the *Engliſh*; but they knew them ſo well, and kept ſuch Watch, that they eaſily prevented all their Attempts that way.

[n] *Aſhmole p. 646. & Buchan. p. 296.*

[o] *Adam Murimouth.*

In the King's Return on the left hand through *Buquhan*, [p] he took *Aberdeen*, and burnt divers Towns and deſtroyed the Country, but ſtill the *Scots* kept aloof, for they durſt not hazard their only ſtanding Forces againſt a Royal Army; nor in common prudence could they: Wherefore King *Edward* not reliſhing this dilatory Way, and being perpetually both adviſed by his Friends and provoked by his Enemies to the *French* War, leaving King *Bailiol* at St. *Johnſton*, ſettled in the Goverment of that Kingdom with ſufficient Forces to deal with the *Scots*, returns himſelf for *England*; reſolved now, either by fair Means or Force to keep the *French* quiet at home.

[p] *Aſhmole ibid.*

III. For beſides [q] the Aſſiſtance King *Philip* had lately ſent to the *Bruceans*, in confidence of theſe Diverſions in *Scotland*, he began to take ſo much upon him, that thinking thoſe Forces ſufficient to hold play with *England*, he raſhly and unjuſtly flies upon King *Edward*'s Lands in *France*, conquering, ſurprizing and plundering Towns and Caſtles in *Gaſcoigne*, and ſlaying his Subjects without any other reaſon, but that he vow'd, as he ſaid, to take revenge for his Friends the *Scots*.

[q] *Knighton p. 2568. n. 30. & p. 2569. n. 10.*

Beſides all theſe Provocations, while King *Edward* was in *Scotland*, he ſent abroad no leſs than twenty ſix Gallies well mann'd, with other Ships of War, to cruiſe about the *Engliſh* Coaſts for ſome Advantage, or to make for *Scotland* to the Aſſiſtance of the *Bruceans*; whereupon we find, that the King, who was not yet returned from St. *Johnſton*, ſent forth his Commiſſion to the Lord *Geoffry Say*, then conſtituted his Admiral of the *Southern* and *Weſtern* Sea, and to the Lord *John Norwich*, his Admiral of the *Northern* Sea, a Copy whereof for that it proves the King of *Englands* Power over the *Engliſh* Seas, I have thought fit to inſert in this place, tranſlated from the [r] Original: "The King to his Beloved and Truſty *Geoffry de Say*, Admiral of his Fleet "of Ships from the Mouth of the River *Thames* toward the Weſtern Parts, Greeting. "Whereas we have of late commanded you by our Letters, that together with cer- "tain Ships out of the Cinque Ports, which we have order'd to be furniſhed and made "ready for War according to our Command, you ſhould ſet forth to Sea, to oppoſe "and reſiſt certain Gallies provided and enforced with Men of War in divers Foreign "Parts; which as we are informed, were ſet out toward the Parts of our Dominion, "to moleſt Us and our People, or elſe to make toward the Coaſts of *Scotland* for the "ſuccour and relief of our Enemies there; and in regard that it hath been related by "ſome, that Gallies of that kind, to the number of twenty ſix, are newly come to the "Coaſts of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, and there ſtill abide, waiting, as it is ſuppos'd, "to do what Miſchief they can againſt Us and Ours, or to ſuccour our ſaid Enemies as "aforeſaid: We therefore calling to mind, that our Progenitors, the Kings of *England*, "have before theſe times been LORDS OF THE *ENGLISH* SEA on every ſide, "yea, the Defenders thereof, againſt the Encroachments of Enemies; and ſeeing, it would "very much grieve us, if in this kind of Defence our Royal Honour ſhould (which God "forbid) be loſt or any way diminiſhed in our time, and deſiring with the Help of "God to prevent all Dangers of this Nature, to provide for the Safeguard and De- "fence of our Realm and Subjects, and to reſtrain the malice of our Enemies, do ſtrict- "ly require and charge you by the Duty and Allegiance wherein you ſtand bound unto "Us, according to the ſpecial Truſt repoſed in you, that immediately upon ſight of "theſe

[r] *Vid. Selden's Mare Clauſum l. 2. c. 23. p. 376 & Rot. Scoc. 10. Ed. 3. Memb. 16. & 27.*

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"these Presents, and without any further Delay, you set forth to Sea, with the Ships of "the Ports aforesaid, and other Ships which are now ready; and that in obedience to our "Command you arrest those other Ships, which we lately required you to arrest for "our Service (but so, as they may be ready and provided to set forth according to "our foresaid Command, seeing we caused the Masters and Mariners of the said Ships to be "prepared and gathered together, whether they were within your Liberties or without) "and to cause them being well furnished with Soldiers and other Provisions, to launch out "to Sea with the aforesaid Ships, and that with all diligence you make search after the "foresaid Gallies, and other Ships of War abroad against Us, and stoutly and manfully set "upon them, if they shall presume to bend their Course for the end aforesaid, either to-"ward the Parts of our Dominion, or the Coasts of *Scotland*. And if they steal a-"way from you, so that you cannot meet with them, then you are with the fore-"said Ships of our Fleet without any delay, to follow after the said Gallies and Ships "of War set out against Us (if they shall make toward our Kingdom or the Coasts of "*Scotland*) and them couragiously to destroy for the Conservation of our Royal "Honour.

"But yet we will not; that you occasion any hurt or hindrance to Merchants or O-"thers passing by Sea, who have no intention either to offend Us and our Subjects, or "to succour our Enemies, *&c.* After all which there follows in the Commission a Power from the King to press Sea-men, and some other matters of that kind; the like Commission also was issued to the Lord *John Norwich* Admiral of the Northern Parts, both bearing this Date, --Witness the King at the Town of St. *Johnston* the 16 day of *August*. By the King himself.

[f] *Knighton p. 2568. n.40. & Walsing. hist. p.119.n.10.*

IV. Presently after King *Edward* came [f] back to *Nottingham*, where he found his Parliament sitting as he had left them, who had provided him towards the maintenance of his Wars in *Scotland*, *France* and *Gascoigne*, a Grant of one Twentieth, or as others, of one Fifteenth of their Temporalities, of a Tenth, or as some, a Sixth of the Clergy, a Tenth of all Burroughs, and of *English* Merchants for every Sack of Wooll 40 *s.* but of Merchants Strangers 60 *s.* Besides [t] this, the Clergy of their own accord granted unto the King all the Mony that had been collected and laid up in the Cathedral Churches throughout *England* toward the Holy War. About this time also it was ordained, [u] "That no Wooll of *English* Growth should be exported the Land, "and that all Cloath-workers should be received from whatever Foreign Parts, and fit "Places should be assigned them with many Liberties and Privileges, and that they "should have certain Allowance from the King, till they might be fix'd in a way of li-"ving by their Trade. It was also ordain'd, that none should use Cloth wove beyond "sea, or to be imported hereafter, except the King, the Queen, and their Children "only; Also that none should wear Foreign Skins, Silks or Furrs, unless he had of "yearly Revenues an hundred Pounds. By these and the like good Laws, thô for the present they took not their full effect, King [x] *Edward* reduced the *Woollen* Manufacture, after it had been lost for many years in this Nation; from whose Time it hath flourished unto our Days, to the general advantage of the whole Kingdom. Also this or the following Year, the King sent his Commission to *John* Lord [y] *Molins* empowring him to seise on all the Merchants of *Lombardy*, with their Goods, Jewels of Gold and Silver, and other Chattels then in the City of *London*, and to deliver them for the Kings Use to the Constable of the *Tower*. No doubt among all these and many other ways of Raising Mony, the Inquisition after Corrupt Officers, called *Trailebaston*, was now renewed for the Advantage of the Kings Coffers: For that Wise Prince well knew, that neither Friendship nor Honour was to be expected abroad without Money, the Nerves of War. Wherefore also he is said to have seised into his Hands [z] Rich Vestments, and Vessels of Silver, and other Ornaments out of Abbeys, before he went Personally beyond the Seas. By all which means he is said to have amassed together such an Excessive Heap of Treasure, that by his Plenty of Coyn, the Land was almost quite drain'd; insomuch that Victuals and other Commodities became exceeding cheap, [a] a qnarter of wheat being sold at *London* for two shillings, and a fat Ox for six and eight pence, a fat Sheep for eight pence, a fat Goose for two pence, a Pig for a Penny, and six Pigeons for a Penny.

[t] *Walsing. ibid. n. 20.*

[u] *Walsingh. hist. p.117. n.40. Stow p.233. Holinshead. p.900. & Fabian p.214*

[x] *Judge Hales his Origin. of Mankind p.161*

[y] *Dudg. 2 Vol. p.146.*

[z] *Knighton p. 2571.*

[a] *Fabian p.203. Knighton p. 2569. n.20. & Lanquet f. 237. & Sr. Rich. Baker p. 143.*

Having by these and the like Methods pretty well stock'd himself with Money, the Sinews of War, and conscious both of his own Courage, and that of his People, he yet notwithstanding like a Wise Prince, seeks out at the same time for Foreign Assistance, and yet in the midst of all these hot Preparations for War, he as piously endeavours by Offers of Peace to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood.

Once

Once again therefore [c] he ſends his Ambaſſadors to treat of an Accommodation between the two Kings; and to ſee, if by any means King *Philip* might be brought to Reaſon, both in Reſtoring what he had unjuſtly ſeized on in *Aquitain*, and in Forbearing any farther to intermeddle with the Matters in difference between him and *Scotland*. And thô this he did (after many humble and advantagious Conceſſions offer'd by him in vain) rather now to ſatisfie the World of his own equitable Proceedings, than that he had any hope of ſettling a firm and friendly Correſpondence between himſelf and his Coſin *Philip*: Becauſe he well knew, that the *French* King being ſo mightily addicted to the *Scotch* Intereſt, was by no means likely to comply with his juſt Demands; he counſelled yet farther, how he might by Force compell him, if by fair means he ſhould not be able to enduce him to reaſon. AN. DOM. 1336. AN. REGNI X.

[c] *Walſingh. Hypod. p.* 114. *n.* 1.

V. Now the Lord [d] *Robert* of *Artois* was ſtill, as we ſaid before, of his Council and in great eſteem with him: He was continually urging him to a War with *France*, and made it his only buſineſs to take all occaſions of perſwading him to a Breach with *Philip* of *Valois*, who had unjuſtly uſurped his lawfull Right, and withheld it from him againſt all Law both Humane and Divine. King *Edward* was inwardly well pleaſed with the words of this great Perſonage, and more than once conferr'd with his Privy Council about the matter. For as he was of a noble and daring Spirit, always ready to undertake the higheſt Enterprizes, ſo withall he was agreeably circumſpect, and ever carefull by Wiſdom to mark out his Deſigns beforehand. As yet he ſaw but ſmall likelihood, that of himſelf he ſhould ever attain to the Conqueſt of ſo entire and flouriſhing a Kingdom as *France* was. And as he conſider'd, it was much both againſt his Honour and Intereſt, wholly to neglect ſo great a Concern as his Right to the Crown of *France*; ſo alſo he thought it better, not to lay any Claim thereto, than not to purſue that Claim with Force of Arms to the utmoſt of his Power. Often therefore he demanded Advice of the Ableſt Counſellors, Lawyers and Divines in his Kingdom, who thô they all agreed, that he had a clear Right to the Crown of *France*, were notwithſtandlng ſomething backward to determin any thing in a matter of that Conſequence; as doubting, if the Event happen'd otherwiſe than well, to have all the blame laid at their Doors. But at laſt the Kings Council being much preſſed by him, agreed upon this Anſwer.

[d] *Froiſ. c.* 28. *fol.* 17.

"Sir the Matter, about which Your Majeſty requires our Advice, is ſo weighty and "of ſuch vaſt moment, that we dare not preſume by any means to ſpeak directly to "the Point, nor abſolutely to determine your Royal Mind, either one way or the other. "For to put you upon a War may be of dangerous Conſequence to You and your Peo"ple; and yet wholly to diſſwade you from it, is to betray your Right and Honour, "both which we are bound by our Allegiance to maintain with the hazard of our "Lives and Fortunes. This one thing therefore we have at this time to ſay: That it "would not be amiſs for your Majeſty to ſend ſome Diſcreet Perſonages, ſufficiently "inſtructed in your Royal Pleaſure, to the Earl of *Heinalt* whoſe Daughter is your "Queen, and to *John* Lord *Beaumont* his Brother, who hath always yielded your Ma"jeſty both valiant and loyal Service. That of them your Majeſty would by your "ſaid Ambaſſadors require their Advice and Aſſiſtance in way of Love: For they "are not only well able to render your Majeſty good Service on this Occaſion, but alſo "they underſtand the whole Matter ſo well, that they can beſt of all Men living ad"viſe You, what Friends to have recourſe to, and by what means you may oblige them "to your Side.

VI. The King was ſo well ſatisfied with this Anſwer, that forthwith [e] he ſends over to his Father-in-Law that right Politick Prelate, *Henry Burwaſh* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, with two Banerets, the Lord *William Montagu*, and the Lord *William Clinton* and many other Nobles, beſides two other Doctors learned in the Laws. All who with a fair Wind arrived at *Dunkirk*, and thence riding thrô *Flanders*, came to *Valenciennes* the chief City of *Heinalt*, where they found the Old Earl lying on his Bed ſick of the Gout, and the Lord *John* his Brother with him.

[e] *Froiſ. ibid. & Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 118. *& Aſhmole p.* 646.

They were highly entertained and reſpected by the Earl and his Brother, for the ſake of him that ſent them; whereupon having diſtinctly ſhew'd the cauſe of their coming, with King *Edwards* Pretenſions to the Crown of *France*, and all his Reaſons and Scruples on either Hand, they were thus anſwer'd by the Earl. "So God bleſs me, as I "ſhould heartily rejoyce, if King *Edward's* Deſigns might take a full and happy Effect: "For I rather deſire the Proſperity of him who hath married my Daughter, than of "him, who thô I have married his Siſter, yet never did any thing of Good for me or "mine: Nay, he was the occaſion of hindering the young Duke of *Brabant* from mar-

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"rying one of my Daughters, as he desired to do. Wherefore I shall be so far from "failing to aid my Dear and Well-beloved Son the King your Master, that I shall al- "ways be ready to the best of my Power to further his Undertakings, both by Pru- "dent Advice and Warlike Assistance. Nor do I at all doubt, but that my Brother "Sr. *John* will do the same, who has not been slothfull in his Service to the King your "Master before this. But alas! our Country of *Heinalt* is too too inconsiderable in "respect of the flourishing Realm of *France*: And if we of our selves should once pro- "voke the *French* Arms upon us, *England* you know, is too far off to afford us a- "ny timely Assistance. Upon this, the Bishop of *Lincoln* answered thus unto the Earl.

"Sir, We most heartily in our Royal Masters Name return you our Thanks for the "great Affection you are pleased to bear unto his Affairs; and humbly desire you to "give our Lord the King of *England* your Advice, whose Friendship he had best have "recourse to for their Assistance in this weighty Concern; especially of such who are "your Neighbours, and border upon the Realm of *France*: That thereby we may "not only be render'd more Powerfull to prosecute this our Master's quarrel, but your "Country also may be more strongly Protected against any Violence, which otherwise it "might suffer for our sakes.

"Surely Gentlemen, repli'd the Earl, I cannot for the present think of any more "Puissant in War, nor more surely my Friends, nor more likely to be His, than the "Noble Duke of *Brabant* his Cosin-German, the Earl of *Gueldre*, who hath Married "his Sister, the Bishop of *Liege*, the Archbishop of *Colen*, the Marquis of *Juliers*, "Sr. *Arnold* of *Baquehen*, Sr. *Valeran* his Brother, and the Lord of *Faulquemont*. For "these Lords, as they are well addicted to your Masters Interest, so are they the on- "ly Men, that at the shortest warning can Raise the greatest Numbers of good Soul- "diers, of any I know: They are all good Captains, and well enclin'd to War, "especially against *France*, which is near at hand, if your Master can prevail with "them to begin once, being all together able to serve him with 10000 Men of Arms, if "they may have wages accordingly. And then if he please to come this way, 'tis but passing "the Water of *Oyse* and he is in King *Philip's* Dominions.

VII. This was the Effect of this first Essay, which when King *Edward* heard, he was well satisfied, and resolved to push on the business with all Speed and Vigour possible. As for those *English* Ambassadors who were then in *France*, they were now remanded home, because King *Edward* understood [f] that while they were treating of a Peace, King *Philip* had sent a well-rigg'd Fleet to the Assistance of the *Scots* against him. Now the Admiral of this Navy for the *French* was [g] *David Bruce*, the exil'd King of *Scotland*, who did much mischief to the *English* Merchants about the Isle of *Wight*, and besides had already enter'd the Isles of *Garnsey* and *Jarsey*, and put divers of the Inhabitants to the Sword. Wherefore King *Edward* immediately [h] gave Commission to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Henry Plantagenet*, Son to *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, and others (himself being then at *Bothwell* in *Scotland*, so busied in the Affairs of that Realm, that he could not be at the meeting appointed) to treat with certain Prelates and others, whom he had commanded to meet at *London* on *Wednesday* after *New-years* day following, upon Matters relating to the Defence and safety of the Kingdom, repulsion of the Enemies, and other things concerning the State of the King and his Realm; as also seriously and fully to acquaint them with the Kings Intensions, to Ordain and do all things referring thereunto, and to His Honour, as if he were there Personally present. Nor indeed was the King of *Englands* Design [i] wholly unknown to King *Philip* of *France*, for whether by meer Suspicion, or more certain Information, the matter began by little and little to take wind so much, that presently the Mighty Zeal for the Holy War grew cold in *France* of a sudden; and King *Philip* countermanded all his Officers from making any farther Preparations, till he might see whither King *Edward*'s Designes would tend. But before I proceed with those matters, I shall rid my hands of some things, which falling about this time, are fittest here to be inserted. Only I must not omit, that [k] Pope *Benedict*, seeing how matters began to go between the two Kings, sent by the hands of his Nuntio, *Philip de Camberlake*, his Letters bearing date the x Kal. *Decemb.* to both the Kings, endeavouring to perswade them to an Accommodation; but especially he sought to pacifie King *Edward*'s enflamed mind, and exhorted him to put away from him the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, who continually stirr'd him up to the War; besides which he wrote to Queen *Philippa*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that they

[f] *Walsing. Hypod. p.* 114. *n.* 1.

[g] *Ashmole p.* 677.

[h] 11 *Decemb. Rot. Scot.* 10. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 3.

[i] *Froiss. c.* 28.

[k] *Odoric. Rainald. ad* An. 1336. §. 46.

they would use their endeavours to bring the King to Terms. But all was too late, King *Edward* was too far exasperated by the Insolence of his Adversary: And thus the War began to break out between *England* and *France*, than which hardly ever any was either of more long continuance, or of more Fatal Consequence to *Christendom*. AN. DOM. 1336. An. Regni X.

VIII. On the [l] 14 of *September*, or as some say, in the latter end of * *October*, at the Town of St. *Johnston*, departed out of this Life the most hopefull young Prince, *John Plantagenet*, sirnamed of *Eltham* in *Kent*, the Place of his Birth; who was only Brother to King *Edward*, being the second Son of *Edward* the Second, by his Queen *Isabella*, Daughter to *Philip le Bel* King of *France*. He was [m] advanced to the Title of Earl of *Cornwall* by his Brother King *Edward* the Third; and was twice by him made Lieutenant of all *England* upon his Expeditions, the one into *France*, the other into *Scotland*, during his Absence. But in his Action of this Year he so heated himself, that he fell into a Feavour upon his return to St. *Johnston*, and now at last died, in the very Flower of his Youth, being but twenty Years of Age, and a Batchelour. His Body being embalmed, and brought into *England*, was with great Solemnity Interr'd [n] in St. *Edmunds* Chappel in *Westminster* Abbey, on the Southside of the Choire, and the Northside of the High Altar, on the Left hand of the Door of the said Chappel: Where the King his Brother raised for him a [o] most Noble Monument of Grey Marble, set about with 24 little Images of various-coloured Alabaster, and white Marble, under each whereof are the blank Escutcheons remaining, whereon had been as many several Coats of Arms depicted, which are now wholly worn away and decayed. On this Tomb lies his full Image of Admirable wrought Alabaster, in his Coat Armour, his Visage bare, and a deep Shield on his Left Arm, whereon are engraven the Arms of *England* within a Bordure of *France*, having two Angels on each side supporting his Head, and a Lion Couchant at his Feet, Carved and finely Pictured of the same Alabaster, with a Canopy covering the whole, with delicate wrought Spires and Masons Work, every where intermixed and Adorned with little Images and Angels, according to the Fashion of those times, supported by eight Pillars of white Stone, of the same Curious-wrought Work; But there is no Epitaph or Inscription to inform us any further.

[l] *Adam Murimouth.* * *Fabian p.* 203. *Walsingh. hist. p.* 117. *n.* 20.

[m] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 109.

[n] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 110.

[o] *Keep's Monument. Westm. p.* 66. *&c. & Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p.* 155 ubi *the Figure of it.*

The *Scotch* [p] Writers tell the manner of his Death thus; "that having done many "abominable Cruelties in that Kingdom, and especially without any Regard to Holy "Places, after all he came to St. *John's* Town, where (say they) the King his Bro- "ther then was in the Church at his Devotions near the Altar. That upon sight of "him, the King, who had heard of all his Barbarous and Profane Cruelties, question'd "him somewhat about those Matters: But receiving from him an harsh and unduti- "full Answer, was so far provoked, that immediately drawing his sword, he there slew "him with his own Hands upon the Place, adding this----*That an Altar ought not to* "*be a Refuge for One, who had by Fire and Sword violated both Churches and Altars.* Certainly this Sentence, which *Hector* puts into King *Edward*'s Mouth, was no way unbecoming a Religious Prince, even thô he had perform'd such a Fact upon such a Brother, as they make this Lord *John* to have been. But this very Author, forgetting Decencies and Characters, at another time makes the same King as great a Profaner of Holy Places himself; and yet his Friend *Buchanan* likes not this Story of his so well, as to set his Hand to it, which he very seldom scruples to do, but when the Lye is too apparent: For indeed King *Edward* was not in *Scotland* at the time of Prince *Johns* Decease; and the young Lord was neither so Barbarous nor Profane, as *Hector* feigns; and besides, his Death was [q] Natural, as all our Histories and the Records themselves agree.

[p] *Hector l.* 15. *f.* 320. *n.* 40. *&c.*

[q] *Knighton p.* 2568. *n.* 30. *& Holinsh. Scot. p.* 237. *n.* 50. *& Pat.* 10. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 2. *m.* 3. *& Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 109. *&c.*

In the [r] Month of *December* there died also at St. *Johnston* the Lord *Hugh Frenes* (who in Title of his Wife, the Relict of Sr. *Ebulo le Strange*, was called Earl of *Lincoln*) of a Bloody *Flux*, occasion'd by an excessive cold; and indeed many other *English* were destroy'd by the vehement cold in those Quarters that Winter. This Earl *Hugh* was the [t] Third and Last Husband of *Alice*, Daughter and Heiress of *Henry Lacy*, Earl of *Lincoln*; but neither he, nor any of her other Husbands had any Issue by her.

[r] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 117. *n.* 20.

[t] *Catal. Honbr. p.* 947.

Queen *Philippa* of *England* [s] this Year was deliver'd of her second Son at *Hatfield*, who in Memory of her Father *William* Earl of *Heinalt*, was Christened by that Name, and sirnamed of *Hatfield*, the Place of his Birth, as was customary in those Days. But this young Prince *William* of *Hatfield* lived but a short while, and was buried in the Cathedral at *York*.

[s] *Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p.* 177. *& Walsingh. Hypod. p.* 113. *n.* 40.

An. Dom. 1336. An. Regni X.

IX. About this time (as it were to uſher in thoſe grand Affairs, which King *Edward* was now entring upon) there [u] appeared a fearfull Comet, which for a conſiderable time darted forth its Rays with long and terrible Streams toward the *Eaſt* and toward the *South*: It was look'd upon as a Forerunner both of thoſe Wars in the Holy Land, wherein the King of *Armenia* loſt all his Country to the *Turks*, and alſo of the great Devaſtation, that followed ſhortly after in the Noble Realm of *France*. Althô (if they might not be divers) I had rather ſet the time of this Comets Appearance to the Year following: For [x] we find, that in the Years 1337 and 1338. there were ſeen either two, or one and the ſame Comet, of ſuch a remarkable Phænomenon, that together with that which happen'd in the Year 1330, they employed the Pen of that learned Aſtrologer of thoſe Days, *Godfry de Meldis* an *Oxonian*, to write his Book called *Judicium Stellæ Comatæ*.

Alſo this Year in a Village called *Leighton*, about ſix miles Weſtward from *Huntingdon*, was calved a Calf with two Heads and Eight feet, if [y] *Walſingham* may obtain credit, as there is little doubt to be made of the probability of this Matter.

This Winter was very ſharp in *England*, there being a hard Froſt from the 27 of *November* to the 9 of *February*, but no Snow at all; whence Wheat became dear, but other Grain grew plenty. In many Parts of *England* the Willow-trees brought forth Flowers in *January*, like Roſes for Bigneſs and Colour; and Elder-trees bare fruit exactly like unto Cherries, but without any Stones; let who can, tell the Meaning of the Prodigy, ſays *Walſingham*.

[u] *Aſhmole p. 646. & Fabian p. 203. & 208. & Walſingh. Hypod. p. 114. & Hiſt. p. 131. n. 30. Gaguin. l. 8. p. 134. Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p. 900.*

[x] *Eſq; Sherburne in his Catalogue of Aſtromers at the end of his* Manilius, *&c.*

[y] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 119. n. 20. & 30. &c.*

CHAPTER the Tenth.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *ſends a freſh Embaſſy to the Earl of* Heinalt, *with an account of* 500 *Gentlemen Voluntiers, whoſe Captains were the Lord* Walter Manny *and the Lord* James Audley; *with the ſucceſs of the Ambaſſadors.* II. *King* Edward *endeavors alſo to bring over the* Flemings; *the Earl of* Flanders *puts to death the Lord* Sigar *of* Courtray, *whereby he looſes the Affections of his People; who vanquiſh him in battle, and put him to flight.* III. *The Riſe of* Jacob *van* Arteveld *in* Gaunt, *his Popularity, Power and Intereſt.* IV. *The* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors make uſe of him to bring over the* Flemings *to the King their Maſter; with their Succeſs.* V. *The King in Parliament creates his Son the Prince, Duke of* Cornwall, *and makes ſeven Earls; the Prince at the ſame time dubbs twenty new Knights; with other things relating to that Parliament and the Affairs of* Ireland. *All the Lands of the Priors Aliens throughout* England *ſeiſed into the Kings Hands, and by him let to farm.* VI. William *the Good Earl of* Heinalt *dies, an inſtance of his Juſtice: and an account of a Divine Judgment upon an unnatural Siſter:* William *Son to the Good Earl ſucceeds; the Counteſs Dowager goes into a Nunnery.* VII. *King* Edward *ſends to demand the Crown of* France, *and makes many Potent Friends in* High-Germany *and elſewhere. King* Philip *ſeeks to draw off the* Flemings *to himſelf, but in vain.* VIII. *King* Philip *ſets a Garriſon in* Catſand *to intercept the* Engliſh *Commiſſioners: King* Edward *beats them out.* IX. *King* Edward *holds a Treaty of Peace with* Philip, *and with his Allies for further enabling him in the War.* X. *The Pope intercedes: The King calls a Parliament.*

I. KING *Edward* the mean while not to ſlack his Buſineſs [a] ſends a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Heinalt* (wherein he is ſtiled *William* Earl of *Heinalt*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, and Lord of *Friſeland*, our Father-in-Law) and thereby conſtitutes him his Proctor to treat and agree with ſuch Noblemen, Perſons of Note, as he ſhould think beſt, touching both Alliances and Retainers. He alſo ſent Commiſſions with the like Power, and under the ſame Date, to *William* Marquis of *Juliers*, the Kings Brother-in-Law (he [b] having married *Joan* Siſter to Queen *Philippa*) to Sr. *John Montgomery* Knight, and to Doctor *John Waweyn* Canon of *Darlington*, his Liegers in thoſe Parts.

[a] *16 Decemb. Pat. 10. Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 6. Aſhmole p. 646.*

[b] *Ritterſhuſius in Tab. Com. Hollandiæ & Selandiæ, &c.*

In

In *April* following a like Commiſſion bearing Date the 19 of the ſaid Month, was iſſued to *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *William* Lord *Montagu* and *William* Lord *Clinton*, then newly made Earls, and they immediately diſpatch'd to the Earl of *Heinalt*, on another Embaſſy far more honourable than before: For it conſiſted of ten Great Barons and fourty other Knights; who were all fully inſtructed to treat further with the Earl, and to article and conclude with ſuch Lords of the Empire, as by the ſaid Earl had been nominated. When they were come to *Valenciennes*, each of them kept a great State and Port, ſparing for no Expence, no more than if the King of *England* had been there in Perſon, whereby they were highly extolled and reſpected by the People of thoſe Parts. In the Company of theſe *Engliſh* Knights there was a gallant Troop of young *Engliſh* Batchelors, who had all their left Eyes hoodwink'd and clos'd up with a piece of Silk. It was talk'd, as if they had made a Vow to their Miſtreſſes in *England*, "That they would never take off thoſe Patches, till they had "paſſed into *France*, and there performed ſome notable Exploit of Arms upon that "Nation. Some ſay, [d] that for all this, they could never hear of any great Matter performed by any of them. If not, certainly 'tis for want of Reading or Underſtanding: For of this Reſolute Company were no leſs than 500, Captains whereof were reported the young Lord *Walter Manny*, that afterwards did Wonders in *France*, and was the firſt that begun the War, as we ſhall ſhew preſently; the young Lord *Thomas Holland*, and alſo the noble Lord *James Audely*, [e] then not three and twenty Years of Age, of whoſe valiant Acts and Heroick Exploits in the *French* Wars, the Hiſtories of both Nations make very honourable Mention. In his Minority, being under the Guardianſhip of *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, firſt Earl of *March*, he was by him cheated into a Recogniſance of ten thouſand Marks, which Debt, as a Chattel, became due to the King upon the Attaindure of the ſaid *Mortimer*: But his Majeſty being ſoon convinced of his high Merit (for thô ſo young, he accompanied the King in all his Wars at his own Expences) freely diſcharged him of that Summ. He bore for his Arms Gules a Fret Or, and was afterwards one of that moſt honourable Company, whom King *Edward* choſe for his Firſt Companions of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; and particularly in the Field of *Poictiers* he behav'd himſelf ſo eminently well, that he obtain'd this Teſtimony of *John* then King of *France*, to have beſt approved himſelf of any Knight whether *French* or *Engliſh* in Battle that day. But I muſt not foreſtall the Reader by too long a Digreſſion; only this I thought neceſſary in order to refute the Lord *Montaigne*, and to ſhew what kind of Gentlemen theſe were, and that at leaſt ſome of their Actions were not inferior to their Promiſes. However this [f] Vow of theirs was rumor'd as the occaſion of thoſe honourable Patches, while they were at the Court of Earl *William* at *Valenciennes*, thô they themſelves would by no means acknowledge any ſuch thing, becauſe the War was not yet declared.

AN. DOM. 1337. An. Regni XI.

[c] *Froiſ. c. 28. fol. 17. b.*

[d] *Lord Montaigne in his Eſſays l. 2. c. 25.*

[e] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 748. b.*

[f] *Froiſ. c. 28. f. 17. b.*

Theſe *Engliſh* Lords with their Company having thus for a while kept together in great ſplendor, did notwithſtanding all the while ply their Maſters Buſineſs ſo well, that by the [g] 24 of *May* enſuing, they had fully engaged divers of the Nobility and Others in *Heinalt*, *Gueldre* and the Marquiſate of *Juliers*, to appear in the Kings Aſſiſtance againſt the *French*, and withall ſettled the Proportion of Men and Arms, wherewith each of them were to furniſh the King in that Service, together with the Stipends and Wages to be paid them in lieu thereof.

[g] *Aſhmole p. 647. ex Rot. Aleman. 11 Ed. 3. m. 9, 10, 11.*

The mean time the [h] Biſhop of *Lincoln* taking ſome of the Chiefs with him, rode to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, who entertained them with much Honour, and lighty accorded to their Motion, "Promiſing to ſuſtain the King of *Englands* Quarrel to the "beſt of his Power, as well by Council, as by Force of Arms: That his Country "ſhould be open to his Coſin the King of *England*, or any of his; ſo that He or "they might come or go, armed or unarmed, at his or their pleaſure: That if King "*Edward* would defie the *French* King, he alſo would do the ſame, and enter the "Realm of *France* with Forces to the number of a thouſand Men of Arms; ſo that "their Wages might be paid them from *England*. And accordingly on the 13 of *July* we find, that *John* Duke of *Brabant*, *Lorraine* and *Lemberg*, was retained for the King; and with the aſſent of the Emperour, was the Confederation made with *Lewis* his eldeſt Son, there ſtiled Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Arch-Chamberlain to the Emperour. There paſſed alſo between the Emperour himſelf and the King of *England* and their Heirs, an Union and Confederacy, which obliged them to uſe all their Power particularly againſt *Philip* of *Valois* (who bore himſelf as King of *France*) and his Succeſſors in that Kingdom, for the Recovery and Defence of their Honours, Inheritances and Poſſeſſions.

[h] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[i] *Rot. Aleman. 11 Ed. 3. m. 8. 2 Septem. ibid. m. 6. ibid. m. 11.*

Things

An. Dom. 1337. An. Regni XI.

Things ſucceeding thus happily, the [k] *Engliſh* Lords return to the reſt of their Company at *Valenciennes*; whence by Letters and Meſſengers they ſo well managed the reſidue of that Affair, that the Lord *Reginald* Earl of *Gueldre* and *Zuitphen* (who had married *Eleanora* the King of *Englands* Siſter) and *William* Marquis of *Juliers* (who had married *Joan* one of Queen *Philippa's* Siſters) with *Walram* Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and the Lord *Valeran* his Brother, and the Lord *Faulquemont*, came all to *Valenciennes* to treat with the *Engliſh* Lords about the Premiſes before the Earl of *Heinalt* and the Lord *John* his brother. And here at laſt on Conſideration of certain Summs of Florens to be paid to each of them, beſide ſuch and ſuch Wages for their Men; They all undertook to defie the *French* King, and to bring into the Field againſt him every Man ſuch a number to attend King *Edward*, when and where it ſhould pleaſe him: Promiſing moreover on the like Conditions to procure other Lords of the Empire, ſuch as were beſt inclin'd to War and moſt able, from beyond the *Rhine*.

[k] *Froiſ. ibid.*

After this Covenant thus made, the *Almaine* Lords departed to their ſeveral Countries; but the *Engliſh* remain'd ſtill with the Earl of *Heinalt*, whence they ſent frequent Meſſengers to *Adolph* Biſhop of *Liege*, being very deſirous to bring him over. But he was ſo firmly knit to the *French* Kings Intereſt, that there were but ſmall hopes of ever prevailing with him. As for the Valiant King *John* of *Bohemia*, thô they wiſh'd for him, he being a Prince of great Wiſdom, as well as Reſolution, and of great Power in the Empire, which once was govern'd by his Father *Henry* of *Luxemburgh*; yet they forbore to attempt any thing upon him, becauſe they ſaw plainly, that having married his Daughter to King *Philips* Son, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, he could neither in honour nor intereſt move another way. And indeed both he and the foreſaid Biſhop of *Liege* ſtuck ſo cloſe to the Crown of *France*, that nothing but Death could ſeparate them from it; which they both at laſt ſuffer'd in one day, at the famous Battle of *Creſſy*, wherein the *Engliſh* obtain'd a moſt ſignall Victory.

But however they prevail'd elſewhere, and retain'd in the Kings Name, for his intended Expedition into *France*, ſeveral other Noblemen of thoſe Countries; [l] as namely *Adolph* Earl of *Mont* (who having done Fealty and Homage to King *Edward*, received of him in reward thereof a Penſion for Life of 1200 *Florens* of Gold *per annum* out of his Exchequer) *Everard* eldeſt Son to *Theoderick* Earl of *Limbergh*, *Adolph* Earl of *Marlia*, *Robert de Touburgh* Lord of *Warnich*, *Theoderick* Earl of *Loſſen* and *Heuſeberg*, and the Lord *Blatikenberg*, and *Theoderick de Montjoy* Lord of *Walkenberg*, beſides divers Valiant Knights and Commanders of eminent Note.

[l] *Aſhmole p. 647.*

II. Moreover King *Edward* well conſidering, how opportunely the *Flemings* lay to annoy the Kingdom of *France*, and how their Trade in Wooll and other Merchandiſes, which came from *England*, made them in a great meaſure obnoxious to him, reſolves to attempt them. And thereupon ſends over [m] an *Engliſh* Knight, named Sr. *Bernard Brett*, of an excellent Tongue and obliging Deportment; who (if upon tryal he ſhould find any Difficulty with *Lewis*, [n] ſirnamed of *Creſſy*, Earl of *Flanders*) was then ſecretly by promiſes and other arts to work upon the Demagogues, and ſuch as were moſt acceptable to the Populace; ſo as to perſwade them to enter League and Amity with the Crown of *England*. The Earl of *Flanders*, thô he was perfect *French* at heart, yet could not, he thought, in reaſon, but propound this Requeſt of King *Edwards* to his Eſtates being called together in Council. In ſhort, the King of *England* found more Favourers here than the Earl had imagin'd, many openly alledging, that it was more for their Intereſt to prefer his Friendſhip than that of *France*; the chief of whom was a Lord of *Flanders*, named [o] Sr. *Siger* of *Courtray*, who ſtifly maintain'd that Opinion in Council; for which he began to be in great diſlike with the Earl.

[m] *Fabian p. 204*

[n] *Engliſh Atlas 4 Vol. p. 239.*

[o] *Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p. 903.*

This Knight [p] had been accounted a Perſon of ſingular Honour, and of unqueſtionable Valour and Fidelity to his Lord the Earl of *Flanders*; but whether that he was won by the Policy and Golden Perſwaſion of this *Engliſh* Knight Sr. *Bernard Brett*, or whether he indeed thought it the beſt Advice for the Wealth of his Lord and of his Country, he was perfectly now for abetting the *Engliſh* Intereſt. His uſual Reſidence was in the City of *Gaunt*, the *Metropolis* in thoſe Days of all *Flanders*, where he kept great Hoſpitality, eſpecially for the entertainment of Strangers, for which he was extreamly dear to the common People, who call'd him the Lord of Courteſie. This his manner of being Free to all Men, made him not doubt of entertaining the *Engliſh*, among others, with all civility and honour; whereat the jealous Head of King *Philip* was ſo ſtung, that upon News thereof he ſent to the Earl of *Flanders*, commanding him to ſtrike

[p] *Froiſ. c. 29. fol. 18.*

ſtrike off his Head, as One whom he affirmed to be corrupted with *Engliſh* Gold from his Duty. The Earl, who was already not well-pleas'd with the Lord *Sigar* of *Courtray*, not daring, or not willing to give King *Philip* any occaſion of Suſpition, ſent for him accordingly: Whereupon Sr. *Sigar* readily obeyed, as one, who having done no ill, ſuſpected none, but when the Earl had got him once in his power, without Proceſs or Judgment he cauſed him preſently to be beheaded. AN. DOM. 1337. An. Regni XI.

This raſh and illegal Action of the Earls did ſo incenſe the Commons of *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, that they began plainly to Rebel againſt him, openly rejected his Government, and prepared to reſiſt him by force of Arms. The [q] Earl thinking to chaſtiſe them for their preſumption, gather'd all his Lords and Knights about him; but ſoon after being met by the Commons in plain Battle, after a long Fight they utterly routed him, ſo that he hardly ſaved himſelf by flight; and then entring into a ſtrong Caſtle of his, he began to fortifie with all diligence. [q] *Fabian p.* 205.

III. Things thus ſtanding between the Earl and his people, [r] there aroſe in *Gaunt* a Man of mean Birth to the Higheſt Command of all; he was by profeſſion a Refiner of Honey, or rather, as others ſay, [s] a Brewer, his Name *Jacob van Arteveld*, or as the *French* call him, *Jaques d' Arteville*; but by reaſon of his great Wealth, ſubtle Wit, and boldneſs of Mind, he had long been of ſome Authority among the People; whereupon now he improv'd his former Popularity ſo far, that of a ſudden by his Dexterity he render'd himſelf more abſolute than ever the Earl of *Flanders* was himſelf, or any other before him. He had all things entirely at his Command, none having Courage or Power to reſiſt him; for undertaking to be the Peoples Patron, thoſe who would not appear his Friends, were look'd upon as Common Enemies; And he never walk'd in the Streets of *Gaunt* with under Threeſcore or Fourſcore luſty Yeomen at his Heels; among whom were Three or Four who underſtood his moſt intimate Secrets. So that whenever he met with any whom he feared or hated, that man was ſlain without Remedy: For ſo he had precontracted with thoſe his three or four Intimado's, that upon meeting of any One, if he ſhould make ſuch and ſuch a ſign to them, they ſhould immediately diſpatch him whatſoever he was, even thô himſelf ſhould ſay to the contrary, without any ſcruple, queſtion, or demurr. By this means, of thoſe that did not love him, he was ſo feared, that every body was glad to diſſemble a complyance with any thing, that *Jacob van Arteveld* had a Mind to. Theſe Yeomen at any time when they had brought their Maſter home, us'd to go abroad for their Dinners, after which they would return again into the Street before his Lodgings, and there wait till he came out, and ſo attend him till Supper time. Their ſtanding wages were four *Flemiſh* groats *per diem* for each man (beſide other profits) which four groats the day was duly paid every Week. And thus in every Town he had Souldiers and Servants, for their wages, at his Commandment; who were to watch and eſpie, if any perſon had a Deſign againſt him, or ſo, and to give him Information thereof: Which having once received, he would never leave till he had baniſh'd or deſtroy'd that man. Eſpecially, he took care to baniſh all the Lords, Knights, Eſquires, and Burgeſſes, who were known or ſuſpected to be Friends to the Earl: Of all whoſe Lands he would levy one Moiety for his own uſe, the other to the uſe of the Wives and Children of the ſaid Exiles. As for the Earls Rents and Profits, he collected them every groat himſelf, and expended them at his Pleaſure, without taking or making any Account. Yet if he ſaid he wanted Money, the People either durſt not, or would not, but believe him, and where he had a mind to borrow of any Burgeſs, he was refus'd nothing. [r] *Froiſ. c.* 29. *fol.* 18. [s] *Mezeray ad hanc an. p.* 14.

But it is very obſervable, that when God permits any great Evil to ariſe among men, his gracious Providence at the ſame time is creating a Remedy againſt that Evil: So now at that very time, when *Jacob van Arteveld* was riſing to this Inſolence of Power, a Friendſhip was making up between him and the *Engliſh* Intereſt; which at laſt was the occaſion of his Downfall, as hereafter we ſhall ſee.

IV. For the *Engliſh* Lords who ſtill kept an Honourable Port at *Valenciennes*, when they underſtood the Errant about which the King their Maſter had ſent Sr. *Bernard Bret*, and alſo heard of this new diſcord between the Earl and the good Towns of *Flanders*, they immediately thought to make ſome Advantage of all this for their Maſters ſervice; knowing it would be very acceptable unto him, if by any means they might win the *Flemings* to their ſide. Upon their adviſing with the Earl in this Matter, he plainly told them, "That without doubt the aid of the *Flemings* could not but be of "very great Importance: But added he, "I verily think your endeavours to gain them will "prove utterly ineffectual, unleſs you can firſt make *Jacob van Arteveld* your Friend.

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The *Engliſh* Lords reſolv'd to do their beſt, and thereupon departed for *Flanders*: Being there, they diſtributed themſelves into Three Parties, One for *Gaunt*, another for *Bruges*, and the Third for *Ipres*; and they all kept ſo high a Port, and ſpent ſo largely, as if Gold and Silver flow'd from their Hands: And yet beyond all this they made many great Promiſes, and Liberal Offers to thoſe whom they confer'd with about theſe Matters. 'Twas the Biſhop of *Lincoln's* Province to be at *Gaunt*, and he ſucceeded ſo well by help of his ſmooth Tongue, and more Eloquent Hand, that *Jacob van Arteveld* became forthwith his humble Servant. By *Jacob's* means the Repreſentatives of the good Towns of *Flanders* were often conven'd together, before whom the Offers of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were propounded, concerning many conſiderable Advantages, Priviledges, and Franchiſes, on ſuch Conditions to be Granted unto them by the King of *England*. In ſhort, things were here ſo well menaged, that it was fully agreed, that the King of *England*, or any of his might come into *Flanders* armed or unarmed, and go at his or their Pleaſure: But as for themſelves they added, "how they were ſtraightly bound to the Pope in a Bond of [t] 2000000 "Florens of Gold, to be paid on peril of a general Interdiction, never more to make War "againſt the King of *France*. And with this Anſwer they deſired the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners to be content for that time.

[t] *Aſhmole p.* 650.

Hereupon they return'd very well ſatisfied to *Valenciennes*, whence they ſent frequently to *England* to give the King an account of their Progreſs; and he for his part moſt liberally ſupply'd them with Gold and Silver to bear their own Charges, and to preſent to the Lords of *Almaine*, who were very ready to receive whatever was offer'd of that kind.

At this time alſo the King ſent an Orator to the Pope, Requeſting that with his good leave he might enter a ſtrict League and Alliance with the Emperour of *Germany*, becauſe as then the ſaid Emperour was not only Excommunicate himſelf, but alſo all thoſe, who joyned themſelves unto him, were involved in the like ſentence. But to this Requeſt of the Kings, the Pope refuſed to conſent, and endeavour'd to diſſwade him from that Deſign by his [u] Letters, bearing date at *Avignon* 13 Kal. *Auguſt* An° *Pontificatûs* 3. Thô for all this we ſhall find the King to enter a League with the ſaid Emperour the Year following.

[u] *Extant apud Odoric. Rainald. ad* An. 1337. §. 7.

V. Thus ſtrongly did King *Edward* prepare, before he would Commence a War againſt ſo Powerfull a Monarch; all which thô it prov'd in a manner unprofitable, and thô little or nothing of all his Glorious Actions was really performed, but by his own Forces, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter: Yet his great Prudence appears ſufficiently from theſe Inſtances of his Foreſight and Conduct, and that he was not Raſh nor Preſumptuous; but Reſolute with Deliberation. Yet next to God, he repoſed his chief Confidence in the Valour of his own Subjects; and now as well to Reward paſt Services, as to give Encouragement to new Ones, in a Parliament held at *Weſtminſter* * about the Feaſt * of St. *Gregory*, the Pope and Confeſſor, he converted the Earldom of *Cornwall* (void by the Death of the Lord *John* of *Eltham* his Brother) into a Dukedom, and confer'd it on his Eldeſt Son and Heir Prince *Edward*, who was now but ſix Years of Age, [x] inveſting him by the ſword only, together with the County Palatinate of *Cheſter*; adding ſhortly after ſuch Mannors and Priviledges to this Title, [y] which were for the future to be inſeperable, and to deſcend perpetually to the Eldeſt Sons of the Kings of *England*, his Succeſſors; but upon the Death or Non-exiſtence of ſuch Dukes, to revert unto the Crown: And [z] this was the firſt Precedent for the Creation of the Title of Duke with us in *England*. The Charter of this Creation bears date the 17 of *March*; but other particulars of this Matter I have already ſpoken of, when I was about the Birth of this young Prince. On the day preceding the King created the Lord *Henry* [a] *Plantagenet* (Son to the Earl of *Lancaſter*) Earl of *Darby*; and the Lord *William Montague* at the ſame time he made Earl of *Salisbury*, with a grant of the yearly Rent of 20*l.* out of the Profits of that County; alſo the Lord *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntingdon*, with a grant of a 1000 Marks Land *per annum* for him and his Heirs-male for ever, beſides 20*l.* Rent alſo iſſuing out of the Profits of that County, for his better ſupport in that Dignity. At the ſame time the Lord *Hugh Audley*, Coſin to the Lord *James Audley*, was created Earl of *Gloceſter*; the Lord *Hugh Courtney*, an old tough Souldier of almoſt Fourſcore, was now created Earl of *Devonſhire*, thô he was made ſo by Writ two Years before, as we have ſhewed: Beſides theſe the Lord *Robert Hufford* was made Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Lord *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*; to the Earl of *Northampton* ſhortly after the King gave a Grant of the Caſtle, Mannor, and Town of *Stamford*, with the Lord-

* *Knighton p.* 2568. *n.* 50. * *i.e.* 12 Martii

[x] *Aſhmole p.* 671. [y] *Dugd. Warw. p.* 90.

[z] *Aſhmole ibid.*

[a] *Vid. Dugd. Bar. ad horum ſingulorum nomina, &c. Knighton p.* 2568. *n.* 60. *Adam Murimouth. Will. Shepſteed. Sr Tho. de la More.*

ſhip

ſhip of *Grantham* in *Lincolnſhire* (which *John Warren* Earl of *Surrey* held for Life) alſo of the Caſtle and Mannor of *Fotheringhay* in *Northamptonſhire*, and of the Caſtle and Mannor of *Okeham* in *Rutland*, with the Sheriffalty of the ſaid County, to hold to himſelf and the Heirs-Male of his Body, under certain conditions in the ſaid Grant expreſſed: The extent whereof may be [f] ſeen in the Record. To the Earl of *Suffolk* the King gave (over and above an annuity of twenty pounds *ſub nomine & honore Comitis, pro tertio Denario Comitatûs illius*, which anciently belonged to all Earls) the Honour [g] of *Eay* in *Suffolk*, and the Mannor of *Baſe-Court* in the Pariſh of St. *Giles* without *Cripplegate* in *London*, commonly called the *Barbican*, [*] becauſe of old it had been a *Burgkenning*, or Watch-Tower for the City. Many like Advantages together with their Honours, the King at this time heap'd on the reſt of theſe Noble and Valiant Earls; at which time alſo the young Duke of *Cornwall* (afterwards Prince of *Wales*) made [h] twenty new Knights; to wit, Sr. *Edward Montague* (Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Simon* [i] *Montague* Biſhop of *Ely*) Sr. *Thomas Somerton*, Sr. *John Liſle*, Son to *Robert* Lord *Liſle*, Sr. *Richard Darcy*, Sr. ------*Damorie*, Sr. *John Poultney*, Sr. *Peter de la Mere*, Sr. *Roger Banant*, Sr. *Roger Hilary*, Sr. --------*Bolingbroke*, Sr. --------*Buterell*, Sr. *Simon Swanland*, Sr. *William* [k] *Scott*, Sr. *William Baſſet*, Sr. *Robert Sodington*, Sr. *William de la Zouch*, Sr. ------*Cogſhall*, Sr. *Roger Sangraville*, Sr. *John Strachie*, and Sr. *Thomas de la More*, who wrote in *French* the Life and Death of *Edward* the Second, and alſo of our *Edward* the Third, both which are Extant in *Latine*, thô the latter is not yet publiſhed. What we ſaid of the Woollen Manufacture in the Fourth Paragraph of the preceding Chapter, ſome will have to have been done in this Parliament; the matter is all one, let the time be now or then; for by theſe [l] Laws, which gave ſo great Encouragement to Foreign Clothworkers to come hither, and alſo prohibited that none ſhould buy any Cloth made beyond Sea, the occupation of Cloth-Weevers ſoon came in queſt more than ever before in this Nation.

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[f] *Eſc. 14. Ed. 3. n. 87. Linc.*

[g] *Mil's Catal. Honor. p. 528.*

[*] *Stow's Survey of Lond. & Hiſt. p. 233.*

[h] *24. Adam Murim. & Stow p. 233. Holinſh. p. 900.*

[i] *Godw. Catal. Bpps. p. 268.*

[k] *Weevers Fun. Monum. p. 269.*

[l] *Vid. Statute Book An. XI Ed. 3. p. 77.*

Sr. *John Charleton* [m] Senior, Lord of *Powys*, a Man highly Eſteemed for his Fidelity, Prudence, and Valour, was at this time conſtituted Juſtice of *Ireland* (the Lord [n] *Darcy* being then Steward of the Kings Houſhold, and otherwiſe employ'd in the Kings Affairs) and accordingly in *October* following, [o] on the Feſtival of St. *Calixt* the Pope, and a *Tueſday*, he arrived ſafely there with his Brother *Thomas* Biſhop of *Hereford*, Chancellor, and *Thomas Rice* Treaſurer of *Ireland*, and two Hundred luſty *Welchmen*. But whether for any juſt cauſe or no, in the Year following, the Biſhop [p] his Brother complaining to the King by Letters of Sr. *Johns* Miſgovernment, was himſelf appointed in his Room, and further made Guardian or Deputy of that Realm. But the Affairs of *Ireland* I ſhall not proſecute, becauſe I haſte to more Conſiderable and Weighty Matters, referring the Reader to *Holinſhead*, and others, who may ſatisfie them of thoſe things.

[m] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 72.*

[n] *Id. 1 Vol. p. 371*

[o] *Chron. Joh. Clinne. i. e. 14 Octob. E Dom. Lit.*

[p] *Godw. Catal. Bpps. p. 458. & Holinſhead Ireland p. 71.*

And foraſmuch as there were ſundry [q] Priories at that time in *England* belonging to Foreign Abbeys, and thereupon called *Aliens*, becauſe they were Cells to ſome Monaſtery or other beyond the Seas; the Number whereof at this time was found to amount to One Hundred and Ten, beſides thoſe in *Ireland*, *Aquitain*, and *Normandy*; King *Edward* now thought fitting (becauſe of his Wars intended againſt *France*) to confiſcate unto his own Uſe all the Goods of the ſaid Priories, with all the Lands, Tenements, Fees, and Advowſons of the ſame, Letting out their Houſes to Farm, as his Grandfather before him had done, in the 23 Year of his Reign, upon the like occaſion. And this was Cuſtomary not only before this, but alſo afterwards, [r] when ever the Wars brake out between *England* and *France*, for the Kings of *England* to ſeiſe all the Poſſeſſions of the *Cluniacks*, and other Aliens into their Hands, and to put them out to Farm to the *Religieux* themſelves, on conſideration of an annual Penſion. But when the War ended, there was full Reſtoration made of all again, as particularly we ſhall find four and twenty Years hence, or in the 35 of this King.

[q] *Ex Bandello Priorat. Alienigenarum An°. 11. Ed. 3. fiſco applicatorum. Vid.* Clem. Reyneri. *Apoſtol. Benedictinorum in Append. Par. 2. p. 71. &* Weever's *Fun. Monum. p. 328.*

[r] *id.* Clem. Reyner. *in Append. Par. 3. p. 146.*

VI. While King *Edward* was thus buſied at home, and his Ambaſſadors equally concern'd in his ſervice abroad, there [s] died at his Palace in *Valenciennes*, *William* the Third, Earl of *Heinalt*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friſeland*, Father to *Philippa* King *Edward*'s beloved Queen; who for his Great Mercy temper'd with Juſtice and other Princely Vertues, was ſirnamed the *Good*. One Example of his Exact Juſtice I ſhall ſhew, whereby we may gueſs at his other Perfections: The Deed was done not long before his Death, upon a Bayliff of *South-Holland*, [t] who had unjuſtly taken a goodly fair Cow from a poor Peaſant, which had been the ſole ſupport of himſelf, his

[s] *Junii 9. obiit, Ut apparet ex illius Hiſtoriâ in l. dicto* Time's *Storeh. p. 720. Alii 6 Junii ponunt.*

[t] *Vid.* Time's *Storeh. p. 720. l. 7. c. 30. & Engl. Atlas 4 Vol. p. 153.*

Wife and Children: As there are ſome Kine in that Country, which can give twenty * Pottles of Milk and more in a Day. The Earl lay then ſick on his Death-Bed, as it proved; but it was his Cuſtom, never to Debar the meaneſt Suitors, whether he was ſick or well: So that upon this poor Countrymans Complaint and Examination duly had, the Bayliff was adjudg'd to give unto the Peaſant an 100 Crowns of Gold, for the great Wrong he had done him; which was accordingly performed. But then for his Affront to Publique Juſtice, ſince he was an Officer, and had thus abuſed the Authority entruſted to him, the Earl ſent for an Executioner, and cauſed him to ſtrike his Head off by his own Bed-ſide. I ſhall only crave leave to add one more ſmall digreſſion of a matter happening in his Days, which thô not pertinent to the Hiſtory, is yet well worthy Memory for its great Rarity.

* To enforce the truth of this Relation a little, *Conradus Geſner* hath theſe Words: "The "Oxen of the *Belgian* Provinces, eſpecially in *Frie-* "*ſland* and *Holland*, are of very great ſtature: For "it hath been found by experience, that one of "them hath weigh'd Sixteen Hundred pounds *Troy* "Weight. And when the Earl of *Hoochſtadt* was "at *Machlin* in *Frieſland*, there was preſented un- "to him a Fair Large Ox, which being killed, "weigh'd above Two Thouſand Five Hundred "Twenty Eight Pounds [which I reckon to a- "mount to 180 Stone and 8 Pounds.] Where- "fore that ſucceeding Ages might not miſtruſt the "Truth of ſo ſtrange a Matter; the ſaid Earl "cauſed the Picture of the ſaid Ox to be ſet up "in his Palace, at his full Proportion, with an In- "ſcription ſignifying his Weight, and the Day and "Year, when this Ox was deliver'd and killed. *Conrad. Geſner. Hiſt. of Fourfooted Beaſts. p.* 70. *Engl. folio.*

An. Dom. 1337. An. Regni XI. In the Eleventh Year of this Earls Government, which was the Tenth Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Second of *England*, and the Year of our Lord 1316, there happen'd even in *England* a great Scarcity of Corn, as appears by * our Hiſtorians; but in this † Earls Country there was ſo terrible a Dearth and Famine, that poor people fell down dead in the Streets for Hunger. Many alſo were found Dead in the Highways, and in Woods and Fields, whither they went to ſeek for Herbs and Roots to ſtop the Importunities of craving Nature: Little Children would die, as they indeavour'd to ſuck at their ſtarving Mothers Breaſts, and ſome Women could not refrain eating their Children. In this time of Famine a certain Poor Woman of *Leyden*, being extreamly oppreſt with Hunger, came to a Siſter of her own, who was far better to paſs, begging of her for Godſake to lend her ſome Bread; which ſhe promiſed with Thanks to repay, when it ſhould pleaſe God to enable her. The hard-hearted Siſter deny'd her oftentimes, notwithſtanding the other was ſo importunate, and withall told her, that ſhe was aſſured by her Countenance, how ſhe muſt needs have ſufficient for her ſelf, if not to ſpare. Hereupon the unmerciſull Wretch (lying both to God and her poor Siſter) ſaid, "If I have any Bread to help my "ſelf withall, I wiſh to God it may all inſtantly be turned into Stone. It ſeems the heavy Diſpleaſure of Almighty God laid hold on thoſe raſh Words of hers; for going ſoon after to the Cupboard to relieve her ſelf, ſhe found all her Loaves of Bread moſt plainly converted into ſolid ſtones; ſo that ſhe her ſelf died for want of that, which ſhe had ſo wickedly deny'd her own Siſter. It is moſt credibly told us; ‡ that one or two of thoſe Stone-Loaves are yet to be ſeen in St. *Peters* Church at *Leyden* in Memory of this moſt juſt and extraordinary Judgement.

* *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 83.
† *Time's Storehouſe p.* 720.
‡ *Time's Storehouſe ibid.*

However this Good Earl *William*, King *Edward*'s Father-in-Law, having been all along a moſt Vertuous Prince, Victorious in War, Wiſe and Judicious, Well-ſpoken and Learned, a great Friend to Peace, affable to all Men, and univerſally Beloved, after he had Governed his Provinces of *Heinalt*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *and Frieſland*, for the ſpace of 32 Years, died, as before we ſaid, and with [a] great Pomp was buried at the *Fryers* in *Valenciennes*. The Biſhop of *Cambray* himſelf ſang the Maſs, and beſides the *Engliſh* Lords, there were preſent many Dukes, Earls, and Barons of ſundry Countries; as well for the manifold Alliances he had abroad, as for that his Fame was Singular, and his Memory Dear to all Men. He was ſucceeded by *William* the Fourth, his Son and Heir, who had Married the Lady *Joan*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, giving her for her [b] Joynture the Land of *Binche* upon the *Hayſne*, a fair and goodly Inheritance. As for the Lady *Johanna* Counteſs Dowager of *Heinalt*, the young Earls Mother, and Siſter to King *Philip* of *France*, ſhe reſolved to ſpend the reſt of her Days in a Nunnery at *Fontaine* on the River *Scheld*, where being ſoon admitted ſhe gave her ſelf wholly to Devotion, Almſdeeds, and other Pious Offices.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 29.
[b] *Vid. l.* 1. *c.* 24. §. 7.

VII. And now King *Edward* being fully in earneſt, ſends Dr. *John Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Richard Bury* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Henry Burwaſh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Northampton*, *Huntingdon* and *Suffolk*, with Sr. *Geoffry Scroop* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and *John* Lord *Darcy* Steward of the Kings Houſhold, his Commiſſioners to the *French* King, not now to demand Reſtitution of a few Caſtles or Towns unjuſtly taken and detain'd, but to declare King *Edwards* Rightfull Claim to the Crown of *France* it ſelf; as alſo by the by, to propoſe

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pose some Conditions for a Treaty with [c] *David Bruce* the exil'd King of *Scotland*, then in *France*. But if the *French* King should prove untractable and averse to Reason, then to proceed to the Court of Prince [d] *Rupert*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Emperours Brother, to engage him also on the Behalf of *England* against King *Philip*. These [e] Ambassadours being arrived at *Bologne*, received there Advice, that King *Edwards* Mind was alter'd; as who justly conceived, that their journey might be hazardous and expose them to the Fury of a passionate Prince, who in his displeasure made no difference between Just and Unjust, Sacred or Profane, and had before threatned his Negotiators with Death, if ever they came again, when before his Coronation, they were pleading the King of *Englands* Right to that Crown in the Chamber of *France*: Wherefore leaving off their design of visiting *Paris*, they bent their course for *Heinalt*; where they renewed the League with [f] *William* the young Earl of *Heinalt*, the Earl of *Gueldre*, and the Marquis of *Juliers*. And proceeding to *Colen* made a like Agreement with *Rupert* Duke of *Bavaria*, he undertaking to serve King *Edward* against all Men Living (the Emperour his Brother only excepted) with an hundred and fifty Men of Arms, the whole number amounting to a thousand Men; in lieu whereof the *English* Commissioners engag'd, before their Return for *England*, to pay unto him at *Dort* 2700 *Florens* of *Florence*, or their equivalent Value in Sterling; and moreover upon the Feast of St. *Michael* next ensuing the summ of 15000 *Florens* of good Gold, *viz.* for every Souldier 15 *Florens* for the two first Months Service.

[c] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol.* p. 185.
[d] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol.* p. 646.
[e] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol.* p. 531.
[f] *Dudg.* 1 *Vol.* p. 531.

Nay it appears by one of Pope *Benedicts* [g] Letters to King *Philip*, bearing Date at *Avignon*, VIII *Id. Novemb. Anno Pontificatûs* III, how there were Treaties on foot at this time, that *Lewis* the Emperour, laying aside his Right to the *Roman* Empire, and only retaining to himself the Kingdom of *Almain*, the Secular Electors therefore giving him some good Equivalent, the King of *England* on Consideration of no small Summs of Mony, should be made King of the *Romans*, and elected Emperour. Or if this might not be done, that however he should be irrevocably deputed for his Life Vicar of the Empire, as to the Lower Part thereof; that by reason of the Neighbourhood he might the more opportunely and powerfully infest the Kingdom of *France*.

[g] *Extant apud Odoric. Raynald. ad* An. 1337. §. 12.

King [h] *Philip* of *Valois* was not ignorant of all this Diligence of King *Edward's* both at home and abroad: But it chiefly fretted him, that he had made so great Progress among the *Flemings*; whom he repented he had not more early by way of Prevention sought to fasten to himself. But remembring how [i] firm the Earl of *Flanders* was to his side, he did not wholly despair of bringing them over, especially knowing them to be a People inconstant, mercenary, and likely to turn any way for Advantage. He therefore sends to *Gaunt* the Bishop of St. *Denis* with Others, to propose on his behalf very advantageous Offers both to that and other the good Towns of *Flanders*; of which one was, that King *Philip* would release unto them all such Seignories and Lordships of theirs, as either he, or any of his Progenitors, had taken or withheld from them. But he came too late; For now *Jacob van Arteveld* bore such sway, that none durst contradict his Opinion, and the [k] Earl himself had been already forced to withdraw his Wife and Children into *France* for their Security: So that *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, *Ipre*, *Courtray* and *Cassel* with other Towns thereabout, rejected utterly the Offers of the *French* King, and adhered firmly to King *Edward*; especially bearing an [l] old Grudge to King *Philip* for the War he made against them in the beginning of his Reign, whereof we made some mention in the Second Year of this our History.

[h] *Froiss. c.* 30.
[i] *Fabian p.* 205.
[k] *Froiss. c.* 30.
[l] *Fabian p.* 205.

VIII. The mean while in the Isle of [m] *Cadsand* (lying between the Haven of *Sluce* and *Flushing*) certain Knights and Esquires of *Flanders*, who held with the Earl against the Towns, made a strong Garrison by command of King *Philip*, and their Lord Earl *Lewis*. The chief Captains were Sr. *Guy* of *Rijckenburgh*, Bastard-Brother to the Earl, Sr. *Duras Halvin*, Sr. *John Rhodes*, Sr. *Giles* Son to the Lord *Lestriefe*, Sr. *Nicholas Chauncy* and Others. These Men kept the Passage in hopes to meet some *English*, against whom already they made Covert War: Whereof the *English* Lords in *Heinalt* having Notice, knew they should receive no very kind Salute, if they went home that way: But while they were in *Flanders* they rode about at their pleasure, for *Jacob van Arteveld* had assured them of all Respect and Honour. But however becaus King [n] *Edward* understood that the *Flemings* and *French* not only kept this Garrison in *Cadsand*, but also had set out several Men of War to Sea, to wait for his Ambassadors in their Passage home, he directed his Writ to *John* Lord *Roos*, Admiral of the Fleet from the River of *Thames Northward*, to fit up a Convoy of 40

[m] *Froiss. c.* 30. & *Holinshead p.* 901. & *Stow p.* 234. & *Walsing. hist. p.* 132. *n.* 1.
[n] *Ashmole p.* 647.

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Stout Ships, well Mann'd, and to be with them at *Dort* in *Holland*, on the *Monday* after *Midſummer-day*, to ſecure their Return. They lay ready for them at *Dort*, and ſo took ſhip at their leiſure for *England*, having effectually perform'd their Buſineſs: In their paſſage [o] homeward they took two *Flemiſh* Men of War, with an hundred and fifty *Scots* on board, among whom was the Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, Sr. *John Stuart*, and other Noblemens Sons of *Scotland*, as Sr. *David Hay*, Sr. *Hugh Gifford*, Sr. *John de la More*, Sr. *William Bayly*, Sr. *Alexander Fraſier*, with two Clerks, *Thomas Ferguſon* and *William Muffet*, and a Monk of *Dunfermlin*; beſides certain Noble Ladies. Theſe with 4000 Souldiers for their Guard, were ſent by the *French* King to aid the *Brucean Scots* with Arms, Horſe, Gold and Silver to the value of 15000 *l.* all which was now taken by the *Engliſh* Admiral, the Souldiers being moſt ſlain, and the reſt all made Priſoners, and the Biſhop by chance wounded in the Head ſlightly, thô being brought into *Sandwich*, thrô that and his grief together, he died ſoon after.

[o] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 118. *& Dug.* 1 *Vol. p.* 531. *& Knighton p.* 2570. *n.* 30.

Beſides this ſmall Succeſs, the [p] Merchants of *Briſtow*, about this time took in fight a *French* Ship called the *Chriſtmas*; of which Sr. *Thomas* Lord *Bradeſtan* had a Grant from the King in requital of his good Services.

[p] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 138.

Now upon the ſafe arrival of the Ambaſſadors in *England*, and their Complaint of the Garriſon in *Cadſant*, [q] King *Edward* ſaid, "He would very ſpeedily provide a Remedy againſt that: And accordingly ſoon after he ſent the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord [r] *Reginald Cobham*, and divers other Knights and Eſquires, with 500 Men of Arms, and two thouſand, ſome ſay, [ſ] four thouſand Archers, who all went on Board at *London* in the River *Thames*. The firſt Tide they went to *Graveſend*, the ſecond to *Margate*, and with the third they took the deep Sea, and made directly for *Flanders*. They had Wind and Tide at will, and ſo being come before *Cadſant*, they prepared themſelves for Battle, and having placed the Archers on the Decks before them, in the Name of God and St. *George* they ſounded their Trumpets and ſailed toward the Town. The Men of *Cadſant* ſaw their Approach, and knew well who they were, but like good Warriers they ranged themſelves along by the Dikes on the Sands, with their Banners waving before them, having for encouragement ſake made 16 new Knights. They conſiſted of 5000 Men of War, valiant Knights and Eſquires with their Retinues (beſides the Inhabitants) their Chief being Sr. *Guy* the Baſtard of *Flanders*, who was an expert and hardy Captain, and now earneſtly deſired all his Company to have regard to their Honour, and to do their Devoire. With him, beſides thoſe mention'd before, were preſent *Simon* and *John Bouquedent*, and *Peter* of *Anglemonſter*, who were then and there made Knights, with many other valiant Gentlemen. The *Engliſh* were reſolved to aſſail, and the *Flemings* were as reſolutely bent to defend.

[q] *Froiſ. c.* 30. *& Holinſh. p.* 901.

[r] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol.* 67. *& Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 784.

[ſ] *James Meire.*

But when the [t] *Engliſh* Archers with a great Shout began all at one inſtant to ſend among them a thick Flight of deadly Arrows, they that kept the Shore recoyled back in great diſmay, leaving many dead, but far more grievouſly wounded, upon the place. Inſomuch that the *Engliſh* immediately took Land in very good Order, and ſo came to Handy-Stroaks with their Enemies, who fled not before them, but having recovered their late Diſorder, came bravely forward to diſpute their Landing. Here the Earl of *Darby* behav'd himſelf worthy of the Royal Stock from whence he came, but in the firſt Shock adventur'd ſo forward among his Enemies, that in the Preaſs he was at laſt fell'd down to the Ground, thô without any hurt, for he was arm'd at all Points, after the Manner of that Age: Sr. *Walter Manny* was not far behind, but ſaw when and where he fell, and inflam'd with generous Valour prick'd forward ſo boldly, and laid about him with his Battle-Ax ſo furiouſly, encouraging alſo his Men to the Reſcue with theſe Words, "*Lancaſter* for the Earl of *Darby*! that he clear'd the place by fine Force, raiſed his General from the Ground, and ſet him ſafe in the head of his own Guard, crying all the while "*Lancaſter* for the Earl of *Darby*. On the *Engliſh* Part, beſide the foreſaid *Henry Plantagenet* Earl of *Darby*, and Son to the Earl of *Lancaſter*, and the valiant Lord *Walter Manny* who thus reſcued him, there were the Lord *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *Robert Bourchier*, and the Lord *John Norwich*, the Lord *William Beauchamp*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, and Sr. *Lewis Beauchamp* his Coſin, with other good Captains. Upon this Reſcue of the Earl of *Darby*, both Powers joyn'd again with more Animoſity than before; the *Engliſh* to revenge the former Affront, and the *Flemmings* in hope to ſucceed better now. The Battle was ſurely fought on both Hands very well; for the *Flemings* were Choſen Men, and the *Engliſh* reſolv'd not to part Stakes by any means, but to win all at this their firſt Set-

[t] *Froiſ. c.* 31. *fol.* 19.

ting

ting out or periſh: Many therefore were ſlain on both Sides, but the greater number fell to the *Flemings* ſhare. But all the while the Archers of *England*, flanking their Men of Arms, ſhot with ſuch violence, and ſo wholly together, that they were not to be endur'd; ſo that at laſt the Enemies Ranks being made thin and broken, they began to fly. Sr. *Guy* the Baſtard was taken Priſoner; there were ſlain Sr. *Duras Halvin*, Sr. *John Rhodes*, the two Brethren of *Bouquedent*, Sr. *Simon* and Sr. *John*, who but a little while enjoy'd their Knighthood, Sr. *Giles Leſtriefe*, and above 36 Knights and Eſquires more, and of the Common Souldiers more than 3000, what in the Haven, Streets and Houſes: Beſides all which about [u] 3000 more of the Inhabitants being fled for ſafety into a Church, were by the enraged *Welchmen* burnt together with the Church it ſelf. For after the Battle they took the Town, plunder'd it, and then ſet it on fire; and ſo with much Prey and many Priſoners return'd for *England* without any [x] conſiderable Damage themſelves. King *Edward* received Sr. *Guy* the Baſtard reſpectfully (for he was a valiant Man) and only taking his Oath to continue true Priſoner, permitted him to walk abroad at his pleaſure. But [y] he was ſo won with the Kings Goodneſs, that that very Year of his own accord he became a Leigeman to him, and ſwore Faith, and gave him Homage, as one who heartily embraced his Service. However for him and for the reſt of the Priſoners, about two Years after, King [z] *Edward* gave to the Lord *Walter Manny* the ſumm of 8000 *l.* Sterling. This Battle between the *Engliſh* and *Dutchmen* was fought on the 9 of *November*, being a *Sunday*, and the day before St. *Martin*.

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[u] *Stow p.* 234. *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 132. *n.* 10.

[x] *Froiſ. c.* 31. *f.* 19.

[y] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[z] *Holinſhead p.* 901. E. Lit. Dom.

Of this Diſcomfiture at *Cadſant*, * Tidings were immediately ſpread over all *Flanders*, and generally the *Flemings* ſaid, "They were e'ne ſerv'd well enough, ſince without "the conſent of the good Towns, nay and againſt their Wills, only in Obedience to "the Earls unreaſonable Humour, they had preſumed to keep a Garriſon againſt "their Friends of *England*. This was juſt as *Jacob van Alteveld* deſired, and thereupon he ſends Meſſengers to King *Edward*, to recommend him heartily to his Majeſty, and to requeſt him to take the Sea and come over, foraſmuch as the *Flemings* were impatient, till they had a Sight of Him: The effect whereof we ſhall ſee hereafter.

* *Froiſ. c.* 32.

Nor even here was King *Edward* the Firſt Aggreſſor; for it appears, that King *Philip* had * already hired many Ships of the *Gibellines* of *Genua* and the *Guelfs* of *Monaco*, which took much Booty from the *Engliſh*, and infeſted the *Aquitanian* Ocean; and alſo by his Royal Edict he had [a] recalled the Rights of the Dutchy of *Aquitain* to the Court of *France*, and had actually with an Army, which he ſent thither, ſeized on ſeveral Caſtles; beſides that he had fired certain Places on the Sea-Coaſts of *England* with his Navy which he ſent into *Scotland*.

* *Foliet. hiſt. ſen. l.* 6.

[a] *Tom.* 3. *Epiſt. ſecret.* 306. & *Odoric. Rainald. ad an.* 1337. §. 21.

IX. Now whereas the foreſaid [b] Ambaſſadors of the King of *England*, had in making all thoſe Alliances and Retainers, upon the Kings Account, obliged themſelves to pay ſundry great Summs of Mony; the King taking all upon himſelf indemnified them, their Heirs and Executors, of all thoſe Summs and other Things, whereto they were ſo engaged.

[b] *Aſhmole p.* 647. *&c. ex Rot. Alman.* 11. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 4.

But this great Affair of ſtrengthening the King with Alliances, was again ſet on foot, and to that purpoſe [c] another Commiſſion was iſſued to the foreſaid Biſhop of *Lincoln* and Earl of *Salisbury*, to whom was added *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *John* Lord *Darcy* Steward of the Kings Houſhold, with Power to any Three of them to treat thereupon with *Lewis* the Emperour. Another [d] Commiſſion of the ſame Date, was made out to them and to *Richard Winkele*, *John Hufford*, *Paul de Monteflorum*, *John Montgomery* and *John Waweyn*, impowring them to treat with and to retain all Perſons, as well Nobles as Others, for the Kings Service.

[c] 3 Octob. *Rot. Alman.* 11 *Ed.* 3. *n.* 10.

[d] *Ib. d. n.* 11.

And yet as the King did by theſe Means endeavour to enable himſelf for the Recovery of the Crown of *France*, ſo did he not neglect all Methods of Peace: Particularly he conſtituted the foreſaid Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk* and *John* Lord *Darcy*, his Agents, to treat with the Magnificent Prince the Lord *Philip*, the Illuſtrious King of *France* (as he is ſtiled in the Commiſſion) or his Deputies, touching his Right to the ſaid Crown; to wit, whether it ought to remain to him or King *Edward*: And by another Commiſſion of the ſame Date, they were empower'd to treat upon all Controverſies and Demands whatſoever, relating to the Dukedom of *Aquitaine* or other Parts beyond Sea, and alſo of an Happy and Perpetual Peace. But in caſe his juſt Demands ſhould not find an agreeable Anſwer, on the ſame Day he prepared [f] another Commiſſion for *John* Duke of *Brabant* and *Lorraine*; whereby he conſtituted him his Lieutenant, Captain and Vicar General in the Kingdom of *France*: Where it is worthy Note, that the King in this Commiſſion (where he challenges

[e] 7 Octob. *Ib. n.* 13.

[f] *Ibid. m.* 1.

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challenges the Crown of *France*, as devolved to him by Right of Succeſſion, and conſequently become his Lawfull Inheritance) did aſſume the Title of that Kingdom, and Stiled himſelf, *Edvardus Dei Gratiâ, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Dux Aquitaniæ:* And by another Commiſſion, bearing even Date, made of theſe Officiary Dignities to the ſaid Duke, he put *France* in the Firſt place, thus, *Edvardus Dei Gratiâ, Rex Franciæ & Angliæ, &c.* but ſoon after he voluntarily laid this Title of *France* aſide, nor did he ſolemnly aſſume it again, till the Fourteenth Year of his Reign over *England*, as we ſhall ſee in due place.

[g] *Ibid.*

By ſeveral other Commiſſions of the ſame [g] Date, (wherein alſo the Titles of *England* and *France* were in like manner tranſpoſed) did the King appoint to the ſame Dignities *William* Marqueſs of *Juliers*, *William* Earl of *Heinalt* his Brother in Law, and *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*; and by another then Dated and directed to the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, and all other Perſons in the Kingdom of *France* (having therein the Titles of *France* and *England* tranſpoſed as before) they are commanded to receive the ſaid Duke of *Brabant*, as if it were the King in his own Perſon, as alſo the ſaid Marqueſs and Earls. And further the ſaid Marqueſs and Earls were by other Commiſſions, ſeverally conſtituted the Kings Special Ambaſſadors, to make known his Title to all whom it ſhould concern, to challenge and proſecute his Right; to require every Unjuſt Detainer to render unto the King whatſoever he ſo withheld from him; to Diſplace and Puniſh ſuch as they ſhould think meet; and laſtly to Do and Execute all other Things, which ſhould be moſt neceſſary for the Recovery and Preſervation of his Right.

[h] *Clauſ* 11 *Ed.* 3. *p.* 2. *m* 29. *in Dorſo* & *Knighton p.* 2569. *n.* 10.

Now it is to be remembred (thô we alſo ſpake of this before) that in the beginning of [h] this Year King *Philip* had ſent Forces into *Gaſcoign*, and thô not without conſiderable Loſs to himſelf, ſeiſed upon many of the Kings Caſtles and Fortreſſes; notwithſtanding that the Lord *Oliver Ingham* King *Edwards* Seneſchall of *Gaſcoign*, a noble, wiſe and valiant Captain, behav'd himſelf commendably againſt the *French* in all his Actions, conſidering his ſmall Forces: Upon notice hereof King *Edward* gave [i] Command to arreſt twenty Ships in the Port of *Southampton* and thereabouts, and to preſs Men to be ready at *Portſmouth* to ſet forward for *Gaſcoign* on *Whitſun-Eve* following, to reinforce the Lord *Oliver Ingham* his Seneſchall. But it muſt not here be forgotten, what is recorded of Sr. [k] *Raymund Cornely*, Lord of *Abertha*, a *Gaſcoigner*, that he made an Offer to the *French* King to fight with any Man living, in Defence of King *Edwards* Right to thoſe Countries; for which he [l] ſent him great and particular Thanks.

[i] *Rot. Vaſcon.* 11 *Ed.* 3. *m.* 40.

[k] *Rot. Vaſc.* 11 *Ed.* 3. *m.* 4.

[l] 6 Jan. *ibid.*

Yet thô accordingly the King had raiſed a great Army to ſend into *Gaſcoign*, he made withall ſeveral Fair Applications by his Ambaſſadours to the Court of *France*, for Reſtitution of what had been ſeiſed on, and Prevention of a War. His Offers were theſe,

[m] *Clauſ.* 11 *Ed.* 3. *p.* 2. *m.* 28. *Dorſo.*

1. To Marry his Eldeſt Son the Duke of *Cornwall* to the King of *France's* Daughter without Dowry.

2. The Marriage of his Siſter, the Counteſs of *Gueldre* to his Son, with a great Summ of Money.

3. The Marriage of his Brother (*i. e.* his Uncle's Son) [n] *John* Earl of *Kent* with any of the Blood Royal.

4. To make Reſtitution for any Dammage, he tender'd to King *Philip* as much Mony as he ſhould in reaſon demand.

5. He alſo proffer'd to take a Voyage to the Holy Land with the King of *France*, if he would reſtore his Lands unto him.

6. To go the Voyage, if he would reſtore but Half or Some of thoſe Lands.

7. To take the Voyage with him, if he would but make Reſtitution after his Return: Or

8. Laſtly, to take the Voyage ſingly by Himſelf, ſo that at his Return he would reſtore him his Right.

[n] Hear the Learned Eſquire *Aſhmole* reads---*his Brother the Earl of Cornwall*, whereas 'tis plain, that the Earl of *Cornwall* died the Year preceding, as we have ſhew'd, and alſo upon the Death of the Earl of *Cornwall*, that Earldom was converted afterwards into a Dukedom, and confer'd upon Prince *Edward*. Nor is it ſtrange that I here am forced not only to read *Kent* for *Cornwall*, but Brother, for Fathers Brother's Son, ſince we find in the Records, that this very King calls *Richard* the Son of his Eldeſt Son, Prince *Edward*, his own Son, as thus---* *Rex Chariſſimo Filio ſuo* Richardo *Principi* Walliæ, *&c.* But I believe this Place being thrô Age obſcur'd, and ſo left to Conjecture, was for haſt miſtaken in that manner.

* *Summonitio Parliamenti* 51 *Ed.* 3. *vid. Sr.* Rob. Cottons *Abridgment of the Records p.* 143.

These Overtures with many others, which the King or his Council could think of, were offer'd to the King of *France*, in Order to a Peace; with this General Propoſal beſide, That if any one could think of any other way, tending to an Accommodation, He would be ready to accept thereof: But all was in vain; for King *Philip* on the contrary, not only ſtill held his Lands beyond Sea, but excited and main-

maintained the *Scots* againſt him, and alſo by his Navy did much Miſchief at Sea. AN. DOM. 1337. An. Regni XI.

I wholly here paſs by the Matters of *Scotland*, till a more convenient Opportunity, for fear of interrupting the Thread of our Hiſtory, eſpecially becauſe all was done there by ſnatches, and fits, and intervalls, King *Bailiol* with various Fortune contending to keep on his Head a Crown more full of Thorns, than of Jewels.

X. Now the [o] Pope perceiving that the ſtorm of War was ready to break forth, to the great Hazard of the Intereſt of *Chriſtendom*, ſent into *England* about the Feaſt of St. *Martin*, [p] *Pedro* Prieſt Cardinal of St. *Praxedis*, and [q] *Bertrand* Deacon Cardinal of St. *Mary* in *Aquiro*, to uſe their beſt Endeavours to compoſe the Differences now growing High between the two Kings. For the more Honourable Reception of theſe *Chriſtian* Peacemakers, according to the Kings Order, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, with the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London* went forth and met them on *Shooters Hill*. The young Duke of *Cornwall* with the Earl of *Surrey*, and many other of the Nobility received them a Mile without the City; and the King himſelf met them at the leſſer Hall-door of his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, and carried them into the Painted Chamber, where they deliver'd their Meſſage. Hereupon the King cauſed a Parliament to be ſummon'd to meet him at *Weſtminſter* on the Morrow after *Candlemas* day; [r] till which time upon the Cardinals Mediation, (thô Peace could not be effected) a Truce was agreed on. Nor [s] yet was Peace the only buſineſs about which theſe Cardinals came, but the Priviledges and Immunities of the Church; as appears by the Popes Letter to the King, bearing Date IX Kal. *Julii* An° *Pontificatûs* III. However theſe Cardinals (thô they came to make Peace) were not yet rightly prepared for the Work: For they made it evidently appear, that they were more concern'd for the King of *France*, and ſo not fit to be as indifferent Compoſers of Matters between the two Kings: And this was notoriouſly demonſtrated by [t] *Bertrand* the *French* Cardinal, in a Sermon of his *ad Clerum*, wherein he could not forbear putting a falſe Gloſs upon King *Edward*'s Actions, and Adorning, and Gilding King *Philip*'s cauſe; till the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* not able to endure his Inſolence, roſe up and confuted all his Arguments, and Publiquely declared his Aſſertions to be vain, falſe, and frivolous. And from that time it was the Common talk in *England*, that the King of *England* had a Right to the Crown of *France*, which he intended to claim and purſue.

This [u] Year on the third of *June*, there was a certain *Fryer* named *Franciſcus de Piſtorio*, of the Order of the *Minors*, deliver'd over to the Secular Power, and burnt as an Heretick at *Venice*, for perſiſting in this Aſſertion, That *Chriſt* and his Diſciples poſſeſſed nothing either in Proper, or in Common, the Contrary to which Pope *John* XXII had determin'd in the Conſtitution, which begins, *Cum inter Nonnullos*.

[o] *Aſhmole p.* 649.

[p] *Victorellus & Ciacon. 1 Vol. p.* 862. §. 24. *& p.* 857. §. 4. *Holinſhead Engl. Chr. p.* 901. *&c.*

[q] *Vid. Odoric. Rainald. ad An.* 1337. §. 15. *ubi Papalis Commiſſio his Cardinalibus facta.*

[r] *Aſhmole p.* 649.

[s] *Odoric. Rainald. ad An.* 1337. §. 20.

[t] *Walſing. Hiſt. p.* 146. *Edit. Franc. n.* 20.

[u] *Geſta PPæ Benedicti* XII. *apud Boſqu. & M.S. Bibl. Vatican. ſign. n.* 3765. *in Ben.* XII. *& Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc An.* §. 30.

CHAPTER the ELEVENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *A Parliament, the Cardinals return into* France, *together with Commiſſioners from King* Edward. II. *Whoſe Overtures being by the* French *rejected, King* Edward *with a Fleet of* 500 *Ships, ſets ſail for* Flanders, *and arrives at* Antwerp, *whither he Summons his Allies, with whom he holds a Parliament, which begets another at* Halle. III. *King* Edward *ſends from thence an Embaſſy to the Emperour* Lewis *of* Bavaria, *and invites his Queen to come over from* England *to him: ſhe is ſoon after her coming deliver'd at* Antwerp *of her Third Son, named* Lionell: *Prince* Thomas *of* Brotherton *the Kings Uncle dies: An* Engliſh *Lord's Son, that was Born beyond Sea, Naturalized.* IV. *An Enterview between the Emperour and the King of* England, *the latter being made Vicar-General of the Empire by the Former.* V. *King* Edward *calls a Parliament of his Allies in* Brabant, *with the effects thereof.* VI. *A day appointed, whereon all the Confederates are to come with their*

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their ſeveral Quota's to the King of England, *who keeps his Court the mean while at* Antwerp: *The Duke of* Brabant *keeps fair with the* French *King.* VII. *Prince* Edward *of* England, *Duke of* Cornwal, *holds two Parliaments in the King his Fathers Abſence: For whom he obtains a Mighty aid: The* Engliſh *Navy reinforced with ſixty Sail.*

I. ON the third of *February*, or the Morrow after *Candlemas*-day, the Parliament began; where the Truce was Prorogued [a] to the Firſt of *March* following: [b] The Laity at the ſame time granted to the King the One half of their Woolls throughout the whole Realm, for the next Summer, which he received Graciouſly, and alſo he Levied of the Clergy the whole, cauſing them to pay nine Marks of every Sack of the beſt Wooll; but after the Rate of the One half he took, in whoſe hands ſoever it was found, as well Merchants, as others, according to the foreſaid Grant: So that of the Abbey of *Leiceſter* only, as [c] *Knighton*, one of that Houſe, witneſſes, he had no leſs then 18 Sacks. After [d] this he took a fifteenth of all the Commonalty of his Realm in Wooll, the Price of every Stone, Rated at fourteen Pound *per* Stone, at two ſhillings. And yet before this, [e] about the Feaſt of all Saints, he had ſent the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and the Earls of *Northampton* and *Suffolk* with ten Thouſand Sacks of Wooll into *Brabant* to make Retainors in High *Germany*, and there at the ſame time they ſold all their Wooll, every Sack for fourty Pounds; which amounts in all to 400000 Pounds.

[a] *Aſhmole p. 649.*
[b] *Holinſhead p. 902.*
[c] *Knighton p. 2570.*
[d] *Holinſhead ibid.*
[e] *Knighton p. 2570. n. 10. & 20.*

Beſides all this he is ſaid about this time to have ſeiſed on the Wealth of the *Cluniacks* and *Ciſtertians* Aliens (of which we ſpake in the former Chapter) and of the *Lombards*, and all the Triennial Tythes, which were firſt intended for the Holy War. Nor was the *French* King behind him in theſe Arts of Raiſing Money, for he alſo laying Uſury to their Charge, confiſcated all that the *Lombards* had, Coyned Moneys both Gold and ſilver of a leſs Value, and drain'd the Clergy Exceedingly.

[f] *Odoric. Rainald. ad An. 1337. §. 21.*

On the Firſt [g] of *March*, at the Cardinals Inſtance the King Prorogued the foreſaid Truce to *Midſummer* following, in caſe rhe King of *France* ſhould conſent to it, and give Security that it ſhould be obſerved; after which on the 21 of the ſaid Month, the Cardinals (who [h] coſt the Church of *England* fifty Marks *per diem* all the time of their ſtay here) took Sea at *Dover*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London* bearing them Company, with intent to further the Treaty between the two Kings; but becauſe all their Endeavours brought forth no Accommodation, we ſhall ſay no more of their Proceedings: But haſten to the Matter in Hand.

[g] *Rot. Alman. 12 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 36. vid. Pat. de eod. an. p. 1. m. 24.*
[h] *Knighton p. 2570. n. 20.*

King *Edward* when it was underſtood, [i] that the *French* King refus'd to give Security for the obſerving the Truce inviolably, being adviſed to revoke the latter Prorogation, did ſo on the ſixth of *May*, and immediately ſet himſelf about a Journey into *Flanders*, there Perſonally to confer with his Allies, in purſuance of his Deſign againſt *France*. But before he went, upon the Cardinals further importunity, a Commiſſion was iſſued * to *John* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Robert* Earl of *Suffolk*, Sr. *Geoffry Scroop* Knight, and Mr. *John Hufford* Archdeacon of *Ely*, with Power to Treat and agree touching all things in Difference between the two Kings, in Reference to a full and final Peace. And by another Commiſſion bearing the ſame Date of the 21 of *June*, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Earls of *Heinalt* and *Gueldre*, the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, and Sr. *William Dunort* Lord of *Oſtervandt*, Knight, are added to them. Theſe Commiſſions were double, and of two ſeveral Styles, in the One the King calls King *Philip*, only *Philippus de Valois*, *Conſanguineus noſter Franciæ*; but in the other---*Excellentiſſimus Princeps*, *Dominus Philippus*, *Rex Franciæ*, *Illuſtris*, *Conſanguineus noſter Chariſſimus*.

[i] *Aſhmole p. 649.*
* 21 Jun. *Rot. Aleman. 12 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 5.*

II. But theſe Offers being all rejected, and *Jacob* [k] *van Arteveld* urgently requeſting his Preſence in *Flanders*, the King at laſt on the * 16 of *July*, took ſhipping at the Port of *Orewell*, near *Harwich* in *Suffolk*, with a Royal Navy of [l] 500 Sail, and many great Barons of *England* in his Company; among whom were [m] *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, *William Montague*, Earl of *Salisbury*, *Robert* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *John Fauconberg*, *Norman* Lord *Darcy*, *Hugh* Lord *Meinill*, *John* Lord *Beaumont*, Son to *Henry* Vicount *Beaumont*, Earl of *Buqhan* in *Scotland*, *Nicolas* Lord *Cantilupe*, Sr. *John Beauchamp*, a younger Brother of *Thomas* Earl of *Warwick*, Sr. *Robert Benhale* of *Norfolk* that vanquiſhed *Turnbull* the *Scot*, Sr. *Otho* [n] *Grandeſſon*, Son of *Gilbert* or *William Grandeſſon*, who was Brother to the Great *Otho*, Lord *Grandiſon*, deſcended of the Ancient Houſe of the *Grandeſſons*, Dukes of *Burgundy*, Sr. *Walt. Manny*, & many others of High Birth, Youth

[k] *Froiſ. c. 32.*
* *Aſhmole p. 649 & Walſing. hiſt. 119.*
[l] *Avesbury: 300 alii.*
[m] *De his omnibus vid. Dugd. Bar. ad ſingulorum nomina & hunc an. Ed. 3.*
[n] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 181. vid. Bp. Godw. Catal. Bpps p. 406.*

Youth and Courage; for King *Edward* choſe the moſt Perſonable of all his Nobility to accompany him in this Expedition, thereby to gain the greater Reverence to the *Engliſh* Nation from Strangers, who ſhould ſee their Proportion, Shape, and Stature. Theſe were all with their Retinues Men of Arms; beſides whom, the King had a great [o] Multitude of Archers and *Welchmen*, with all whom he arrived at *Antwerp*, belonging then to the Duke of *Brabant*, on the 22 of *July*. While he reſided here, People came flocking from all Parts to ſee him, and to obſerve the Royal Magnificence of his Court: He for his part upon his firſt Landing had ſent out his Summons to his Coſin the Duke of *Brabant*, to his Brother-in-Law the Earl of *Gueldre*, to the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, to the Lord *John* of *Heinalt*, Uncle to the young Earl, and to all others, in whom he had any confidence; ſignifying unto them, that he would gladly confer with them at *Antwerp*. They accordingly came all thither within two days after; at which time King *Edward* [p] expreſly revoked all the Power which he had given formerly to his ſeveral Commiſſioners to Treat with *Philip* of *Valois*, as King of *France*; and then he deſired to know their Minds, and when "they would "in good Earneſt perform what they had undertaken in his behalf: He earneſtly al- "ſo required them to diſpatch what they intended with all poſſible Expedition; [q] for "to that purpoſe he ſaid, he was come thither with his Forces ready prepared to be- "gin the War, and that it would be an infinite damage to him to protract the Mat- "ter much longer. The Lords having conſulted among themſelves, return'd this Anſwer. "Sir, our coming hither at this time was rather to give your Majeſty a Vi- "ſit, then for any thing elſe, we are not yet prepared to give a Determinate Anſwer "to your Demands: But by your leave we ſhall go back again among our Subjects, "Friends and Allies, and return hither at what time you ſhall pleaſe to fix us; when "we ſhall give you ſo direct and poſitive an Anſwer, that it will nor appear other- "wiſe, but that We ſhall well have done our Devoirs. The King ſhew'd them "what Charges he had been at, and ſtill was like to be with theſe Delays; that "he expected to have found all ready at his coming thither; but ſince it was not "ſo, He for his part reſolved not to return to *England*, till he had a plain Anſwer "from them one way or other. He therefore would expect them all there again on the Third of *Auguſt* following at the fartheſt, becauſe the time of Action began to wear away. To this Appointment having all agreed, they took leave of the King, who tarried ſtill at *Antwerp*, being lodged in the Abbey, ſome of his Lords tarrying with him to bear him Company, while others rode about the Country at great expence, to negotiate the Kings Affairs, and to gain the favour of the People, as alſo to divert themſelves, and ſatisfie their Curioſity. As for the Duke of *Brabant*, he went to the City of *Louvaine*, about ſeven Leagues *Eaſt* of *Antwerp*, from whence he ſent frequent Meſſages to the *French* King, "Requeſting, that he would not enter- "tain any Suſpicion of him, nor give Credit to any idle Rumors: For he aſſured "him, that he would by no means make any Alliance or Agreement to his "Diſadvantage; Thô as he ſaid, the King of *England* being his Coſin-German, "he could not in Honour refuſe him the Civility of his Country. Thus the Duke of *Brabant* endeavouring to keep in with both Kings, was really a Friend to neither; but we ſhall ſee how he behaves himſelf now to King *Edward*. The Third of *Auguſt* came, and all the other Lords return'd to *Antwerp*, except the Duke; whereat the reſt taking occaſion, ſaid, that as for their parts, they and their Men "were ready, provided the Duke of *Brabant* would be as ready on his Part, "for he was nearer than they, that being his Country: That therefore when they "ſhould underſtand that he was fully provided, they would not be one jot behind "him. With this tergiverſation of theirs, King *Edward* was inwardly very much diſpleaſed, [r] for he found no ſincerity nor Honour in any one of them, except the Earl of *Gueldre*, and he privately told the Biſhop of *Lincoln* and his Council, *that he had not been well adviſed hitherto*. However, he immediately ſent this their Anſwer to *Louvain* to the Duke of *Brabant*, urging the Matter home to him, and requiring him as his Friend, Kinſman, and Ally, and as a *Chriſtian*, and a Man of Honour, to deal "ſincerely and heartily with him; for hitherto, he ſaid, he very well perceived that he was but cold in the Matter; and that he juſtly feared, unleſs he grew "more warm, and ſhew'd more concern for the Cauſe, he ſhould looſe the Aſſiſtance "of all the other Lords of *Almaine*.

The Duke being thorougly awaken'd with this Alarm, began to conſider more ſeriouſly on the Matter, that King *Philip* had been ſevere and cruel to him, King *Edward* his Friend, and able to be his Protector, that he was ty'd to him not only

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[o] *Knighton p.* 2571. *n.* 20. & *Joh. Villan. l.* 11. *c.* 83.

[p] *Aſhmole p.* 649. *ex Rot. Alman. fact. apud Antwerp.* (Julii 22.) 12 *Ed.* 3. *m.* 7. & 3.

[q] *Froiſ. c.* 32.

[r] *Knighton p.* 2571. *n.* 50.

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on the account of Allyance, but in Honour, having paſſed his Word, and contracted to be on his ſide; only he fear'd, that if the Reſt of the *German* Lords ſhould fall off, he might be left a Prey to *Philips* anger: Wherefore he at laſt declared to King *Edward*, [f] that now he was fully determin'd to be as ready as any One in his ſervice; only he deſired once more to ſpeak with the foreſaid Lords altogether: So that they were ſent for again, the time of their meeting fix'd about the middle of *Auguſt*, the Place to be [t] *Halle*, a ſtrong Town of *Hainalt* on the very Borders of *Brabant*, diſtant from *Bruſſels* but four *Engliſh* Miles, thrô which the River *Senne* ſends a ſmall current; and this Place was judged the fitteſt, becauſe the young Earl of *Hainalt*, and his Uncle Lord *John* of *Beaumont* might be there. In ſhort, the Reſult of this Parliament at *Halle* was this, the Lords having again conſider'd on the Premiſes, found themſelves ſo bent on King *Edward*'s Service, that they thought they never ſhould deſert him, unleſs compell'd by the Emperour, to whom only they ow'd Allegiance: Wherefore in the Name of himſelf and all the Reſt, the Duke of *Brabant* ſpake thus to King *Edward*, "Sir, we of our ſelves cannot find any juſt "Cauſe, all things conſider'd, to defie the *French* King, without the Conſent of the "Emperour, our Soveraign Lord, or that he would Command Us ſo to do in his "Name. For long ſince in a Covenant mutually Sworn and Sign'd between *France* "and *Germany*, there is an Article, that no King of *France* ſhould take, or hold a-"ny thing belonging of Right to the Empire: Notwithſtanding which Obligation "this King *Philip* hath taken the Caſtle of *Creveceur* in *Cambreſis*, and the Caſtle of "*Alves* in *Bailleul* ([u] *Palencour*) and alſo the City of *Cambray* it ſelf: So that the "Emperour has good Reaſon on his ſide to break with the King of *France*. And "Sir, if you can obtain his Conſent, it will be more for our Honour; otherwiſe the "World will ſay, that without the Imperial Authority, the Lords of *Almaine* Com-"menced an unjuſt War, having no Provocation thereto.

[f] *Froiſ ibid.*

[t] *Engl. Atlas 4 Vol. p. 234.*

[u] *Mezeray.*

III. This Requeſt appear'd but reaſonable to the King; wherefore he appointed the Marqueſs of *Juliers* with certain *Engliſh* Knights, and Men Learned in the Laws, together with ſome of the Earl of *Gueldre*'s Council, to go to the Emperour about the Premiſes: Only the Duke of *Brabant* would by no means ſend any body in his Name, becauſe he would not be known to ſtir in the buſineſs, till things ſhould be ripe; He ſtood in ſuch fear of the King of *France*, ever ſince that Quarrel about the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, of which we ſpake in the 7th Year of King *Edward*: But yet however he freely Reſign'd his ſtately Caſtle of *Louvain* to the King of *England* to lie in, and to uſe as his own, during his Royal Pleaſure.

The Marqneſs and his Company found the Emperour at *Flourebeche*, where they did their Meſſage to him ſo well, that together with the Perſwaſions of the Lady *Margaret*, the Empreſs, who was Siſter to Queen *Philippa* of *England*, he was willing to grant King *Edward*'s Requeſt; for which end he deſired an Enterview with him, and immediately created the Earl of *Reginald* Duke of *Gueldre*, and the Marqueſs *William* Earl of *Juliers*; thô [x] ſome ſay, this was done afterward by King *Edward* their Kinſman, when he was Vicar of the Sacred Empire.

[x] *Speeds Chron. p. 564. §. 81.*

King *Edward* the mean while kept his Court with great Splendor at *Louvain*, being lodged himſelf in the Caſtle for his better ſecurity, ſince the City was Commanded thereby: From hence he ſent a conſiderable Part of his Forces into *England*, as having little occaſion for them yet, to defend the Frontiers againſt the *Scots*. At the ſame time he kindly invited his Beloved Queen to come over to him, if ſhe ſo pleaſed, for he ſent her word, he was determin'd not to leave thoſe Parts for the ſpace of a Year at leaſt. The Queen ſhortly after went over to the King her Husband, being then Great with Child, of which, being a Male, ſhe was happily deliver'd at [y] *Antwerp* (while the King held a Noble Turneament there) on the Vigil of St. *Andrew*, or the 29 of *November* 1338. The Infant was Baptiſed with the Name of *Lionell*, and ſirnamed from the Place of his Birth, *Lionell* of *Antwerp*, who became in time Earl of *Ulſter*, Duke of *Clarence*, and a Perſon of Extraordinary Features of Body and (which is a more aimable Beauty) Valour, and other Princely Endowments. But as the Queens Fecundity did on one hand make the Royal Family to flouriſh, ſo on the other, Fatal Neceſſity was buſied in lopping off a Princely Branch from that Regal Stem: For this very [z] Year, the Kings Uncle *Thomas Plantagenet*, ſirnamed of *Brotherton*, from a place of that Name in *Yorkſhire*, where he was Born, being Earl of *Norfolk*, and Marſhal of *England*, departed this Life, and was [a] buried in the Choire of the Famous Abbey at St. *Edmunds-Bury* in *Suffolk*; where there was a goodly Monument erected to his Memory; but it is now wholly buried in the ſame Ruines,

[y] *Walſingh. Hypod p. 114 Hiſt. p. 132. Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 167. Leland Coll. 1 Vol. p. 802.*

[z] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 64.*

[a] *Weevers fun. Mon. p. 726.*

Ruines, into which the Fatal Diſſolution caſt both that and many other Religious Houſes. He left Iſſue by the Lady [b] *Alice* his firſt Wife, Daughter of Sr. *Roger Hales* of *Harwich*, two Daughters his Heirs, the Lady *Margaret*, and the Lady *Alice*; the former, firſt Married to the Lord *John Seagrave*, and after to the Famous Sr. *Walter Manny*; the latter to Sr. *Edward Montague*, Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*. He is [c] ſaid to have had alſo a Wife named *Anne*, before the Lady *Alice*, by whom he had a Son *Edward* who died without Iſſue, and alſo another after her, by whom he had a ſecond Son, named *John*, who became a Monk in the Abbey of *Ely*. Upon his Death however, the Earldom of *Norfolk*, and Office of Marſhal for want of Iſſue Male, fell into the Kings hands by Eſcheat: But the Lord *William Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, in conſideration of his many Eminent Services both in War and Peace, abroad and at home, obtained preſently after a [d] Grant (bearing Date at *Antwerp* the 15 of *September*) of the Office of Marſhal of *England*.

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[b] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 65.*
[c] *Mill's Catal. Honor. p. 510.*
[d] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 646. ex Pat. fact. apud Antwerp. 12. Ed. 3. p. 3. m 7.*

During this the Kings Stay in *Brabant*, the Lady [e] *Eleanora Plantagenet*, Fifth Daughter to *Henry de Torto Collo*, the old Earl of *Lancaſter*, and Siſter to *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, brought forth to her Husband, *John* Lord *Beaumont* of *England* (Son to *Henry* Vicount *Beaumont* Earl of *Buquhan*) a Son called *Henry*: Whereupon two Years after Sr. *John* the Father obtain'd the Kings Special Letters Patents, declaring, That notwithſtanding the ſaid *Henry* the Son was begotten and born in Foreign Parts; yet ſince it was occaſion'd by Sr. *John's* and his Lady's Attendance on the King and Queen, he ſhould be reputed a Lawfull Heir, to inherit his Father's Lands, as well as thô he had been born in *England*.

[e] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 52.*

Now that it may appear, how King *Philip* was much more in the Pope's Books than our *Edward*, it is obſervable; that when he heard of King *Edwards* Arrival at *Antwerp*, as one that ſaw a Dreadfull Tempeſt of War hanging over *France*, he wrote a [f] Letter to King *Philip*, bearing Date at *Avignon* V. *Id. Auguſt Anno Pontificatûs* IV. Wherein piouſly indeed he ſtirs him up to implore the Divine Aſſiſtance; and to the end he might obtain the Favour of God, to put away all things that might offend his Majeſty; and firſt to pacifie his own Conſcience, leſt he ſhould nouriſh a War within himſelf, to deſiſt from Oppreſſing the Clergy and the Poor; laſtly, he adviſed him to admit of honeſt Conditions of Peace, and upon Occaſion to offer the like: For whereas in that War much Chriſtian Blood was like to be ſhed, he would then appear clean of the Sin of all that ſhould be ſhed both before God and Man; but that he ſhould not put his Confidence in the Power of his Forces, but in the Divine Aſſiſtance: As for his Part, that he together with the Whole Church would power forth his Prayers unto God for him.

[f] *Extat apud Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc annum §. 55.*

IV. King [g] *Edward* the mean while according to the Emperors Requeſt, went forth Royally attended to give him a Meeting, he being then in High *Germany* about 7 Diets beyond *Colen*: But when he heard of the King of *England* his Brother-in-Law's Approach toward that City, he alſo ſet forward with Imperial Pomp, till he came to [h] *Cologne*, where he was met by King *Edward*. The Enterview was very Glorious and Magnificent, the Emperor greatly Honouring the King of *England*, thô ſome [i] ſay, at the firſt Meeting he took it ill, that King *Edward* refus'd to ſubmit himſelf to the Kiſs of his Feet (as it ſhould ſeem Kings were wont to do to Emperours) but our *Edward* gallantly [k] anſwer'd; "That He Himſelf was a King Sacred "and Anointed, and had Life and Limbs in his Power, being accountable to none but "God, as Supream and Independent of all Others, being alſo Lord of Sea and Land, "and Wearing no leſs than an Imperial Crown: Wherefore he ought not to abaſe "himſelf to any Mortal Potentate whatſoever. This Anſwer was accepted; And preſently [l] two Royal Thrones were erected in the open Market-place, One for the Emperour, the Other for the King; the Emperour took his Place firſt, and King *Edward* ſate down by him: In which Honourable Enterview there were for Aſſiſtants four Great Dukes, three Archbiſhops and ſix Biſhops, thirty ſeven Earls, and of Barons, Banerets, Knights and Eſquires, according to the Eſtimation of the Heralds, Seventeen Thouſand: The Emperour held in his Right Hand the Imperial Scepter, and in his Left the Golden Mound or Globe, which denotes the Government of the World; a Knight of *Almain* holding over his Head a Naked Sword. And then and there the Emperour publiquely declared the Diſloyalty, Falſhood and Villany, which the King of *France* had uſed towards him; whereupon he defi'd him and pronounced, that both He and his Adherents had forfeited the Protection and Favour they might expect from the Empire, and had juſtly incurred whatever Diſpleaſure might be done unto him thereby. And then He [m] made, ordain'd and conſtituted King *Ed-*

[g] *Knighton p. 2571. n. 50. & vid. Rebdorfii Annales de hoc anno.*
[h] *Alii dicunt locum fuiſſe* Confluentias, *alii* Francofurtum.
[i] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 132.*
[k] *Selden's Titles of Hon. part. 1. c. 3. p. 29.*
[l] *Knighton p. 2571. n. 60.*
[m] *Aſhmole p. 649. Froiſ. l. 1. c. 34. f. 19.*

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ward his Deputy and Vicar General of the Sacred *German* Empire, granting unto him full and absolute Power over All on this side, as far as *Cologne*: Of all which he gave him his Imperial Charter in sight of all that were present. The next day these two Illustrious Persons, with the Great Lords and Prelates, met again in the Cathedral of *Cologne*; where they heard Divine Service, and after High Mass, the Emperour and all his Barons swore to the King of *England*, "That they would stand by him, help "and defend him against the King of *France* and all his Adherents, both to live and to "die with him for the space of Seven whole Years to come; provided the War to be "between the said Kings should not be compounded before that time. It was also fur- "ther sworn, that all the Barons of *Almain* from *Cologne* and on this Side, should pre- "sently enter the King of *Englands* Service, and should always be ready to come un- "to him, as often as they should be summoned thereto, against the King of *France*, "as well where the King of *England* should be in Person, as to any other Place to "which he should assign them. And if it should happen, any of the said Lords of *Al- "main* should refuse to obey the said King of *England* in the Premises, that then all "the other Lords of High *Germany* should rise in Arms against that Man, till they had "destroy'd him.

[n] *Nicolaus Minorita M.S.Bib. Vatican.sign.n. 4008. apud Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc annum §. 68.*

[n] At this time also there was a certain Sanction, formerly made, repeated in King *Edwards* Presence, containing these two Points; the First, That the Administration of the Empire belongs to the King of the *Romans*, as soon as ever he is Elected by the Seven Electors, without the Pope's Confirmation; and the Other, That those are Proscribed, who do not obey him, or, as *Rebdorf* says, that whosoever for the future shall esteem *Lewis* to be Excommunicate, or shall omit Divine Service for any Papal Sentences, shall be Proscribed in Body and Goods. Which latter Clause chiefly respected the Bishop of *Cambray*, who upon that Account had left the Emperor and revolted to the *French* King.

These matters being thus fully contracted and established, after many enterchangeable Caresses and Magnificent Entertainments, the King of *England* took his leave of the Emperour, and return'd with all his Company to *Brabant*.

[o] *Froiss. c.34.*

[o] The mean time several great Lords of *England*, rode about *Flanders* and *Heinalt* at their pleasure, being wonderfull Magnificent and Liberal in their Expences, freely bestowing Gifts of Gold and Silver, and other Jewels to the Lords and Ladies of the Country, to purchase their Good Wills: And truly they obtain'd the very Hearts of the Country; but especially they were extolled among the common Sort, because of the splendid Shew they made wherever they came.

All these things must needs have been matter of incredible Expence and Charge to that Mighty Monarch: And indeed it seem'd that he had made good Progress in his Affairs, having succeeded so well with the Emperour and the Lords of *Germany*: But those Friends that are made by Money, commonly fall off at the appearance of a greater Interest, and when they have got what they could expect; as within a while all these did: Thô as it chanced, he gain'd more Glory thereby, performing afterwards of himself, what had been no such great matter to have done, with the help of the Empire's Forces: As we shall see hereafter.

[p] *Froiss. c.34. fol. 19.*

[q] Novemb. 11

[r] *Knighton p. 2572. n. 30.*

[p] V. Now King *Edward* upon his Return into *Brabant*, sends his Summons to the Duke of *Gueldre*, the Earl of *Juliers*, and all other his Allies in those Parts, to come to him about [q] the Feast of St. *Martin* the Bishop to his Parliament, to be holden at *Arques* in the County of *Leuze* near *Brabant*; or as [r] One says, at *Malines* in *Brabant*. Against which time the Town Hall was as richly adorn'd with Hangings and other Royal Furniture, as if it had been the King's own Chamber of Presence. Thither at the time appointed came the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Gueldre*, the young Earl of *Heinalt*, the Earl of *Juliers*, the Lord of *Valkenberg*, or as the *French* pronounce it *Faulquemont*, and all other Barons on this side *Cologne*; except only the Bishop of *Liege*, who had no less than [s] twenty four Cities (as they call them) subject unto him, both as a Secular Prince, and as a Bishop.

[s] *Ferrarii Lex. in* Leodium.

[t] *Froiss. ibid.*

In this Parliament [t] King *Edward*, in his Royal Robes, with a Crown of Gold on his Head, sat on a Stately Throne five foot higher than any other, and there the Emperours Letters Patents were openly read; wherein was declar'd, "That King *Edward* "of *England* was made Vicar General, or Lieutenant for the Emperour; and as so, had "full Power to make Laws, and to administer Justice to every person in the Empe- "rours Name; and to coin Money, both Gold and Silver at his own Pleasure, with his own "Stamp and Inscription. It was also commanded by these the Emperours Letters "Patents, that the Lords and other Subjects of the Empire, should yield Obedience

"and

"and pay Homage to the King of *England*, his Vicar, as to himself. And the Lords of *Germany* there present, [u] promised in all things to obey him, according as their Liege Lord the Emperour had commanded, and that they were both willing and ready to attend his Service to the utmost of their Power. Immediately hereupon certain [x] Claims were made, and judgment given between Parties, as before the Emperour himself; and at the same time a Statute (before-time made by the Emperour) was renew'd, being to this effect, "That whoever design'd War or Combat, or a-"ny other Harm against any Person, Kingdom or Country, should make his Chal-"lenge or Defiance at least three Days before he began any Hostile Deed; other-"wise, that the Author should be look'd on as a Malefactor, and the Deed Villanous. Then the King [y] sent forth his Summons to the Bishop of *Liege* to come in, according to his Duty; but he absolutely refus'd to obey him, for his Heart was *French* all over: Whereupon the King sent *Henry Burwash* Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, to make Complaint of him before the Emperour, and to require Justice against him; to which it was answer'd, "That the Emperour himself would shortly come in Person "to the Aid of his most Dear Brother-in-Law the King of *England*; for it was expected, that a great War would begin the next Spring between the two Nations.

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[u] *Knighton p.* 2572. *n.* 40.
[x] *Froiss. ibid.*
[y] *Knighton p.* 2572. *n.* 40. & 50.

VI. After this the Lords of *Almain* departed, having first agreed upon a Day, wherein they were all to appear before *Cambray* (which was at that time in the *French* Hands, thô belonging to the Empire) there to lay their Siege, to wit, on the 8 of *July* the Year following, being *Wednesday*, in the Third Week after the Feast of St. *John Baptist*. King *Edward* went back to *Louvain* to the Queen, who as we said before, was newly come thither out of *England*, well accompanied with Ladies, her Maids of Honour and other Gentlewomen, who went over as well to wait on the Queen, as to visit their Fathers, Husbands and Brethren then with the King. King *Edward* soon after remov'd his Court to *Antwerp*, as more commodious for the Queen to lay her Belly in, and there he kept a most Honourable Court all that Winter, and as Vicar of the Empire [z] set up his Royal Mint at *Antwerp*, where he coined great plenty of mony both Gold and Silver. Yet all this while the Duke of *Brabant*, who had once been so greatly humbled by King *Philip*, as we shew'd before, never ceased sending Messengers to him, to excuse him, and to assure his Majesty, that he would undertake nothing prejudicial to the Crown of *France*. The Chief of this Embassy was the Lord *Lewis* of *Travemund*, one of his Council, who was frequently sent upon this Errand, and at last was made his Lords Resident in the Court of *France*, that he might be the more ready at hand, always to excuse him against whatsoever informations might be given of him or his Designs.

[z] *Froiss. ibid.*

VII. The mean while in *England*, the young Prince [a] *Edward* Duke of *Cornwall*, by Commission from the King his Father, held a Parliament at *Northampton*, which began on the 26 of *July*; wherein a Mighty Aid was granted unto the King towards the Maintenance of his Wars; as may be conjectur'd by this Proportion, the three Counties of *Leicester*, *Lincoln* and *Northampton* only being taxed in 1211 Sacks of Wooll. Besides which he had an Aid of the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Rectors, Vicars, and Justices, who went not with him to the War; of some 100 *l.* a piece, of others two Hundred, according to their Estates and Abilities: And moreover at *Michaelmas* following, a Tenth was granted of the Clergy for two Years to come. About this time there were [b] Sixty Sail of Stout Ships appointed for the defence of the *Cinque-Ports*, beside the present Fleet; and Sr. *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntington* and Constable of *England*, was made Lord Lieutenant of *Suffolk*, and the Lord [c] *Robert Morley*, Lord Lieutenant of *Norfolk*.

[a] *Knighton p.* 2571. *n.* 30.
[b] *Knighton p.* 2573. *n.* 10.
[c] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.* 26.

CHAPTER the TWELFTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *with his Allies prepares to open the Campagne, not in the meanwhile neglecting his Endeavours to compose Matters.* II. *He writes to the Pope and Cardinals, setting forth his Right to the Crown of* France, *the many undeserved Provocations*

vocations of the French *King, and his own Reasonable Offers, which he had often made, and was yet ready to make, with the Copy of the Letter at Large.* III. *The Popes Answer at Large, being an indirect expostulation, wherein he shews that* Lewis *of* Bavaria *(the Emperour) being under the Sentence of Excommunication, was not, nor ought to be accounted Emperour: That all his Friends and Abettors were Actually Excommunicate, and so concludes, partly excusing himself from abetting the* French *King against* England, *and partly (unless he withdraws from his Correspondence with the Emperour) threatning to proceed judicially against him also.*

An. Dom. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

I. NOW the unactive Winter was passed over, and the vigorous Spring began to open the Earth and the Wars together; the Feast of St. *John Baptist* approaching, when the Lords of *England* and *Germany* began to prepare themselves for the appointed time of Action. King *Edward* had made his Recruits from *England*, whence those Men of War he expected, came over to him about the beginning of *June*. And the Duke [a] of *Gueldre* and Earl of *Zutphen*, had done Homage unto him, as Vicar of the Empire and King of *France*, for which the King granted him a 1000 *l. per annum* during his Life; and he had further made an Alliance with *Albert* and *Otho*, Dukes of *Austria*, *Stiria* and *Carinthia*, and received their Homages. But yet before he began his March, at the Instance of the Cardinals *Pedro* and *Bertrand*, of whose endeavours for Peace we spake before, *John* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Bishop of *Durham*, *Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*, the Earls of *Darby*, *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, with some Others, were by the King [b] impowred to Treat once more with *Philip* of *Valois* or his Deputies, concerning the Dignities, Honours, Lands and Rights belonging to King *Edward*, and all other Controversies whatsoever: The Deputies on the other Part being the Archbishop of *Roüen*, the Bishops of *Langres* and *Beauvais*, and the Places of Treaty first *Compiegne*, and then *Arras*: But nothing of Peace being thereby effected, the King prepares now roundly for the War.

[a] *Ashmole p. 649. 16. Febr. Patentes inter Regem Angl. & diversos Magnates German. de anno 13 Ed. 3. m. 2. & 4.*

[b] *Ashmole p. 649. 1 Julii, Pat. concess. hominib. Angl. & Vasc. 13 Ed. 3. m. 17. & Knighton p. 2572. n. 60.*

II. And yet before he began his March, he wrote to the Pope and the College of Cardinals, setting forth his Title to the Crown of *France*, and the great Necessity that lay upon him as well to vindicate his Right, as to preserve his Lands and Honour, both which were injuriously invaded by *Philip* of *Valois* his Adversary: The Tenor of which Letters from the Original [c] *Latine* is as followeth,

[c] *Walsingh. hist. p. 119. Editionis verò Francofurtianæ p. 136. & Adam Murimouth M.S. & partim apud Odoric. Rainald. ad an. 1339. §. 17, & 18. & M. S. Dr. Stillingfleet n. 5. à princip. ad finem.*

"To the Venerable College of the Beloved Fathers in God, the Cardinals of the "Holy *Roman* Church: *EDWARD*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, Lord "of *Ireland*, and Duke of *Aquitain*, Greeting. We have written to the most Holy "Father, the Chief Bishop, after due Recommendation of our Respects in these words: "The Law of Nature, which is the Guide of all living Creatures, hath granted to eve"ry one a Liberty of Defence against injurious Violence, generally allowing that to "be justly done, which any one doth in his own Defence, repelling of Force and In"jury. Truly, since great and hazardous Wars and injurious Violations have been "moved and done against Us, which being notorious to the whole World, having al"so by our frequent Intimation fully been made so to the Apostolick See, we take it "for Granted, that to your Holiness they cannot be unknown. Now We being Lo"vers of Peace (God knows) that we might avoid Contention and introduce Amity, "have freely offer'd to our Persecutor, respectfully indeed, and perhaps too humbly, "the desirable Methods of Peace, not without a great Resignation of our own Rights and "Interest; that omitting at present a too eager Prosecution of our Personal Quarrels in this "season of just Sorrow, wherein the Fury of the Soldan of *Babylon*, and other Enemies "of the Cross, being highly enflamed, because an Expedition was sworn against them, "and solemnly proclaim'd in Parts beyond the Sea, hath and doth daily harass and "destroy many Christian Souls: So that horrible despight and reproach is cast up"on our Crucified Lord, we might, as indeed we ought, and most earnestly desire, "joyntly intend to the Cause of our Saviour, which is neglected, and may there"by be attributed to the great shame and ignominy of every Christian King, thô ne"ver so well deserving. But we know not for what Offence it happens, that from "the meek Offers of Peace (from whence Friendship ought to arise) there hath "grown a Swelling of greater Anger and Obstinacy in our Persecutors Mind against Us: "Thô (God and our Conscience bearing Us witness) We have not provoked Him, "by any one fact or attempt made by Us against Him. Nay the Eyes of all the World "our publique Witnesses, do see with how many and great Indignities our foresaid Per"secutor (who stiles himself King of *France*) doth daily wound and defalcate Us and "our Rights.

He

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"He is at this Preſent an Invader and unjuſt Uſurper of the Realm of *France* it "ſelf (which is known to belong to Us by all true Right of Succeſſion) not having "been aſham'd to withhold by Force that Crown (which he ought rather to claim by "Law and Equity, We being called and heard) thô We were a Male, and it could "no way be doubted, but that We were a Perſon principally concern'd in the Mat-"ter; and Our Right was as Notorious in that very Realm, as it is founded on the "Law of Nature: The matter of Fact being Evident, that *Philip* of Famous Memo-"ry, late King of *France*, Father of *Charles* King of *France*, laſt-deceaſed, and of the "moſt Serene Lady *Iſabella*, Queen of *England*, Our Mother, was our Grandfather. "And that to the ſame *Charles*, at the time of his Death, no Male living of thoſe, "who together with him, deſcended from the ſame *Philip*, was nearer than Our Selves. "And thô the Female Perſon by Cuſtom Anciently obſerved in that Kingdom, be "rendred uncapable of inheriting that Crown, this Law being principally intended for "the Good of the Realm, that under a frail Womans Government the Kingdom "ſhould not fall to ruine; thô it excludes the Perſon of the Woman, doth not yet "exclude the Perſon of the Male, deſcending from the Woman thus excluded. [d] Be-"ſide, by the foreſaid Law the Female Frailty is excluded from the Kingdom, that "the Realm may be more Advantagiouſly provided for, and the neareſt Male be ad-"mitted. Or elſe let him be admitted rather to that Right, who doth not prima-"rily proceed from the Mother ſo excluded, but is to be look'd on, as a Nephew "propagated Originally from the Grandfather; otherwiſe there would follow another "abſurdity of Injuſtice, that the Collaterals of the ſame Line ſhould be excluded, and "a more Remote Kinſman call'd in, when by the very Natural Law of Nations, Bro-"thers and Siſters, and their Children, are in mutual Succeſſion ſtill Prefer'd to other "Collaterals of another Line. And thence the ſaid Law aroſe in Favour of Kings, "and Hate of the Females Inability to Reign, not that by the Injury done to the "Female, an Occaſion alſo ſhould be taken of Injuring the Male Deſcendant. Nor yet "is it to be thought, that the intention of this Law could be ſo unjuſt, as to con-"demn the Mother and the Son, being of another Country. Nay rather on the con-"trary, by that very Judgement of the Law, whereby the Mother is remov'd from "the Succeſſion, the Son being ſeated in his Mothers Place, and ſupplying her de-"ficiency, the Succeſſion devolves unto him. Juſt as a Son ſteps into the Right and "Degree of his Father, deceaſed, ſo as to be admitted to the Succeſſion of his Fa-"ther among his Fathers Brethren. Then well may the diſconſolate Mother, thô "by the foreſaid Rigour of the Law, diveſted of her Royal Inheritance, Rejoyce again and "be Comforted, that her Son is ſo ſubſtituted in her Place. Nor then is Affliction added to "Affliction, which the Sacred Conſideration of the Law abhorreth, as we ſee, even where "the Law hath not laid an eaſie Burden of Affliction; but a caſe in the Law, which "condemns that cuſtomary Law, that yields the goods of ſhipwrack'd Perſons to another: "Becauſe it there expreſly corrects it by this reaſon, that we ſhould avoid adding to Afflicti-"on; much more for that very Reaſon is it forbid. Let it therefore ſatisfie this Law of "*France*, that from a Mother more then Pregnant (who yet was not made a Woman "by any of her own fault, but by neceſſity of Nature) it fully cuts off the Root of "Royalty; And that ſo the Mother by the Law of her Diſheriſon, doth expreſly ſuffer as "it were a certain Shipwrack: But let it not alſo be cruelly, and againſt all Right concluded, "that ſhe is in the Perſon of her diſinherited Son, to ſuffer a ſecond and a worſer Ship-"wrack, or that without a Fault the Puniſhment ſhould be doubled; when even where a "Fault is, the Puniſhment ought to be mitigated.

[d] Here a Clauſe, of which I can make no good Senſe, is left out

"Otherwiſe, if becauſe the Mother is not Lawfully admitted to the Throne, "the Son muſt be underſtood to be Lawfully expelled from the Throne: Then had "not the Kingdom of the *Jews* of Right belonged to the Holy *Jeſus*; which is a-"gainſt the Foundation of our Faith to aſſert. Who notwithſtanding he was the Son of God "begotten in a Myſtery, without the Company of a Man, of a Female of the Royal "Stem of *David*, even of the Virgin *Mary* (who her ſelf was not admitted to the "Kingdom, nor perhaps ought ſhe to be admitted) yet by the undoubted certainty "of Faith, became the True and Lawfull King of the *Jews*. And God forbid, that "this Royal Succeſſion of King *Jeſus*, ſhould be either an untying or breaking of the "Legal Obſervance; ſince he came not to break the Law, but to fulfill it. Where-"fore this moſt Excellent Inſtance of Lawfull Succeſſion (by Right of the Mother) "may reaſonably put to ſilence the pretended Reaſons of the Enemies of our Right "in the ſaid Kingdom of *France*: That the Saviour of the World, and We (a Poor "Mortal Sinner) whom parity of reaſon, as to this, reconciles together, may not be ſe-

"para-

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"parated, as to Our Lawfull Degree and Order of Succeſſion, by any vain Conſtitution, "or forced Interpretation of humane Laws.

"And yet for all this there was not only not any due Citation of Us made, nor "our Defence (thô in a Matter ſo highly Prejudicial to Our Right) admitted; but "alſo Our Proctors, who inſtantly deſired that they might Legally appear for Us and "Our Title, were ſo far from being allowed an equitable Hearing, as that they were "rudely and unjuſtly repelled with horrible Menaces of no leſs than preſent Death. "Wherefore their Procedure (thô the Deed of the Twelve Peers of *France*) hinders "Our ſaid Title nothing at all; ſince, as to Us, who were then Weak, and in Our "Minority; they laying by the part of indifferent Judges, perform'd the Office of "Thieves and Robbers: Whoſe Proceſs thus made againſt Us to Our Prejudice, e-"ven Our very Minority renders invalid in the Law. For neither could it have been "effectual, had it been made againſt an Adult Perſon; that Juſt Defence being ſo deny'd, "which to every Freeman is allow'd even by the Law of Nature, which neither any Prince, "nor any Law ought to infringe.

"Beſides, it is now publiquely known every where, how in Our Dukedom of *A-*"*quitain*, he has invaded and violated Our Rights, flying upon our Lands, and waſting "thoſe he could take: Which having joyned to thoſe he had ſeiſed before, and without "any Fear of God, ſaying, *that he has Law at Will*, he ſtill moſt injuriouſly detains.

"As for the *Scots*, whom the Rights of Ancient Times had made ſubject to Our "Crown, they by the Diſloyal madneſs of Rebellion, kicking againſt their Natural "Lord, were guilty of High Treaſon, a Fault which they have continued down from "Our Predeceſſors, even unto Us. Yet with theſe, that they might be the more "enabled to offend Us, he has in deſpight of Us, enter'd a League, Cheriſhing and "Maintaining them in ſo ungratefull and black a Crime againſt Us, thô by Right of "Blood and Nature, he ought rather to ſtand on our ſide. And when all theſe Pre-"miſes did not ſatisfie his unſatiate deſire of abuſing Us, having collected all the "Forces he could poſſibly bring together, he prepared unawares to ſwallow Us up "with the torrent of his Anger, deſiring to remove Us out of the World; becauſe per-"haps by his own evil Deſigns againſt Us, he meaſured Ours againſt him: Thô none can "juſtly collect or meaſure Our Intentions by meer Conjecture, ſince we have not done any "Act meriting ſuch an Opinion.

"Moreover, not well reſenting the Gift of Divine Providence beſtowed on Us, he "ſeems to reckon it an Injury done to him, that we live and Reign in Our King-"dom of *England*, and over what elſe the Lord gave Us to Rule in Proſperity; at "leaſt, but for him, in Peace. And all this we imagine he hath done, only becauſe the "People that ſerveth Us, or rather whom we by Our indefatigable Cares do conſtant-"ly ſerve, have hitherto by the Gift of God, continued in Great Glory and Re-"nown. Yet theſe things, thô heard and known, did not preſently move Us, but "we paſt them by with a Charitable diſſimulation, ſparing no Labour, nor coſt to ap-"peaſe his Perſecuting Violence againſt Us, and to make, as much as in Us lay, Our "Reign to paſs peaceably with him: Until we ſaw his Sword even ready unſheath'd "for the Deſtruction of Us and Ours, and prepared for Our utter Extermination. And "now will any Body perſwade Us, that ſuch an Uncle, ſo well known to Us, and "a Prince of ſuch Power, thô We were then buſied in other Wars, ought to be neg-"lected: Who being armed with the Right of his own Will, and ſurrounded with "a Mighty Power, collected from all Parts, that he might more freely perſecute Us "at his Pleaſure, deſerts even the Cauſe of *Chriſt*, which he had ſworn to maintain. "What therefore ſhould not a King, that even now ſees himſelf and his State in ap-"parent Danger, endeavour to do for his own Right and Security? Surely he only "can tell, who knows what ſuch a Man ought not to do, who contends only to avoid "Injuries and Loſſes, eſpecially in thoſe things, that ſo nearly concern his very Life & being. "Or can that be ſaid to be a light and idle Fear, which could ſhake the Conſtant Courages "even of Noble and Valiant Princes Our Allies, only for Our Sakes. Much more then ought "it to Alarum Us, whom only the Preparations of all theſe terrible things did concern.

"For this Cauſe therefore, even by Natural Impulſe being made not voluntary, but "neceſſary Defenders of Our own Rights, and thoſe of Our Subjects, and ſeeking for "the moſt Prudent Courſe of Proceeding, according to the Military Precepts of the "moſt Illuſtrious Captains of Antiquity, ſince Hoſtile Preparations are more danger-"ouſly expected at our own Doors, than repelled to thoſe of our Enemies, We thought "it better to meet them, that they might not fall upon Us unprepar'd, but be ſtifled "where firſt they had their Birth: Not only following the advice, but uſing the

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"Assistance of those whom Consanguinity and Affinity hath joyned unto Us, and to "whom it as well belonged to prevent, together with Us, Our Downfall, which "would even to them have proved little less than Fatal. According to these Coun- "sels, and by these Aids We resolvedly endeavour to secure Our Selves, committing "into the Hands of God our Righteous Cause (which once We were willing to "have refer'd to Your Apostolick See, or to any other Good Men, indifferent and "free from prejudice) nothing doubting, but that He, who sees all things from on "High, will give a most just Sentence, and bring it to pass with the Power of his "Sword. Nor do we believe, Holy Father, that any Equal Umpire, or Just Judge "can so Interpret or wrest this our Act, that what We have done for Our own De- "fence, and the Security of Our Just Rights, [r] he should esteem an Injury or Of- "fence: Nay rather, we believe, and are sure, that the true Intention of Our heart "will be consider'd, and that such a One will weigh in the Balance of unbyass'd judge- "ment what we go about, and why we undertake this arduous Affair: That, as the "Sanction of the Law teacheth, the Deed may not be censur'd from the Words, "but from the Deed the Words may be consider'd. [s] Let therefore all vain Surmises "about our Actions be laid aside, and let them only take Place in what appears certain, "but not in uncertain Matters.

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[r] One Clause (of which I could make no sense) left out.

[s] *Hic etiam Clausulam omitto, eâdem ratione ductus.*

"And now perhaps an Accuser, who is but a bad Interpreter of Our Actions, because "We have enter'd Friendship with a Man, against whom the Church, or the Vicar "thereof is said to have proceeded, will be apt to say, that We do not perform the part "of a Brother, or an Ally; because forsooth We are gaining to Our side such ne- "cessary Power, whereby We may defend Our Selves from the Dangers that threaten "our Ruine, and may be enabled to contend for the just obtaining of Our Rights. "But in the mean time such a One forgets to say, that We intend to defend Our "Selves, and to strive for what is Our own; which is the real Truth of the Matter: "For We are so far from opposing him, or favouring any of his Opposers, that We "should rather of Our Selves, without any respect of Danger, expose Our Selves for "his Honour, as becomes the Catholick Piety of Kings. Yet thus He accuses Us; "when yet, as the intention of all Equity allows, the Final Cause of every Action or "the Reason is to be principally attended, and from a Knowledge of the Will and Pur- "pose, there should arise a distinct and certain Knowledge of the Deed call'd in que- "stion; and as to humane Actions, only the Real Act, not the Verbal Conception "ought to be weigh'd. He forgets to say, that of this Matter We only make a shield "against him, who levell'd a deadly blow at Our Head: And that We have done "after the Example of a Wise Physician, who by his Skill, diverts that deadly Matter, that "is hastening to those Parts of the Body, where the Receptacle of Life is, to other Parts, "where that very Poyson which was design'd for present Destruction, cannot be suspected. "At this Our Care he Storms, Holy Father, he Storms, is uneasie, and complains, he, who "sought by his subtle Devices to find Us unadvised, and unprepared: But without "doubt it was more Discreet for Us, according to the *Theory* of War (which teaches, "that he more avoids the Inconvenience of War, who carries it further off from his "own Country) to go forth into another Realm, to fight against our Notorious Ene- "my, with the joynt Power of our Allies, than alone to expect him at Our own "Doors. Let not therefore the Envious Information of Our Detractors find Place "in the meek Mind of Your Holiness, or create any sinister Opinion of a Son, who "after the Manner of his Predecessors shall always firmly persist in Amity and Obe- "dience to the Apostolick Seat. Nay, if any such Evil suggestion concerning your "Son, should knock for entrance at your Holinesses Ears, let no Belief be allow'd "it, till the Son, who is concerned, be heard; who trusts, and always intends both to "say and to prove, that each of his Actions is just before the Tribunal of Your Holi- "ness, presiding over every Creature, which to deny, is to maintain Heresie. And "further this we say, adjoyning it as a further Evidence of our Intention, and greater "Devotion, that if there be any One, either of our Kindred, or Allies, who walks "not, as he ought, in the way of Obedience towards the Apostolick See, We in- "tend to bestow Our Diligence (and We trust to no little purpose) that leaving his "Wandring Course, he may return into the Path of Duty, and walk Regularly for "the future.

"Again there is One thing, which by Your Holinesses leave, having heard of many, "We must declare; thô the more We think of it, the more cruelly it stings Our "Mind; and that is, that the Hand of Our Adversary, who notoriously Labours now, "as formerly, for Our Destruction, when no Body made War against him, nor he a-

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"gainſt any Body but Us, was even at that time armed out of the very Patrimony of "*Chriſt*. Which unkindneſs, that the Kings of *England*, Our Predeceſſors, thoſe Il- "luſtrious Champions of *Chriſt*, thoſe [g] DEFENDORS of the FAITH, thoſe "zealous Aſſertors of the Right of the Holy *Roman* Church, and Devout Obſervors "of her Commands, that either They, or We, ſhould deſerve this Unkindneſs, We "neither know, nor believe. And thô for this very Reaſon many do ſay (We ſay not "ſo) that this Aiding of Our Enemy againſt Us, ſeems neither an Act of a Father, "nor a Mother towards Us, but of a Step-Mother; yet notwithſtanding We con- "ſtantly avow, that We are, and ſhall continue to Your Holineſs, and Your Seat, a "Devout and Humble Son, and not a Step-Son. Hence We hope, not without Rea- "ſon, that Our Humility being made Greater and Firmer by this, that it deſerved not "any Ill-turn from Your Fatherly Charity, will receive a more exuberant Encreaſe "of Favour; that what it laid upon Us, who were Innocent, Your tender Compaſ- "ſion, which at firſt was wanting, will now endeavour to Recompenſe unto Us with "Goodneſs.

[g] *Fidei Athletas.*

"And this Account of Our Right, and of the Injuries thus multiply'd againſt Us, "We intimate to the Preheminence of Your Sacred Dignity; that Your Holineſs, who "beſt know the Meaſure of Good and Juſt, and in whoſe Hands are the Keys to o- "pen and to ſhut the Gates of Heaven upon Earth, as the fulneſs of Your Power, "and Excellence of Your Judicature requires, if there ſhall appear Reaſon, may favour "Our Right, We being ready, not only from Your Sacred Tribunal, which is over "all, but from any Body elſe, Humbly to receive Information of the Truth, thô "contrary to Us, if any one knows it: And We, who freely ſubmit to Reaſon, "will embrace any other Truth, which ſhall be given to Us to underſtand, with Full and "Humble acknowledgements.

"But becauſe You, ô Fathers, are ſuperſcribed in theſe Our Letters, who are "for Your condign Merits, called to partake in the Cares and Counſels of our "Lord, the Chief Biſhop, and aſſiſt by his ſide to give the Knowledge of Sal- "vation to the People of *Chriſt*, We are willing to open theſe things alſo to "Your Knowledge; that knowing the Juſtice of Our Cauſe, You may pay that "Duty unto Truth, which You owe, and to which with urgent Requeſts We excite "Your circumſpect Wiſdome, which is wont equally to weigh the Rights of every "Man, without accepting of Perſons.

"And if in any thing that we have done, there ſhall be found any flaw, We "Requeſt herein better Advice from You, and deſire to be profitably informed, "being ready in all our Actions to yield to Reaſon. Given at *Antwerp* the 16 of "*July*, An. Dom. 1339.

III. This Letter of the Kings was ſhortly after thus Anſwer'd by the Pope, whoſe Name was *Benedict* the XII.

[h] *Hæc Epiſtola extat etiam apud Odoric. Rainald. ad* An. 1338. §. 59. *ex Tom.* 4. *Epiſt. Secr.* 380. *iiſdem verbis, quibus apud* Walſingh.

"BENEDICT the Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his moſt Dear "Son in Chriſt, *Edward* King of *England*, Greeting, and Apoſtolical Benediction: "Being long ſince Deſirous that You ſhould follow the Commendable Footſteps of "Your Progenitors, Kings of *England*, who were Famous for the Fulneſs of their "Devotion, and Faith towards God, and the Holy *Roman* Church, and have ſhew'd "forth the Splendour of their Nobility untainted; And wiſhing that theſe Qualities "might ſhine more Eminently in You, thrô that Fatherly Love and Charity, where- "with We affect both You and Your Realm, We remember how We directed Our "Letters to Your Highneſs, among other things recounting unto You, that thoſe Ex- "ceſſes, which had been wickedly perpetrated with a complication of manifold and hei- "nous Offences, by the Noble Lord *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, long ſince, as was told You, "thrô Diſcord Elected King of the *Romans* againſt God, and the ſaid *Roman* Church, "and againſt Pope *John* the XXII, Our Predeceſſor of Happy Memory, could not e- "ſcape Your Notice, which as being Notorious to the whole World, We took Care to "recite in Our Letters; not all, ſince the Repetition thereof would have been too long and "tedious, but ſome of them, as follows.

"For the ſame *Lewis* (contrary to the Proceſſes of our ſaid Predeceſſor, and his In- "hibitions, made and had by the Advice of his Brethren the Cardinals of the ſame "*Roman* Church, containing divers Spiritual and Temporal Penalties and Sentences) en- "ter'd *Italy*, and openly admitted into his Familiarity ſeveral Hereticks Publiquely and "Notoriouſly condemn'd of Hereſie, himſelf alſo Aſſerting manifeſt Hereſies, and up- "holding and maintaining Hereticks, who openly taught the deteſtable, and horrid Er- "rors of the foreſaid Hereſies, and knowingly, or rather madly approving Heretical O-

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"pinions, ſent an Evidence of that his Approbation by divers Letters Sealed with his "own known Seal, to the Peril of other Nations: And afterwards by a Deteſtable te- "merity, preſum'd to Uſurp unto himſelf the Imperial Name, and to exerciſe the Of- "fices of the Empire in *Italy* and *Almaine*, contrary to the Proceſſes and Prohibitions "aforeſaid, incurring thereby, beſides other Penalties, the Sentences of Excommunica- "tion and Anathema; And finally, adding Preſumption to Preſumption, and Exceſſes "to Exceſſes, he doubted not to March to the City of *Rome*, where he brake forth to "that Madneſs of Impiety, that deſigning to ſtir up the Miſchief of a General Schiſm, "both to the City and the World, he attempted to ſet up a certain Hypocrite, a Man "of Devilliſh Preſumption, *Peter de Corbariis* by Name, as the Image of horrid Abo- "mination in the Apoſtolick Seat, for Biſhop of *Rome*. And that as much as in him "lay, was by force effected; He honoured him as Pope, and then, and there upon his "Conſecration, or rather Execration, received *de Facto* the Imperial Crown; To ſay no- "thing of the many other Mad Proceedings, or rather Deteſtable Receedings by the ſaid "*Lewis* and *Peter*, done thrô Heretical Preſumption: For which our ſaid Predeceſſor "pronounced the ſaid *Lewis* to be deprived of his Power, Honour, and Dignity, and "uſing againſt him (who was enſnared in the Errors of ſuch Hereſies and Schiſms) the "Sword of Apoſtolick Power, as alſo againſt all others, who ſhould adhere unto him, "or afford him Help, Counſel, or Favour, or knowingly have, hold, or call him *Ro- "man* King, or Emperour, He Publiſhed not only the Penalties and Sentences of Ex- "communication and Anathema; but alſo all other Penalties and Sentences, as againſt "Favourers of Hereticks and Schiſm, and declared them to be by Law Enacted, as in "divers Proceſſes, by Our ſaid Predeceſſor had, is more fully contained: As to all "which Penalties, however by the ſaid *Lewis* deſerved, and againſt him by the juſt "Sentence of the Church promulged, if being truly Penitent he had Humbly ſubmit- "ted himſelf to Mercy, he might have found the ſaid Church Gracious, and that ſhe "would have received him as the Prodigal Son, returning from far, with open Arms "into her Boſom, ready to ſacrifice for him, in her large Returns of Praiſe to God, the "Fatted Calf.

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"Again, We added in the foreſaid Letters, that althô of all the foreſaid Exceſſes "by the ſaid *Lewis* committed (againſt the ſaid Proceſſes by our ſaid Predeceſſor "made againſt the ſaid *Lewis*, Juſtice ſo requiring) we had and alſo have notice; yet "that we might ſnatch him from out the Jaws of Eternal Death, being deliver'd from "the bonds of his ſins; after that we were taken up to the Heighth of the Chief "Apoſtleſhip, We gratiouſly received his Meſſengers, ſeveral times ſent unto Us, and "had many Conferences with them about his being Reconciled, which was to be ob- "tained by his bringing forth the Fruit of true Repentance: And thereupon the "matter hung to be conferr'd on further on Terms aſſigned; wherein certainly it was "not our Fault, that there was no further Progreſs made in the Affair of his Recon- "ciliation.

"Wherefore (moſt Dear Son) we then thought fit to require Your Highneſs by "thoſe Letters and to entreat You, that prudently conſidering and calling into your "moſt inward Meditation, the weight of thoſe Penalties, into which they ſhould fall, "and of thoſe Sentences, which they would incurr, and with what Dangers and "Difficulties they would enwrap themſelves, who to the ſaid *Lewis*, ſo notoriouſly "by all condemned of Hereſie and Schiſm, ſo odious to all Chriſtendom (before he "had obtain'd the favour of Reconciliation from the ſaid Church) ſhould raſhly pre- "ſume to afford any Help, Counſel or Favour, or ſhould knowingly and wittingly give "unto him, as unto an Emperour, or King of the *Romans*, the Honour or Title of a "Royal or Imperial Name, you would take care to withdraw your ſelf, and wholly "abſtain from contracting Leagues of any Familiarity or Friendſhip with him, or ren- "dring unto him any Reverence and Honour, as unto a King or Emperour, untill the "ſaid *Lewis* ſhould merit to obtain the Grace of the ſaid Churche's Reconciliation; "that ſo the integrity of your Good Name, and the unſpotted Brightneſs of your "Race might be preſerved. But when an unwelcom and unpleaſing Rumour was "lately brought unto us, That You, O Son, thô you had heard our Reports and "wholſom Advice, which proceeded from the Fountain of Charity, have not only "preſumed, to the hazard of your Safety and Reputation (which with Grief we ſpeak) "to enter a League and Confederation with the ſaid *Lewis*, and to him to adhere, and "to give him Favour, Help and Counſel, thô he is not yet reconciled to the Church, "nor acquitted of thoſe Penalties and Sentences, wherein, becauſe of the Premiſes and "many other Offences he is known to have been by our Predeceſſor involved; and

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"althô the Proceſſes of our ſaid Predeceſſor are not releaſed, but remain yet in their full "Force, whereby, as is premiſed, heavy both Spiritual and Temporal Penalties and Sen- "tences are inflicted upon all and ſingular, of whatſoever Preheminence, Dignity, State "or Condition, even thô they excell'd in the Pontifical, or Royal, or any other Ec- "cleſiaſticall or Secular Dignity whatſoever, who ſhould adhere unto the ſaid *Lewis*, or "afford him, directly or indirectly, publiquely or privately, Counſel, Aid or Favour, "or to him as Emperour, or King of the *Romans*, yield Obedience, or aſſign and "aſcribe the Stile of King or the Name Imperial: Nay, which (alas!) is known "to be more pernicious and damnable (if there be any Truth in theſe Relations) "You have *de facto* accepted from the ſaid *Lewis*, under the Name of Empe- "rour, the Office of Vicarſhip thrô all *Almain* and *Germany*, and all and ſingular the "Provinces or Parts thereof: Whereas the ſaid *Lewis* is neither King nor Emperour, "as is premiſed: On pretence whereof You are ſaid to have commanded by your Mi- "natory Letters, and more ſtraitly to have enjoyned on ſevere Penalties, ſeveral Pre- "lates of Churches, and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, beneficed in the Lands of the Empire, "but perſiſting in due Devotion and Fidelity to Us and to our See, that they ſhould "appear before You, as Vicar of the ſaid *Lewis* in *Almain*, *Germany*, and the Parts a- "foremention'd, to hear the Equity of his the ſaid *Lewis's* Sentences and Judgments, "and of your Commands, and to yield unto the ſaid *Lewis*, or to You in his Name, "their Recognitions and Homages for their Lands, Goods and Rights, which they hold "of the Empire. Concerning You therefore, O our Son, conſidering the Wiſdom "of You and your Council, we cannot ſufficiently admire, that when You (as we "have heard) in order to the Recovery of thoſe Rights, which you ſay belong to "you, have travelled toward the Parts of *Almain*, not without the detriment of ſun- "dry Great Perſons, and the exceeding profuſion of Expences, and have made many "Preparations to that purpoſe, now at laſt you have deſpiſed the Proceſſes of our ſaid "Predeceſſor, and damnably brought into contempt the Penalties and Sentences afore- "ſaid, into which You have moſt manifeſtly involved your Self (if what we hear of "You be true) not without moſt horrid Scandal, which ſullies the Glory of your Fa- "mily. And all this notwithſtanding, we have never offended You, nor have done a- "ny thing againſt You; althô we have alſo underſtood, that it hath been falſly and "deceitfully ſuggeſted to you by thoſe who neither love You, nor your Safety, nor "your Honour, how we gave out of our Chamber, a great quantity of Money, to "our Moſt Dear Son in Chriſt, the Illuſtrious King of *France*, in Aid of his War, and "alſo granted unto him the Inſtitution of all Eccleſiaſticall Perſons in all Churches "of his Dominions, which Matters are known to be void of all manner of Truth; "For ſuch things were never demanded of Us, nor ſhould we by any means have "granted them, had they been never ſo inſtantly requeſted of Us; nor did we grant "the Tythes to the King of *France* againſt You, but againſt the *Germans* adhering "to *Lewis*, and Enemies to the foreſaid *Roman* Church, who were then even ready "to invade the Realm of *France* (as the common and known Report went) as is "expreſly contained in the Grant of the ſaid Tithes. For it was not our Intention "to adminiſter fuel of Diſcord againſt You, or to help them with any Supply; but "rather extreamly deſiring, that both your Kingdom and the Kingdom of *France* ſhould "enjoy Peace and Concord, Unanimity and Proſperity, We have to that purpoſe by "our Letters directed to your Highneſs, and to the ſaid King of *France*, and by our "Legats *de Latere*, Cardinals of the Holy *Roman* Church, ſent to thoſe Parts, with "moſt ardent Deſires travailed, and ceaſe not yet, nor ſhall ceaſe to travail, that be- "tween You and the ſaid King, and both your Realms, the ſerenity and brightneſs of "Peace may ſhine forth.

"Yet You, O Moſt Dear Son, giving as it ſeems, credit to the foreſaid falſe and ly- "ing Suggeſtions, have ſhew'd your Self an Enemy and Perſecutor of Us and of the ſaid "*Roman* Church, and do invade and uſurp the Honours and Rights of Us and of the "ſaid Church, (to whom the Government and Adminiſtration of the *Roman* Empire, "it being void, as now it is known to be, do of full Right belong) by moleſting the "Prelates and Eccleſiaſticall Perſons, who perſiſt as is premiſed, in due Devotion and "Fidelity to Us, and by endeavouring to withdraw them to the Obedience of the ſaid "*Lewis*, being as is premiſed, ſententially condemned of divers Hereſies, Schiſms and "other Crimes; and by the juſt Judgment of God and the Church, deprived of all "Kingly and Imperial Right (if ever any hath, or did belong unto him) to perform a "Recogniſance and Homage, or to You in his Name, by attempting to induce them by "coactive Methods and Comminations.

"But

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"But I would to God (O Son) before you involve your self any further in these "most dangerous and detestable Matters, that you would seriously consider, and set "before the eyes of your Mind with mature Deliberation, the hazardous Labyrinths and "knotty Snares, into which some, who are more sollicitous about their own, than your "Affairs, by their subtle and most exquisite Arts, endeavour to involve You, and to "lay a Burthen upon you (which by all means they desire to rid themselves of) not "easily supportable, if you diligently attend the Circumstances, nor without the ha-"zard of your utter Ruine.

"Nor would We have you ignorant, how that our foresaid Predecessor, in a cer-"tain Constitution made formerly by him with the Advice and Counsel of his said "Brethren, did promulge Excommunications and other heavy Sentences, against all and "singular, of what State, Dignity or Condition soever they should be, whether Patri-"archal, or any other Superior, as Pontifical or Royal, who without the special Li-"cence of the Apostolick See, should presume to assume the Name of Vicar, or of a-"ny other Office within the Lands of the said Empire, (it being void, as then it was, "and now also is void, as was premised) or being assumed to retain it beyond the space "of two Months, or being laid down to reassume it any ways; if they should remain "refractory, and would not obey and intend to the same.

"We therefore, who toward You, O Son, could not shut up our Bowels of Fatherly "Compassion, but are inwardly touch'd with Grief of Heart, seeing such things de-"vised, as tend to the detriment of You, and of your Honour and Estate, Fame "and Safety, do entreat your Magnificence, require and more earnestly exhort you in "the Lord, nevertheless persuading you by sound and fatherly Counsel, that taking "the Premises, together with what else may occurr unto you, into serious Conside-"ration; and moreover, holding for certain, and remembring, that the said *Lewis*, "as we premised, is neither King nor Emperour, and that nothing, which he hath done, "or shall do, as long as he hath been and shall be bound by the said Processes, Pe-"nalties and Sentences, was or is valid, or of any Authority, Stress or Moment, and "that it is dangerous and very much to be feared by You, to commit your Self to the "uncertainties and hazards of War, especially being involved in all the foresaid Pro-"cesses, Penalties and Sentences, from which you cannot be deliver'd, but only by "the Apostolick See, (which has expresly kept in her own hands the Absolution there-"from) and so becoming a Persecutor and Enemy of God and the said *Roman* Church: "From which things the Lord of Mercies protect and defend You.

"You should also consider diligently, that thô it is natural for Man to sin, yet per-"severance in Sin ought to be reckon'd Diabolical and proper to Devils, and that from "these horrid Errors, to which perhaps you have declined, being seduced by the Serpents "subtlety, before they grow more deadly, and stink worse and putrifie in the sight of "God and Men, We desire You to hasten back, and to direct your feet in the right "Way, pleasing God, and agreeable to your Condition, Safety and Honour, and ra-"ther than despise the Decrees of the said Cardinals, who sincerely love You and your "Realm, to acquiesce in the mutual Reformation of Peace between You and the said "King, it being a thing so pleasing to God and desirable to Men.

"And surely it seems to Us, that althô the Office of the said Vicarship might now "have lawfully been assigned, yet it would not become your Honour (who are such and "so Great a King and Prince, and are known in the world to be ennobled with such a "Royal Name and Title) to be called the Vicar of any Temporal Lord whatsoever. "How much less then did it, or doth it become your Eminence, to be called his Vi-"car, who (as often aforesaid) hath no Authority at all; but is, alas! defiled with the "blemish of so many Crimes, and involved in such and so many heavy Penalties and Sen-"tences, together with all his Adherents.

"And now know, O most Loving Son, that if you shall acquiesce in these our "wholsom Admonitions, thô You have been so moved as to fall, We will effectually "reach forth our Gracious Hand (as far as by Gods Assistance we shall be able) to "raise You up again: But otherwise, We cannot forbear, since the very Duty of our "Apostolick Employment requires so much of Us, but take Order to provide the best "Remedy, as to the Premises, by proceeding against you (which will be very trou-"blesom and ungratefull to Us) if it shall (which God forbid) be necessary, as, Ju-"stice so requiring, both ought and may be done.

Given at Avignion *under the Seal of the Fisher, &c. in the* [1] v *Year of our Pontificate, on the Ides of* November.

[1] iv. apud Odoric.

CHAP-

CHAPTER the Thirteenth.

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I. *King* Edward *ſummons the* German *Lords to meet him at* Mechlin *in* Brabant. II. *Upon their Meeting the King and They ſend their ſeveral Defiances to King* Philip. III. *The Lord* Walter Manny *begins the War, and takes* Thin l' Eveſque, *which he garriſons for King* Edward: *The Earl of* Salisbury *makes an Incurſion into the Biſhoprick of* Liege. IV. *The King of* France's *Preparations.* V. *The* French *Navy burn* Southampton. VI. *King* Edward *lays Siege to* Cambray. VII. *But on News of King* Philips *Preparations, riſes and goes forth to meet him, putting all to Fire and Sword, as he goes.* VIII. *The two Kings face one another at* Vironfoſſe *in* Cambreſis: *A Day appointed for Battle with the Order and Number of both Armies.* IX. *The true Reaſons why the* French *declined to fight, and the ſudden Departure of King* Philip. X. *King* Edward *returns to* Antwerp, *where having ſent for his Son the Prince to come to him, he keeps his Chriſtmas.* XI. *A Copy of the Pope's Letter to King* Edward *to move him to Peace.* XII. *King Edwards Anſwer thereto.* XIII. *Two notable Parliaments held at* Weſtminſter, *one by the Prince before his Departure out of* England, *and the other by Commiſſioners empowred thereto by the King.*

An. Dom. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

I. BEfore the Return of this Anſwer from the Pope, King *Edward* immediately after the Date of his own Letters, began his March to [a] *Villenort* in *Brabant*, where he lodged his People partly in the Town, and partly without in Tents and Pavilions, along the River ſide: Here he tarried from the 20th of *July* till the middle of *Auguſt*, ſtill expecting the Coming of the Lords of the Empire his Allies, but eſpecially of the Duke of *Brabant*, on whom chiefly the reſt did depend, as to their reſolution in this Matter. But when his Patience was almoſt tired with fruitleſs expectation, he was fain to ſend once more his ſpecial Summons to each of them, commanding them to come and meet with him at [b] *Mechelen*, the Metropolis of *Brabant*, on St. *Giles* his Day following, and then and there to ſhew him the Cauſe of thoſe ill-boding Delays. Now all this while that the King waited thus at *Villenort* for his Confederates, he maintain'd idly at his own Coſts and Charges 1600 Men of Arms all *Engliſh*, and 10000 Archers of *England*, beſides all other neceſſary Proviſions for his Court, and beſide the great Armies and Garriſons he had in other Places, and upon the Seas, and beſide the vaſt Summs of Mony, which he had diſpos'd of to the Lords his Confederates.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 35.

[b] 1 Septemb.

The *French* King for his part was not unpurvey'd of neceſſaries for Reſiſtance; for beſide his formidable Preparations in *France*, *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, he had ſet forth a Mighty Fleet of Ships, conſiſting of *French*, *Normans*, *Bretons*, *Picards*, and *Spaniards*; who had Orders, as ſoon as ever the War ſhould be once open, and the Defiances made, to land on ſome of the Sea-coaſts of *England*, where they could to their beſt advantage, and to put all to Fire, and Sword, and Rapine. So honourable in thoſe days were Chriſtian Princes, as (thô they manifeſtly prepared againſt each other) not to begin open War, till they had given mutual Warning thereof.

II. On the firſt of *September*, or St. *Giles* his day, according to King *Edward's* Summons, theſe tardy Lords of *Almain* came all at laſt to *Mechelen* unto him, where they immediately enter'd upon conſideration of the preſent Affairs: There was much Debate among them, but in the end it was reſolved, that the King of *England* ſhould ſet forward within fifteen days at fartheſt, and to the intent their Cauſe ſhould not appear unwarrantable, they all agree'd to ſend their particular Defiances to the *French* King. Firſt the King of *England*, then the Duke of *Guerles* or *Gueldre* late Earl, and *William* Earl of *Juliers* late Marqueſs, but now advanced to higher Dignities by King *Edward*; then the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, the Lord *John* of *Heinalt*, the Marqueſſes of *Nuys* and *Blanckeberg*, the Lord of *Faulquemont* or *Valkenberg* (as the *Dutch* call it) Sr. *Arnold* of *Baquehen*, the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, Sr. *Galeace* his Brother, and the reſt

[c] *Froiſ. ibid.*
[d] *Knighton p.* 2574. *n.* 30. & 40.

reſt of the Lords of the Empire. All theſe had their particular and ſpecial Defiances, written, ſigned and ſealed, excepting, of all the Confederates, the Duke of *Brabant* only, who ſaid, "He would do the like by himſelf at his beſt Convenience. *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was choſen to carry theſe Defiances into *France*, being attended with the Herald *Windſor* (who was Principal King at Arms of *England* in thoſe days) Theſe preſently carried them to *Paris*, and there *Windſor* (after the Defiances were deliver'd) openly defi'd King *Philip* of *Valois*, in the Name of the King of *England* his Maſter, and then having Both performed their Buſineſs ſo diſcreetly, that they could not juſtly incurr any reproach or blame, thô inwardly King *Philip* boiled with Fury; they demanded and obtained a ſafe Conduct, and ſo return'd to the King their Maſter, who tarried for them at *Mechlin*. AN. DOM. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

III. That very Week that the Lord *Walter Manny* underſtood for certain how the Defiances had been made, he took to him fourty Spears, and rode thrô *Brabant* Night and Day, till he came into *Heinalt*, and entred the Wood of *Blaton*: His Reſolution and Deſign was not as yet known to any of his Followers, but thoſe few of his Friends only, to whom he thought it neceſſary to Communicate his Purpoſe; and to theſe he privately confeſſed, "how he had promiſed before ſome great Ladies in *England*, "to be the very firſt, that after the War was Proclaim'd, ſhould enter the Confines of "*France*, and perform ſome notable Exploit of Arms: That now therefore in purſuance "of his Vow, he reſolves for *Mortagne*, a Town and Fortreſs on the Confines of *Hei-* "*nalt*, two Leagues from *Tournay*, towards *Valenciennes*, which belonged then to King "*Philip*; and that therefore this he would endeavour to ſurpriſe. So having paſſed thrô the Wood of *Blaton*, he came early one Morning before Sunriſe to *Mortagne*, where by chance he found the ſmall Door of the Great Gate of the Town ſtanding open: Hereupon alighting immediately from his Horſe with all his Company, having appointed certain to ſtand ſtill and Guard the Gate againſt his Return, he enter'd with all the reſt, and went thrô the High-Street with his Banner before him in good cloſe Order, till he came to the chief Tower: But here he found the Gate and the Wicket faſt cloſed againſt him. When the Watchman of the Tower heard the noiſe of Men of Arms, he ſtraight ſounded a *Trahee, Trahee*, ſignifying Treaſon thereby: At which the whole Caſtle took the Alarm, and preſently came to their Defence. But the Lord *Manny* was not prepared with Engines ſufficient for an Aſſault, only he hoped to have broke down the Gate before the Alarm might be given, which now failing of he Retreated, and ſet fire however to the Street adjoyning to the Caſtle, and ſo burning about 60 Houſes, put the whole Town in a fright, but would not ſuffer his Men to ſcatter abroad for Murder, Spoil, or Plunder: Becauſe the Garriſon was entire. [c] *Froiſ. c.36.*

Thence therefore taking Horſe again, he rode back directly toward *Condè*, where they paſſed the River of *Hayſne*, as he is falling into the [f] *Skell*: Thence he took the road to *Valenciennes*, and coaſting on the Right hand came to *Aveſnes*, whence by the Abbey he proceeded to *Bouchain*, which ſtands on the Banks of the *Skell*, between *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*: Here he paſſed the River over the Bridge, the Captain either not daring, or caring, to Impeach their paſſage. After this he came before a ſtrong Caſtle, upon the *Sambre* called *Thin l' Eveſque*, becauſe it belonged to the Biſhop of *Cambray*, not ſtanding above [g] three Leagues from *Cambreſis*. This Place they took by ſurpriſe, with the Captain and his Lady therein: And here the Lord *Walter Manny* placed a good Garriſon, whereof he made his Brother Sr. *Giles Manny* the Captain, who afterwards proved but an ill Neighbour to the City of *Cambray*. This done Sr. *Walter* return'd into *Brabant* unto King *Edward* his Maſter, whom he found ſtill at *Mechlin*, and there he ſhew'd what he had done, for which the King gave him Thanks and approved of his Service. [f] *Scaldis* Lat. [g] *Knighton p.* 2573. *n.*60.

At the ſame time the Earl of *Salisbury* made an Inroad into the Biſhop of *Liege* his Country, with a Thouſand fighting Men, where having waſted all before him for ſeveral Miles together, he return'd ſafe again, laden with Spoil and Glory. [h] *Knighton ibid.*

IV. Nor was the King of *France* an idle Spectator of all theſe Preparations and Hoſtilities; For he muſt needs be well aware aforehand of a Storm, which he himſelf in a manner Raiſed, and was ſufficiently, as to all humane Probability, provided againſt it: His Navies, Magazines and Treaſures, were well furniſhed, his Garriſons and good Towns well ſtock'd with Men of War, and Proviſions, and his Allies ſtood all ready, as in a Race, to run the ſame Courſe together with him. But as ſoon as ever he had received the Defiances from King *Edward* and his Confederates, he immediately addreſſes himſelf to put Life and Vigour into all his former Preparations: He ſtraight began on all hands to retain Men of Arms, and others in his Service, and firſt he ſent the Lord [i] *Froiſ. c.*37.

Galeas,

An. Dom. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

Galeas de la Bauſine, a Valiant Knight of *Savoy* to be Captain of the City of *Cambray*, and with him two more Couragious Gentlemen, the Lord of *Roy*, and Sr. *Theobald* of *Marnel*, with above two Hundred Spears both *French* and *Savoyans*. At the ſame time he ſent ſufficient Forces to ſeiſe into his Hands the County of *Ponthieu* in *Picardy*, which belonged to King *Edward* in [k] Right of his Grandmother *Eleanor*, ſiſter to *Alphonſo*, King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* III, and only Child by his ſecond Wife *Joan*, Daughter and Heir of *John* Earl of *Ponthieu* and *Provence*. He directed alſo his Letters to the young Earl of *Hainault* his Nephew, to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Bar*, and the Biſhops of *Mentz* and *Liege*, deſiring either their friendly Aſſiſtance in theſe his Wars, or at leaſt, that they would remain Neuters, and forbear all Hoſtility againſt him and his Realm. The Earl of *Hainalt* wrote him a very courteous Anſwer, "That for his part, He would be always ready to Aſſiſt his Uncle the King "of *France*, againſt any Perſon whatſoever. But foraſmuch as the King of *England* "made his War, as Vicar of the Sacred *Roman* Empire, he ſaid he could not in Rea- "ſon, Civility, or Duty, deny him entrance into his Country, nor refuſe to ſhew him "Reſpect, and gratifie him in his Lawfull Demands, becauſe he held part of his Lands "of the Emperour. Moſt of the other Lords anſwer'd to King *Philip*, "that they "would never commit, or undertake any thing which ſhould be to his diſpleaſure. Beſides [l] he had *John* Earl of *Luxemburgh*, and King of *Bohemia*, whoſe Daughter, the Lady *Bona*, was Married to King *Philip*'s Eldeſt Son, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, engag'd firmly on his ſide, and by his means *Henry* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, undertook to ſerve him with 300 Men of Arms for 56000 Florins of *Florence*. In like manner he engaged *Albert* Biſhop of *Metz* (then a Free City, now under *France*) *Otho* Duke of *Auſtria*, *Theodore* Marqueſs of *Monferrat*, *Amè* Earl of *Geneva*, *Geoffry* Earl of *Linanges*, *Valeran* Earl of *Deux-Ponts*, *Henry* Earl of *Vaudemont*, *John* Earl of *Sarburg*, Prince *Humbert*, Son and Heir to *James Humbert* the Old *Dauphin* of *Vienna*, beſides the Duke of *Lorrain* aforemention'd, and many other Lords and Captains of *Almain*, *Spain*, *la Franche Comtè*, *Dauphinè*, *Savoy*, and other Countries; beſides the *Scots*, who were able to give Powerfull Diverſions, and beſides the Towns of *Fuenterabia*, or *Fontarabie*, St. *Sebaſtian*, St. *Ander* and *Laredor* in *Biſcay*.

[k] Sandford *Geneal. hiſt. p.* 130. *l.* 2. *c.* 1.

[l] *Du Cheſne l.* 15. *p* 646.

V. The mean [m] while Sr. *Hugh Quiriel*, Sr. *Peter Bahuchet*, and Sr. *Nicolas Barbenoire* (ſo called of his Black-Beard) being joynt Admirals of King *Philip*'s Navy, and having full Commiſſion to Intercept our Merchants, and to burn, kill, and ſlay in *England* without Pity, were ſcouring the Seas in ſeveral Squadrons, as they ſaw occaſion for Advantage. Among other Particulars, One Detachment from this great Fleet, conſiſting [n] of Thirteen Sail Great and Small, met with 2 Great Ships of *England*, full of Riches and Money, received for Woolls in *Flanders*, and well Mann'd alſo, being accompanied with two leſſer Barks, and one Caravel only: The two Ships were Named the *Chriſtopher* and the *Edward*. Now when each ſide knew their Oppoſites to be Enemies, they both with equal Ardour addreſſed themſelves to the Fight: Neither ſide ſpared their ſhot from Engines, from their long Bowes, and Arbaliſts; for Guns, that are actuated with Sulphur and Fire, were not as then known in *Europe*. So there began a moſt Cruel Fight, thô not on equal Terms, the *French* almoſt thrice exceeding them in Number of Veſſels, but more than four times in Number of Hands, they being all fitted up ready for War, ours being but Merchants, thô well Convoy'd. Wherefore the three ſmall *Engliſh* Veſſels, being unfit for Fight, and Laden more with Merchandiſe, than neceſſaries for War, made off, and eſcaped by their Nimble Sailing; but the *Edward* and the *Chriſtopher* ſtood ſtiffly to their Tackling, and fought fiercely more then 9 Hours, inſomuch, that on both Parts more than 600 Men were ſlain, before the Victory could be decided: But in the end wearied with Labour, Wounds, and Slaughter, and oppreſt with Number, they were both taken, and brought into the *French* Havens, moſt of the wounded *Engliſh* being unmercifully thrown overboard, too baſe a Recompence for their Great Valour. On the [o] 5 of *October*, being a Sunday, 50 Galleys of *Normans*, *Picards*, *Genoans*, and *Spaniards*, all well Mann'd and Furniſh'd with Habiliments for War, at 9 of the Clock in the Morning, while the People were at Church, came ſuddenly to *Southampton*, where they ſacked the Town, the Inhabitants running away for fear, but they plunder'd all they could lay Hands on, and ſlew the poor people they met with, and raviſh'd Women, and waſted the Victuals at a heavy rate. Thoſe of the Nobler ſort, whom they could light on, they hung up in their own Houſes, and upon their Departure ſet the whole Town on Fire: But by the Break of next day, before they were half got to their Ships, Sr. *John Arundel*, a Valiant Gentleman of *Hantſhire*, came in upon them, being accompanied with a goodly ſmall Band of

[m] *Froiſ. c.* 37. & *Knighton p.* 2573. *n.* 20. *&c.*

[n] *Fabian p.* 206. & *Holinſhead p.* 904.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 37. *f.* 21. *Stow p.* 235. *Holinſhead p.* 904. *Knighton p.* 2573. *a n.* 1. *ad n.* 10. *Walſing. hiſt. Edit. Franc. p.* 146. *n.* 5. *Fabian p.* 206. *&c.*

of Choice Souldiers, and thoſe Townſmen who had fled from the *French* the Day before; who thô they came too late to ſave their Friends, came yet ſoon enough to Revenge them, and ſo falling ſuddenly upon the Barbarous Pyrates, before they could recover their Confuſion, which their ſpeedy Departure put them into, they ſlew no leſs than 300 of them upon the ſpot, together with a Chief Captain of theirs, the King of *Sicily's* Son; to whom the *French* King had granted, whatſoever he ſhould Win or Conquer in *England*. But for all his High hopes, he was in this ſurpriſe beaten to the ground by a rough Clown, who laid about him with a Flail like a Mad-man; the Prince not being able to ſpeak a Word of *Engliſh*, cry'd [p] out in *French*, Rancon, Rancon, meaning that he deſired to be taken to Ranſome: But the Clown nothing underſtanding either his Language, or his Coat-Armour, anſwering him "I know thou art a *Francon*, and therefore thou ſhalt die, ſtill laid on, till he had thraſh'd him to Death. The reſt of the Pyrates fled as faſt as they could to their Ships, but the Purſuers cut many of them ſhort, and not a few were drowned thrô their too great haſte, as they confuſedly endeavour'd to recover their Veſſels, moſt of the Ships being hal'd off for fear the *Engliſh* ſhould board them. After this the Townſmen of *Southampton* encompaſſed the place about with a great Wall, and [q] in the Parliament (of which we ſhall ſpeak in due ſeaſon) the Lord *Richard Talbot* was appointed Captain of the Town with 20 Men of Arms, and an 100 Archers at the Kings Wages: whereby they were ſecur'd from the like diſtreſs for the future.

AN. DOM. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

[p] *Speed's Maps in* Hantſhire *f.* 13. §. 10.

[q] *Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 20. §. 16, 17. *M.S. p.* 27. §. 16. *&c.*

Another time Eleven [r] of theſe *French* Gallies approaching to the Town of *Harwich* in *Eſſex*, caſt fire among ſome of the Out-houſes, the force whereof was ſo abated by reaſon of a ſtrong Contrary-Wind, that no great harm was done: But the Town it ſelf was too ſtrong to be attempted with any probability of Succeſs. Thus the *French* Navy ſought Advantages along by the Sea-Coaſts; once they ſailed to the Iſle of *Wight*, but here they gain'd nothing, being ſtrongly reſiſted by the Inhabitants: Thence therefore they coaſted about for ſome more eaſie adventure; at *Haſtings* they burnt Fiſhers Cottages with their Boats, and ſlew many Poor Labouring Men; they alſo made great ſhows of a Deſign againſt the Iſle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, and againſt *Dover* and *Folkeſton*; but here they were able to do no great harm, except to Poor Fiſhermen. Thence ſailing about to the Havens in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, every where they Deſtroyed the Fiſhermen and their Boats, and whatever Ships they found at Anchor, they fired. At length they enter'd *Plimouth*-Haven, where they burnt ſome Great Ships, and a good part of the Town: But here at laſt they were met with by *Hugh Courtney* Senior, Earl of *Devonſhire*, an old tough Souldier of Fourſcore, who came upon them with the Trained Bands of his Country, and ſeeing at the firſt Brunt a few of his Men fall by reaſon of the *French* Quarrels, which they ſhot from far, he made his Men to cloſe immediately, and fall to Handy ſtroaks with them, whereupon he ſoon overcame them, beating them down by Heaps, and ſo Chaced them eagerly to their Gallies, when being not able to reach their Fellows by wading (for they were now drawn off, and ſtood aloof) there were drown'd of them about 500.

[r] *Stow p.* 235.

About this time there [s] came a Fleet of *Frenchmen* conſiſting of 20 Great Ships, 15 ſmall Ones and 32 Gallies, riding before *Sandwich*-Haven; but they durſt not take Land, becauſe they ſaw the County-*Militia* ready drawn up to receive them. Thence therefore they tack'd about to *Rye*, where they did much Miſchief; but while they were there, a Squadron of *Engliſh* came up with them, whereupon the *French* hoiſed Sail and fled before them, the *Engliſh* all the while making after them with full Sail, till they came to *Bologne*, where they ſet fire to part of the Town, and hang'd 12 Captains of the Fleet, whom among others they had taken.

[s] *Knighton p.* 2573. *n.* 40.

VI. The News [t] of theſe Hoſtilities of the *French*, and eſpecially of their Succeſs at *Southampton*, were brought to the King of *England* in *Brabant*, while the two Cardinals, [u] *Pedro de Gomez* of *Spain*, Titulo *Praxedis*, and *Bertrand de Monte Faventio*, Titulo Sanctæ *Mariæ* in *Aquiro*, were yet in his Preſence, debating of Matters between the two Realms, and urging the King to a Peace with *France*; whereupon the King with Great Indignation turning to the Earl of *Juliers*, and other his Friends there Preſent, asked them "If he had not great Cauſe to break with *France*? If only to Revenge their "Inhumane Butchery, and extream Cruelty to his Poor Subjects, who fell into their "Hands? At which the Cardinal *Bertrand* replyed in this Manner, not without a ſmile, betraying his Haughty Conceits, "My Lord, ſaid he, the Realm of *France* is encom-"paſſed about with ſo ſtrong a Line of Silk, that it cannot be broken by the ſtrength "of the Kingdom of *England*: Wherefore my Lord, ô King, you will do well to ſtay "firſt for the Arrival of the *Dutchmen*, and others Your Friends and Confederates;

[t] *Stow p.* 235.

[u] *Victorellus* 1 *Vol. p.* 862. §. 24. *& p.* 857. §. 4.

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"the greater Part whereof You ſtill want, and I believe will not find them here in haſte. The King extreamly diſdaining theſe Proud Words, immediately Anſwer'd, "That he "would however ride forth into *France* with Banner diſplayed, and that there he would "demand a View of thoſe Invincible *Frenchmen*, and that He would either win "that Realm againſt whoſoever ſhould oppoſe him, or honeſtly leave his Body in "the field.

[x] *Froiſ. c.* 38.

The next day He [x] departed in this Reſolution from *Mechlin*, and went on to *Bruſſels*, another Chief City of *Brabant*, his people paſſing on by the Town: Thither at laſt came now the long expected Aid of *Almaines* to the Number of 20000 ſtrong, with their Leaders; but only the Duke of *Brabant* appeared not as yet. Wherefore once more King *Edward* ſent, and demanded of him, Whether he intended to let him have his Company to the Siege of *Cambray*, or no? The Duke anſwer'd, "that as ſoon as "he knew for certain, that *Cambray* was actually Beſieged, he would upon his Honour "come thither, with 1200 Spears, all good Men of War. Satisfied with this, King *Edward* marched on five Leagues Farther, till he came to *Nivelle*, a Town near the Borders of *Hainault*, where he lay one Night, and the next day went to *Mons*, a chief Town in *Hainault*, and of great ſtrength; and there he found the young Earl of *Hainault*, his Brother-in-Law, who received him gladly. The King was attended by the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, who was of his Privy Council, and always about him, with about 16 or 20 more of the moſt Noble Barons of *England*, who ſtill waited on the King both for the Honour of his Perſon, and to be ready to adviſe with him about any ſudden Emergency: Together with whom was Doctor *Henry Burwaſh*, Brother to the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, Senior, and Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who purchaſed much Praiſe of all Men, for the great Wiſdom, Conduct, and Courage he at all times ſhew'd, but eſpecially in theſe Grand Affairs of the King his Maſter. The Army lay without the Town in the Fields and Villages thereabout, where they found plenty of Proviſion of all ſorts for their Money; thô as ſome paid truly, others made bold to do otherwiſe: It being next to Impoſſible, abſolutely to reſtrain a whole Army from all kind of Licence. When the King had tarried thus at *Mons* the ſpace of two Days, he went thence accompanied with the young Earl to *Valenciennes*, which was ſeven Leagues further, ſtanding on the *Skell*: And here he met with the Lord *John* of *Hainault*, the Earls Uncle, the Lord *Eagimelles*, the Lord *Verchin*, the Lord of *Havreth*, and others, who were about the Earl their Maſter. The King to ſhew his Generous Confidence in the Earl, went into the Town only attended with twelve more of his Nobles; the King and the Earl his Brother-in-Law, going hand in hand thrô the Court of the great Hall of his Palace, which is called *La Salle du Comte*. But as they were going up the Stairs of the Hall, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* Proclaimed aloud theſe Words---- 'O Yes, *William* "Biſhop of *Cambray*, I *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, as Procurator to the Mighty Lord "*Edward* King of *England*, Vicar of the Sacred Empire of *Rome*, do here Warn and "Admoniſh You the ſaid *William*, that You open the Gates of the City of *Cambray* to "Our ſaid Lord the King of *England*: Which if You refuſe to do, You ſhall forfeit "Your Lands, and We will enter by force. To this Proclamation no Anſwer was given, for the Biſhop of *Cambray* was not there Preſent, but in the City of *Cambray* it ſelf, looking to the Defence thereof. Then the Biſhop of *Lincoln* Proclaim'd again--- "O Yes, You Lord *William* Earl of *Hainault*, We here Warn and Admoniſh You in "the Name of the Emperour, that You come and ſerve the King of *England* his Vi- "car, before the City of *Cambray*, with ſuch a Number of Souldiers as You ought to "do. The Earl anſwer'd, "With all my Heart, I am ready to ſerve him, according "to my Duty. Upon theſe Words, they enter'd into the Hall, after which the Earl Led the King into his Chamber, where they ſupp'd together. The next day the King departed to *Haſpre* upon the *Salle*, where he tarried two days, viewing his Men as they paſſed onward before him, and thence he went to *Cambray*, which immediately he began to inveſt round, and daily his Forces encreaſed. For thither came the young Earl of *Hainault*, and *John* Lord of *Beaumont* his Uncle in Great array: Theſe had their Quarters Aſſign'd them near the King; there were there alſo the Duke of *Gueldre* and his Men, the Earl of *Juliers*, the Earl of *Mons*, the Earl of *Savenier*, the Marqueſs of *Nuys*, the Lord of *Faulquemont*, Sr. *Arnold* of *Baquehen*, with other Lords of the Empire, Allies of *England*. And now at laſt, the ſixth day after the Siege was laid, came thither the Cautious Duke of *Brabant* with 900 Spears in his Company, and he took up his Station on the ſide towards *Oſtervandt*, on the River *Skell*, over which he flung a Bridge, to maintain Communication between the Hoſts for their mutual ſecurity. As ſoon as he was come, he alſo ſent his Defiance to the *French* King, who was then at

Compiegne

[y] *Engl. Atl.* 4 *Vol. p.* 233.

Compiegne in *Valois*, whereat his Reſident Sr. *Lewis* of *Travemund*, who had always confidently affirmed that his Lord meant nothing leſs, was ſo aſhamed and confounded, that he would never after that return into *Brabant*, but died in *France* of ſorrow and vexation. AN. DOM. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

During this Siege, there were many Skirmiſhes and Rencounters; for the Town was well repleniſhed with good Men of War, the Biſhop [z] having lately received into the Walls *John* Duke of *Normandy*, King *Philips* Son, with 500 Men of Arms, beſides the ordinary Garriſon and the Forces ſent thither before, upon the Defiances of King *Edward* and his Allies. And many times there went forth from the Army ſtrong Detachments to fetch in Proviſion, or to ſeek for Adventures abroad; among whom the Lord *John* of *Hainault*, and the Lord of *Faulquemont*, with their Men, rode conſtantly together as Companions in Arms, and burnt and waſted greatly the Country of *Cambreſis*. One day among others the two foreſaid Lords with 500 Spears and a 1000 other Souldiers in their Company, went and preſented themſelves before the Caſtle of *Oiſy* in *Cambreſis*, which belonged at that time to the Lord of *Coucy*, and made there a very vigorous Aſſault: But the Beſieged defended themſelves ſo well, that they received little or no Diſadvantage; ſo that the Lords were fain to return again without obtaining their purpoſe.

[z] *Mezeray* 2. *part.* 3 *tom. p.* 15.

But the Aſſaults that were given to the City of *Cambray* it ſelf were ſurely both many and very fierce, thô not much more ſucceſsfull: Once eſpecially the young Earl of *Hainault*, with ſome Troops of *Engliſh* mixt with his own Men, on a *Saturday*, gave a terrible Aſſault at the Gate of *Cambray*, that looks towards St. *Quintins*; there was a young luſty *Engliſh* Eſquire of honourable Parentage, called *John Chandos*, who afterwards became a great Lord and a Noble Captain, of whoſe rare Valour and wiſe Conduct this our Hiſtory will produce many famous Inſtances. This valiant Eſquire caſt himſelf firſt of any between the Barriers and the Gate, where he was preſently taken up by an Eſquire of *Vermandois*, called *John* of St. *Dizier*; and ſo between theſe two there were performed many notable Feats of Arms, that it was a gallant ſight to behold them, till new-comers on both ſides parted them: For *John Chandos* was ſo well follow'd by others both *Engliſh* and *Hainalders*, that the Barriers were clearly won by force, the Earl himſelf being now entred, with his Marſhals, Sr. *Gerard* of *Verchin* and Sr. *Henry Dantoigne* and others, who adventur'd their Bodies couragiouſly to crown their Names with Immortality. At another Gate called the Gate *Robert*, the mean while fought Sr. *John* of *Hainault* the Earls Uncle, with the Lord of *Faulquemont*, the Lord of *Engien*, and the Lord *Walter Manny* and their Companies, who maintained a fierce and honourable Aſſault: But *Cambray* was not to be won eaſily, the *French* King had ſo well furniſhed the Place with valiant Knights and Eſquires, who delighted in Arms, and defended themſelves and the City ſo bravely, that the Aſſailants got nothing that day but dry Blows, and at laſt returned to their Lodgings weary and well beaten. For the Duke of *Normandy's* Preſence, and the hopes of a ſpeedy Relief from the King his Father, was an invincible Bulwark to them againſt Deſpair, and the Biſhop of *Cambray* preached well to the Souldiers chiefly for his own Sake: For he was the firſt Occaſion of betraying the City to King *Philip* in hate to the Emperour, who was excommunicate by the Pope. To this Siege came *John* the young Earl of *Namur* at the Earl of *Heinalts* deſire, to ſerve the King of *England*: But he at his firſt coming declared, "That he would uſe his Utmoſt endeavours in the King of *Englands* Service, while he "ſhould continue within the bounds of the Empire, but as ſoon as ever he ſhould en- "ter the Realm of *France*, he ſaid he muſt take his leave of him, and go to the Ser- "vice of the *French* King, who had retained him before. Of the ſame Reſolution was the Earl of *Hainalt*, for he had privately commanded his Captains on pain of Death, that none of them ſhould preſume to act any thing of Hoſtility within the *French* Pale.

VII. While thus the King of *England* held Siege before *Cambray* with 40000 Men of Arms, beſides Archers and Footmen, and hardly preſſed the Beſieged with continual Aſſaults, King *Philip* made his General Rendezvous at *Perone* in *Vermandois* a Tract of *Picardy*, 5 leagues from *Cambray*, and news came daily to the Camp of his great Preparations to raiſe the Siege. King *Edward* hereupon conſulted with the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, in whom he repoſed an entire Confidence, demanding of him, whether it were better to March forward toward *Perone*, and bravely meet his Adverſary in his own Realm, or ſtill to lie before *Cambray* till he ſhould win it by Force. He, as he was a Perſon of rare Wiſdom, concurred with the Lords of *England* in this Opinion, "That "ſince the City was ſtrong and well furniſhed with Warriers, Victuals and Ammuniti-

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"on, so that it would require much time to constrain it, and that they were not "sure to win it at last, since especially the Winter season drew on apace, and they as "yet had done nothing worthy the Fame of so gallant an Army, but lay in a man- "ner idle at much Charge and Expence: Upon these Reasons they judg'd it best for "his Majesty, to leave an uncertain and unprofitable Siege, and to set forward into the "Realm of *France*, where they might find more Forage, and plenty of all things, "and in all likelihood presently obtain a Battle. This Advice prevailing, the Army was order'd to rise from before *Cambray*, and to follow the Marshals Banners: Then their Tents and Pavilions, and all manner of Harness being truss'd up, they departed thence in good order toward Mount St. *Martin* on the Borders of *France*: The Marshals of the *English* Army were *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Hugh Audely* Earl of *Gloceſter*, with *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*; the Lord High-Constable was *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*; and thus they all passed the River of *Skell* on [a] St. *Matthews* day, at their ease, the whole Country of *Cambresis* being destroyed as they went along, with Fire. But when the Earl of *Hainault* had accompanied the King of *England* as far as the Empires Bounds reached that way, and that he should pass the River and enter the Realm of *France*, he then took leave of the King his Brother-in-Law, saying, "He would ride no further with him at that time, for King *Phi-* "*lip* his Uncle had sent for him, and he would not incurr his Displeasure, but inten- "ded now to serve him in *France*, as he had done to King *Edward* in the Empire. So he and the Earl of *Namur* with their Men rode back to *Quesnoy* in *Hainalt*, at which place the Earl for the present dismist most of his Men, commanding them to be ready when he should send for them; for he said, that shortly he design'd to go and help his Uncle King *Philip*: But the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Gueldre*, and the other *German* Lords with all their Troops went over the River with King *Edward*; as did also the Lord *John* of *Heinalt* and his Brigade, by the express Leave of the Earl his Nephew.

[a] *Knighton p.* 2574.

As soon as the Army was got over the great River of *Skell* into the Realm of *France*, [b] among many others, whom King *Edward* Knighted at that time, one whereof was *John Chandos* aforesaid, he called unto him a young lusty Esquire, a Native of *Brabant*, whose right Name was *Henry Eam*, thô commonly called *Henry* of *Flanders*; and there presently he Dubbed him Knight, assigning him at the same time for his better maintenance 200 *l.* Sterling *per annum*, to be raised of certain Lands in *England*. This Gentleman was of great Nobility and Valour, but above all of singular Loyalty to King *Edward*, and of extraordinary strength of Body, and of a promising Aspect; whereby he purchased such esteem from this King, who was a wonderfull Judge of mens Persons, that he was afterwards by him chosen to be one of the First Founders of the most Noble Order of the Garter. But in this our History he shall go by the Name of Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders*, that being his more usual Title in *Froisard*, his Name of *Eam* or *Esme*, seldom occurring: Which gave occasion to the learned Esquire *Ashmole* to say, that he could meet with little or nothing relating to him, whereas we shall find frequent mention of his Honourable Actions under the foresaid Title, but indeed nothing under his true Name of *Eam*. Thô 'tis worth our Observation, that as here *Froisard* says truly, how he was now first made a Knight by the King of *England* with a Grant of 200 *l. per annum*; so we shall find, that he was again Knighted by the Prince of *Wales* his own Hands, with an Allowance from him of an 100 Marks *per annum* more, as will fully appear from an Instrument made unto him [c] eight Years after this by the Prince himself, and two Years after confirmed by the King: Thô the second Knighthood was as I suppose, that he was then made Banneret. After this King *Edward* marched forward, till he came to the Abby of St. *Martin*, where he tarried two Days, his People lying abroad in the Country, where they made great Havock of all things, and the Duke of *Brabant* was lodged in another Abby hard by.

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 39.

[c] *Vid. ad An. Reg.* 23.

The King of *France* being [d] still at *Compeigne* a City of *Valois*, when he heard of King *Edwards* approach towards him, enforced his Summons, and presently dispatch'd away the Lord *Ralph* Earl of *Ewe* and of *Guisnes*, his Constable, to St. *Quintin*, a chief City of *Picardy*, to keep the Town and Frontiers there against his Enemies; the Lord *William de Coucy* he sent to defend his own Lands, and the Lord of *Hesdin* unto his, besides many other Men of Arms, which he sent to *Guise* and to *Ribemont*, to *Bethune* and the Fortresses joyning to the Frontiers: He for his part went for *Perone*, intending there to make his general Rendezvous.

[d] *Froiſ. c.* 39.

Now while King *Edward* lay at the Abby of *Mount St. Martin*, his Men overran all the Country as far as *Bapaume*, and almost to *Perone* it self, and to St. *Quintin*:

They

They found the Country rich and plentifull; for it had seen no War of many years. It chanced among many other Adventures too long to be rehearsed, that the young Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders*, being desirous to behave himself worthy of the Knighthood he had lately received, together with other Knights, whose chief Leader was the Lord *John* of *Hainalt*, and in his Company his Friend the Lord *Faulquemont*, the Lord of *Begues*, the Lord of *Landrecy*, the Lord of *Lens* and divers Others, the whole amounting to 500 Men of Arms; these altogether took notice of a Town thereabouts, call'd *Hondecourt*, wherein many of the Country People were gather'd together in trust of the Strength of the Place, and had thither convey'd all their best Moveables. Sr. *Arnold* of *Baquehen*, and Sr. *William* of *Dunnort* with their Men had well view'd the Place before, and had given it o're, as not hoping to do any good there: For the Captain of the Place was an Abbot of great Wisdom, Strength and Valour, and he had caused to be set overthwart the street without the Town strong Barriers of Timber in manner of a Grate, every Bar being about half a foot thick and near a foot distant from each other: Within which were great quantities of Stones, Quick-lime, and other Ammunition, and sufficient numbers of good hardy Souldiers to defend the Place. But when the foresaid Lords came thither, they alighted from their Horses and came boldly on foot to the Barriers with their Swords in their Hands, where they made a brave Assault, and were as resolutely received by them that were within. There stood the Abbot himself arm'd at all points, who gave and took many a shrew'd Blow that day; and they within cast out stones, pieces of Timber, Pots full of burning Lime, Pitch and Tarr, wherewith they hurt many of the Assailants: But Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders* was still close at the Barriers foyning and striking lustily with his good Sword, till the Abbot with his Gauntlets took hold of his sword in both his hands so forcibly, that at last he laid hold on Sr. *Henry's* Arm, and drew it to him thrô the Barriers up to the shoulder; nor is it to be doubted, but he had drawn Sr. *Henry's* Body thrô had the space been wide enough; he was of so great strength. Yet for all this Sr. *Henry* would not let go his Sword, thô to save his Life, which he valued not equally with his Honour: But at the same time the other Knights and Esquires that were next him, laid all at once at the Abbot, so that by long contending at last they rescued Sr. *Henry*, but the Sword was left behind: "Which Sword, says Sr. *John Froisard*, as I passed that way "sometime after, the Monks of the Abby shew'd me as a Rarity, in memory of so va- "liant an Abbot. This Assault endured thus till Night, and many were slain and hurt on both sides, especially a Knight of *Holland* belonging to the Lord *John* of *Hainault*, whose name was *Min Heer van Herment*; he among Others was slain and many were wounded grievously: After all therefore, when the *Flemish*, *Heinalders*, *English* and *Almains*, saw the great Obstinacy and Resolution of those that were within, and how they were like to get nothing there but what would cost them very dear, they withdrew from the Assault toward night and returned to the Camp.

AN. DOM. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

Now on *Monday* the 4 of *October*, at the instant request of the Duke of *Brabant* to admit of a Treaty of Peace with *France*, at Mount St. *Martin* [c] the King grants unto the said Duke Power in his Name, to give safe Conduct to such Persons as he should think fit, to come on the *French* Kings Behalf, and meet with his Commissioners at any Place within two or three Leagues from his Camp, to treat of Peace; the same Power to continue till the *Friday* following, being the 8 of *October*, and all that day; but nothing to purpose being then effected, I shall pass this matter by.

C. Dom. Lit.

[c] *Ashmole p. 650. ex Pat. Concess. hominib. Angl. & Vascon. 13 Ed. 3. m. 12.*

While King *Edward* lay here (among Others, whom he advanced to divers Honours, as well Foreigners as *English*) conceiving [f] a great Hope from the forward Youth, Strength, Air and Beauty of Sr. *Lawrence Hastings*, a noble Baron of this Realm, at that time but just arrived to full Age; he resolved to spurr on his promising Vertue by the incentives of Honour: Wherefore considering, that he was descended from the Lady *Isabella*, Eldest Sister, and at last Coheir with *Emery de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, he declared and by Charter constituted him Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Prerogative and Honour of a *Count-Palatine*, as appears by the Letters Patents, bearing Date *apud Montem Martini*, 13° *Octob. Anno Regni* 13. *Anno Domini* 1339.

[f] *Ex aptis Juventutis ejus auspiciis circumspectionis & elegantiæ præsagium concepimus, Lit. Patent. apud Selden. Titles of Honor p. 644. & Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 576.*

The * next Morning King *Edward* went from Mount St. *Martin*, commanding on pain of Death, as well in piety towards God, as in gratitude to the Monks his Hosts, that no man should presume to do any harm or injury to the Abby. Then they entred *Vermandois*, and that day took up their Quarters betimes on the Mount of St. *Quintin* in good Order of Battle. The Men of War and others in St. *Quintins* might easily discern their Banners; but they had no great desire to disturb them. They thought it sufficient if they might preserve themselves: So that thô the Van-currours of the

* 14 Octob.

English

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Engliſh Hoſt came riding up to the Barriers to skirmiſh, none yet came out againſt them. The next day the Lords of the Kings Council debated which way they ſhould proceed, and by advice of the Duke of *Brabant* they reſolv'd for *la Tieraſche*; becauſe that way their Proviſion came in moſt plentifully: And if King *Philip* followed them, as they thought he would moſt certainly do, then they were determin'd to expect him in the plain Fields, and there to give him Battle.

Thus they marched forward in three Great Battalia's, the *Engliſh* Marſhals and the *Germans* made up the Firſt, the King of *England* led the Main, and the Duke of *Brabant* brought up the Reer: In this Order they rode forth burning and waſting the Country for three or four Leagues a day, but always they took up their Lodgings betimes. One Brigade of *Engliſh* and *Germans* paſſed the River of *Somme* by the Abby of *Vermand*, and waſted and overran the Country all above: Another under the Lord *John* of *Hainault*, the Lord of *Faulquemont*, and Sr. *Arnold* of *Baquehen* rode to *Origny* St *Bennet*, a good Town and a rich, but it was not greatly fortified; ſo that it was preſently taken by Aſſault and Plunder'd, an Abby of Nuns being violated and the Town it ſelf fired. Then the Army proceeded toward *Guiſe* and *Ribemont*, but the King lodged at *Vehortes* and ſtaid there one day, while his Men overran and deſtroy'd the Country all about. The next Day the King took the way to *la Flemenguere* to go to *Leſthe* in *Tieraſche*, and the Marſhals and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* with 500 Spears paſſed the River of *Oyſe* and entred into *Laonnois*, toward the Lands of the Lord *William* of *Coucy*, where they deſtroy'd St. *Gawen* and the Town of *Marle* with Fire. At night they lodged in the Valley beſide *Laon*, and the next Day they drew again to the main Hoſt; For they had found by examination of their Priſoners, that the *French* King was come to St. *Quintins* with an Hundred Thouſand Men, and intended there to paſs the *Somme*, and follow King *Edward* to fight him. But in the return to the Army they fired a great Town called *Creſſy ſur Serre*, with many other Towns and Hamlets thereabout. As for the Lord *John* of *Hainault* and his Company, who were 500 Spears, they went to *Guiſe*, where they burnt the Town and beat down the Mills: And thô Sr. *John* found within the Fortreſs his own Daughter, the Lady *Jane* Wife to *Lewis* Earl of *Blois*, who begg'd of him to ſpare the Inheritance of his Son-in-Law, the Earl her Husband; yet for all that he proceeded in what he had begun, and utterly deſtroy'd all but the Fortreſs, and then returned to the King, whom he found at the Abby of *Sarnaques*, and ſtill his Men rode about to fetch in Prey for the Army, and to ſpoil the Enemies Country. Among others the Lord of *Falquemont* with an hundred Spears, went to *Plommion*, a conſiderable Town in *Tieraſche*, which he found empty; for the Inhabitants were fled into a great Wood, having carried all their Goods with them, and had fortified themſelves in the Wood by felling of Trees round about them. The *Almains* having firſt ſet fire to the Town, rode thither and beheld their manner of Defence; but here they met with Sr. *Arnold Baquehen* and his Company, who joyning together aſſayled them there in the Wood: The Townſmen defended themſelves to their power, but theſe were Men of War, and by removing the Timber on one hand, and offering to ſet it on fire on the other, preſently drove them to flight, having in the Medly ſlain and grievouſly wounded little more than 40 or 50 of them, but all that ever they had was left behind, a prey to the Conquerour: Thus on all hands was the Country overran; for they did what they pleaſed, and as yet found no manner of impeachment, [g] thô they had burnt near a 1000 Towns and Villages.

[g] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.128. n.30.*

When this Havock began to be made in *France*, on [h] St. *Matthew's* Feſtival at night, the Lord *Geoffry Scroop* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, led the Cardinal *Bernard de Monte Faventio*, who had ſo boldly inſulted to King *Edward* of the ſtrength of *France*, up into an high Tower, ſhewing him the Frontiers of that Kingdom, where for about 14 or 15 leagues together, it ſeem'd as if all the Country was on a light fire: Whereupon Sr. *Geoffry* ſaid to the Cardinal, "My Lord, what thinketh your Eminence now? "Doth not this Silken Line, wherewith you ſay *France* is encompaſſed, ſeem to you in "great danger of being crack'd, if not broken? The Cardinal was ſo amaz'd, that he anſwer'd nothing, but fell down as Dead for ſorrow and fear.

[h] *Knighton p. 2574. Stow p. 235.*

About this time there was [i] brought to King *Edward* in his Camp a Letter from the Pope, bearing Date from *Avignon* the iv. of the Ides of *Octob. Anno Pontificatus* v^to^, the Subſtance whereof was, to let him know the great Propenſity of the *Roman* See to his Perſon and Welfare; the Edicts and Sentences ſet forth againſt *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and how aſſiduouſly he had ſought to reduce him to the Boſom of the Church; and adviſing him not any longer to cleave or adhere unto Him or his Intereſt, till he ſhould be reconciled to the Church; becauſe of thoſe heavy Penalties, which were denounced againſt

[i] *Odoric. Rainal. ad hunc an. §. 10 ex Tom. 5. Epiſt. ſecr. 417.*

againſt Him and his Adherents, into which himſelf was thereby plunged: That *Lewis* was not really Emperour, nor any of his Actions valid, or done by Imperial Authority; that he moved War unjuſtly againſt the Biſhop and People of *Cambray*, to which he then laid Siege; that therefore he muſt not ſuffer theſe things in ſilence, but unleſs he would reform himſelf and forbear thoſe Courſes, he ſhould be obliged, thô unwilling to proceed againſt him, according to the extent of his Apoſtolick Power. By that time this Letter was received, King *Edward* had, as we ſhew'd, rais'd his Siege from before *Cambray*, and was now enter'd into the *French* Pale with Fire and Sword. AN. DOM. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

VIII. In this manner King *Edward* paſſed through *France* for about the ſpace of 5 Weeks, and he ſo ſcoured the Country with his Armies, that in a manner all the Lands of [k] *Cambreſis*, *Vermandois*, *Tieraſche* and *Laonnois*, and other Parts of *Picardy* and *Artois*, were wholly waſted, except thoſe Cities which were ſworn to him, with Churches and Monaſteries, which he ſpared for Devotion, or Caſtles, which were too ſtrongly fortified. The Inhabitants of the Country fled on all hands, nor was there any that offer'd to reſiſt him: Thô the *French* King had gather'd ſeveral great Armies, ſome being diſperſed about in Walled Towns, and he himſelf with the reſidue of his Standing Forces lying now in and about the ſtrong City of St. *Quintin*. After this King *Edward* went from *Sarnaques* to *Morevil*, where he tarried one Night only; the next Day he reached *la Flamenguere*, where he lodged his Men all cloſe about him, being in number more than Fourty Thouſand ſtrong: And here it was reſolved in Council, that King *Edward* ſhould abide his Adverſary and give him Battle. King *Philip* on the other hand being removed from St. *Quintin* with all his Army was gone to *Vironfoſſe* in *Cambreſis*, where he tarried (his Forces dayly encreaſing) and proteſted, "That he would "not ſtir thence, till he had fought with the King of *England* and his Allies, ſince they "were now within two Leagues one of another. [k] *Stow ibid.* [l] *Froiſ. c. 40.*

When the young Earl of *Hainault* who was ſtill at *Queſnoy*, ready provided with Men of War, underſtood that the *French* King his Uncle, was with an Army Royal at *Vironfoſſe*, reſolved to give battle to the *Engliſh*, he rode directly thither with 500 Spears, and preſented his Service to King *Philip*. But he might even as well have ſtay'd away, for the Thanks that he had now, or the Reward that he found after: For King *Philip* was in his heart extreamly diſguſted at him, becauſe he came but lately from the Service of his Adverſary the King of *England*, with whom he had been during the Siege of *Cambray*. But the Earl excuſed himſelf ſo diſcreetly, ſaying, "That "what he did then was of meer neceſſity, becauſe he was bound to ſerve the Empe"rour or his Deputy within the Bounds of the Empire; but what he did now, was of his "meer Choice, and therefore ought to be taken as a token of his Good-will; ſo that at laſt the King and his Council either was, or ſeem'd to be content: And ſo the Marſhals of *France* order'd him his Station, which, either in ſpight or policy, they appointed in the Main Battle, thereby to fight againſt King *Edward* his Brother-in-Law.

Thus theſe two Puiſſant Monarchs, lay both with their goodly Armies in the plain Fields between *Vironfoſſe* and *Flemenguere*, within two Leagues one of another: But as yet neither Army advanced. King *Edward* therefore adviſing with his Lords in a Council of War, asked them what they thought beſt to do; for he ſaid, that his Intention was to fight it out without any more delay. Then the Lords beheld each other, and at laſt deſired the Duke of *Brabant* firſt to open his Mind: He like a Gallant Souldier preſently advis'd to fight; "for otherwiſe ſaid he, we cannot part without ſome "Blemiſh upon our Honour: Wherefore I would counſel you to ſend Heralds to King "*Philip* to demand of him a Day of Battle. Accordingly an Herald of the Duke of *Gueldre's*, being well-skill'd in the *French* Tongue, was ſent on this Errant; he rode forth till he came to the *French* Hoſt, where being admitted before the King and his Council, he ſpake aloud theſe Words, "Sir, the King of *England* is here hard by in "the Fields, and deſires to fight you Power againſt Power: And if you pleaſe to ap"point him a Day, he will not fail to meet You upon the Word of a King. This Meſſage being thus deliver'd on a *Wedneſday* the 20 of *October*, King *Philip* yielded either to give or take Battle two Days after, to wit, on the *Friday* enſuing; and in token of his acceptance of the News, richly rewarded the Herald with Furred Gowns and other Gifts beſtow'd on him, as well by himſelf, as other the Princes and Lords of his Hoſt, and ſo diſmiſſed him again. Thus was the Day of Battle agreed on, all the Lords and Captains on both Sides being informed thereof, and commanded to be ready accordingly. C. Lit. Dom.

On the *Thurſday* Morning, being the 21 of *October*, two Knights belonging to the Earl

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Earl of *Hainault*, the one the Lord of *Faginelles*, and the other the Lord of *Tupenay*, Mounting their Horſes, rode forth together without any other Company from the *French* Hoſt, with a Deſign to view the *Engliſh* Army. So they rode along coaſting from far the *Engliſh* Camp, till upon their approach almoſt within ſhot of the firſt Battail, the Lord of *Faginelles* Horſe chanced to take the Bridle in his Mouth ſo ſtrongly, that his Maſter could not rule him: Wherefore much againſt his Will he was carried by the Horſe into the *Engliſh* Army, among the Lords of *Almaine*, who well ſaw he was not of their ſide, and ſo took him Priſoner. He and his Horſe were taken by five or ſix Gentlemen of *Almaine*, who ſtraight began to examine him, in order to appoint him his Ranſom. And when they underſtood he was of *Hainault*, they asked him if he had any acquaintance with the Lord *John* of *Hainault*, he anſwer'd, yes; and deſired them for Godſake to carry him into his Preſence; for he ſaid he knew well that he would acquit him of his Ranſom. The *Almains* did not care how ſoon their Money came, wherefore they willingly carried him before the Lord of *Beaumont*, who knew him preſently, and bought him of his Maſters. Thus was the Lord of *Faginelles* eaſily redeemed, having his Horſe alſo reſtored unto him at the Requeſt of the Lord *Beaumont*, Sr. *John* of *Hainault*. No other Adventure worth our Notice happen'd that day.

[m] *Froiſ. c.* 41. *f.*23. *Du Cheſne l.*15. *p.*648.

On the *Fryday* early in the Morning, [m] both Armies prepared for Battle, and every Lord heard Maſs among his own Men; making their Confeſſions, and obtaining Abſolution. The *Engliſh* drew forth in the Field, all ranged in three Battails on Foot; their Horſes and Baggage being put aſide in a little Wood behind them, which they had fortifi'd. Their firſt Battail was led by the Duke of *Gueldre*, the Marqueſs of *Nuys*, the Marqueſs of *Blankeberg*, the Lord *John* of *Hainault*, the Earl of *Mons*, the Earl of *Savenier*, the Lord of *Valkenberg*, Sr. *William du Fort*, Sr. *Arnold* of *Baquehen*, the whole Body conſiſting for the moſt part of *Almains*, (except 4000 *Engliſh*) to the Number of 8000, in all 12000 Fighting Men, ranged orderly under twenty two Banners, and ſixty Penons, or Streamers. The ſecond Battail (which in the March was the laſt) the Duke of *Brabant* brought up, accompanied with many Lords and Knights of his own Country, as the Lord of *Kuck*, the Lord of *Bergen op Zoom*, the Lord of *Breda*, the Lord of *Rhodes*, the Lord of *Boſleduc*, the Lord of *Burgivalle*, the Lord of *Stonenort*, the Lord of *Wenden*, the Lord of *Elka*, the Lord of *Caſſuben*, and Sr. *John* of *Caſſuben* his Brother, the Lord of *Duysburg*, Sr. *Thierry* of *Walcourt*, Sr. *Ralph van Gratz*, Sr. *John Iliffe*, Sr. *Giles* of *Krainburg*, Sr. *Walter* of *Horburg*, the three Brethren of *Harlingen*, Sr. *Henry Eam*, commonly call'd Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders*, and divers other Barons and Knights of *Germany*, who were all under the Duke of *Brabants* Banner that day, as the Lord of *Hailbrun*, the Lord of *Guiten*, Sr. *Hector Vilain*, Sr. *John* of *Rhodes*, Sr. *William* of *Strasburg*, Sr. *Goſwin de la Mulhauſen*, Sr. *Vauflart van Guiſtle*, and many others: In all, the Duke of *Brabant* had 12000 Men under 24 Banners, and 80 Penons, or Streamers. The third and Greateſt Battail of all was led by King *Edward* of *England*, ſurrounded and attended by his *Engliſh* Captains, the Chief whereof were theſe, *Henry Plantagenet* Earl of *Derby*, the Kings Coſin; *Henry Burwaſh*, the Noble and [n] Warlike Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Richard Bury* Biſhop of *Durham*, the Kings Tutor, *William Montagu* Earl of *Salisbury*, *William Bohun*, Earl of *Northampton*, *Hugh Audley* Earl of *Gloceſter*, *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, who was called the Earl of *Richmond* at that time (becauſe the Duke of *Bretagne* for being on the *French* Kings part, had lately forfeited that Title) the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *Henry Percy*, the Lord *William Roos*, the Lord *John Moubray*, the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, the Lord *John de la Ware*, the Lord *Ralph Baſſet*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord *Nicolas Cantilupe*, the Lord *John Tibetot*, or *Tiptot*, the Lord *Fulk Fitz-Warine*, the Lord *John Liſle*, the Lord *Robert Benhale* of *Norfolk*, Sr. *Otho Grandiſon*, Brother to the Lord *Peter Grandiſon*, Sr. *Lewis Beauchamp*, and Sr. *John Beauchamp*, which latter was younger Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*; and laſtly, Sr. *John Chandos*, lately Knighted by the King, of whom much Honour is to be ſpoken in this our Hiſtory. The King had with him in all, beſides his Royal Standard, 28 Banners, 80 Penons, or Streamers, 6000 Men of Arms, Knights, and Eſquires, and 12000 Select Archers. Beſides he had ſet by another Choice Battail, as on a Wing, whereof the Earl of *Warwick*, *Thomas Beauchamp* was Chief Leader, and with him were *Lawrence Haſtings* the young Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Thomas Barkley*, the Lord *John Multon* of *Egremont*, and others: This Battail conſiſted of 5000 Men of Arms, all on Horſeback. When thus every Lord ſtood under his Banner among his own Men, as the Marſhals had Commanded, the King of *England* Mounted on a large White

[n] *Knighton p.* 2577. *n.* 40.

White Palfrey, and only attended with the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, and the Lord *Walter Manny* rode about before all his Battails, and in the Head of each of them, with a very cheerfull Countenance, ſweetly deſired all the Lords, and others, "that they would that day do their utmoſt to defend his Honour, and their own; and they all unanimouſly promiſed him ſo to do. After this he returned to his own Battail, and ſet every thing in good Order, Commanding that none ſhould preſume to go before the Marſhals Banners. AN. DOM. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

In the mean while the *French* [o] Army was in like Manner diſpoſed into Three Great Battails, each whereof contained 15000 Men of Arms, and 20000 on Foot, in all 35000 Men; the whole Three amounting to 105000 Warriers: Among whom were Four Kings, five Dukes, Twenty ſix (or as [p] others ſay, Thirty ſix) Earls, more than Four Thouſand Lords and Knights, and above 60000 of the Commons of *France*. The Kings that were there, were *Philip* himſelf, King of *France*, *John* of *Luxemburg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and *David* King of *Scotland*; The Dukes were *John* Duke of *Normandy*, King *Philips* Eldeſt Son, *John Dreux* Duke of *Bretagne*, *Lewis* the Great Duke of *Bourbon*, *Reginald* Duke of *Lorrain*, *Walter de Brenne* Duke of *Athens*: The Earls, *Charles* Earl of *Alencon* King *Philips* Brother, *Lewis* of *Creſſy* Earl of *Flanders*, *William* Earl of *Hainault*, *Gaſton Phœbus* Earl of *Foix*, *John* Earl of *Armagnac*, *Amè* Earl of *Geneva*, *Amè* Earl of *Savoy*, *Lewis* Earl of *Blois*, the Earl of *Foreſtes*, the Earl of *Bar*, the Earl *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, the Earl of *Longeville*, the Earl of *Eſtampes*, the Earl of *Vendoſme*, the Earl of *Harcourt*, the Earl of St. *Pol*, the Earl of *Guiſnes*, the Earl of *Boulogne*, the Earl of *Rouſſy*, the Earl of *Dampmartin*, the Earl of *Valentinois*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of *Sancerre*, the Earl of *Dreux*, the Earl of *Gaſcoigne*, the Earl of *Languedoc*, and many more Vicounts and others, too tedious to enumerate.

[o] *Froiſ. c. 41. ad fin. & du Cheſne l. 15. p. 648.*

[p] *Sala apud Du Cheſne ibid.*

It was a Glorious and Raviſhing ſight no doubt, to behold theſe two Armies ſtanding thus Regularly embattel'd in the Field, their Banners and Standards waving in the Wind; their proud Horſes barbed, and Kings, Lords, Knights, and Eſquires richly Armed, and all ſhining in their Surcoats of Sattin and Embroidery.

IX. And now it may be juſtly expected, that a Bloody Battle ſhould enſue upon theſe vaſt Preparations of theſe two Puiſſant Monarchs: But we ſhall ſee all come to nothing, upon theſe Reaſons, which now I ſhall more diſtinctly ſet down. King *Philip* of *Valois* was, no doubt, a Man of ſingular Courage, and as the Sequel ſhew'd, rather too Raſh, than Timerous. He had all along anſwer'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, when they offer'd Peace upon eaſie Conditions; [q] "that the King their Maſter ſhould never Re- "joyce of two Foot of Ground in all the Realm of *France*: And had often ſworn by "his Meſſengers, that King *Edward* ſhould not tarry one Day in his Realm without "Battle, let him come when ever he would. The [r] Conſtable of *France* alſo, by Command of the King his Maſter, had ſent Letters to King *Edward*, containing among other things, that if he would chooſe out a Place not Fortified with Trees, Ditches, or Bogs, the King of *France* without fail would afford him Battle: Which ſame thing was alſo affirmed by the King of *Bohemia*, and the Duke of *Lorrain* in their ſeveral Letters under their Hands and Seals; beſide King *Philips* late Promiſe to *Windſor* Herald, whereby he Obliged himſelf to come and give him Battle on this Day, ſufficiently ſhew'd his Reſolution. But [s] all the Lords of his Council were not of the ſame Mind: For thô ſome urged, "that it would be an indelible Stain of diſhonour, if now they "ſhould decline to come to the puſh, ſeeing their Enemies were ſo near them in their "own Country, and had both demanded, and been promiſed Battle: Yet others of deeper Judgement replyed; "That it would be the moſt Unwarrantable Indiſcretion "in the World, to Commit all to the Hazard of One Engagement: For (ſaid they) "if Fortune prove adverſe to Us, Our King is in Jeopardy of looſing his Crown; and "thô he ſhould Conquer his Enemies, yet will he never be the nearer to gain the Crown "of *England*, or the Lands of any of King *Edwards* Allies. Beſide (which gave the "Greateſt Suſpicion to King *Philip*) who knows, ſaid they, whether all your Subjects "are firm to You or no; and that no Lords here preſent may Prefer King *Edward*, or "Revolt to him, as the Lord of *Artois* hath done already? With theſe Debates time ſlipt away, till Afternoon: When of a ſudden there [t] ſtarted an Hare near the *Frenchmen*, whereat thoſe that ſaw her, rais'd a Loud ſhouting; ſo that the Hindermoſt thought thereby, that the Armies were now upon the Point of Engaging; Wherefore haſtily they clap'd on their Helmets, and took their Spears in their Hands, and (after the Manner to Encourage their Men to the Battle) many New Knights were thereupon made, eſpecially Fourteen were then Created by the Earl of *Hainault*, who were afterward

[q] *Knighton p. 2574. n. 50. & 60.*

[r] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 128. n. 30. & 40. & Knighton p. 2574 n. 60. & 2575. n. 1. ad n. 10.*

[s] *Froiſ. c. 42.*

[t] *Froiſ. ibid. & Du Cheſne p. 649.*

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ward in Derision called *Knights of the Hare*: And some have made more Abusive Observations thereupon.

But all this while both the Armies stood still; King *Edward*, because he was unequal in Number, and had beside a Promise to have Battle, presented unto him, if he would abide in the open Field; and also, because he could never imagine, that so Glorious an Army with Four Kings their Leaders, and such a Number of the Prime Nobility of *France*, should ever refuse an Enemy that expected them, took no thought of being the Aggressor; and King *Philip*, as yet, doubted on the foremention'd Reasons, whether he should proceed or no; just at which time there were brought in to the Host Letters of Recommendation from *Robert* King of *Sicily*, and *Naples*, to the *French* King and his Council, which dash'd the whole business. Now this [a] King was look'd upon in those Days to be the most Famous of all Men for his extraordinary Skill in Astrology; whereby with the help of a good Genius, he could shrewdly (to say no more) guess at many Notable Events: He therefore, when he saw the Wars between *France* and *England* open, and that with all his own Personal Endeavours and Travels with the Pope at *Avignion*, he could no way prevent it, set himself to seek out earnestly some foreknowledge of the Event, if he might by any means comprehend any thing of the Fortune of these two Princes. Whether, from consideration of their several Nativities, both which are attainable (and as for Our King *Edward's*, together with that of his Son the Black-Prince, I think to present them to the Reader in the Close of this Work) or from what else he took his Opinion, I know not, but surely, he succeeded so well, that either he found out, or thought he did, "that if the *French* King should "Fight with King *Edward* of *England* in Person, he must infallibly expect to be discom-"fited; and that he saw those many ill Consequences, which would fall on the Noble "Realm of *France* by so Fatal a Miscarriage. Wherefore being a Prince extreamly addicted to the Interest of *France*, as one, who had not only adventur'd, but lost his Only Son in the Quarrel of that Kingdom, as I shew'd in the Battle of *Southampton*, he sent frequent Letters to King *Philip* his Cosin, and to his Council; (of all whom he was held in great Esteem for his Piety, Learning, and Knowledge in Judicial Astrology, as well as other Curiosities of Nature) earnestly desiring, "that by no means they would "adventure to give Battle to the *English*, whenever King *Edward* should be Personal-"ly present, especially at this time, that he saw many Dreadfull Calamities to be threat-"ned to *France*. I take no notice here of the pitifull Cavils of the Ignorant, or Prejudicated Critick, but reckon it my Duty to relate Matter of Fact, attested so credibly, as this is; and I am ready to believe, that such a thing might proceed from the Infinite Goodness of Almighty God towards *Christian* People, that by these Warnings King *Philips* fierce Mind might be rendred more susceptible of Offers of Peace, and all those Miseries, which were else to follow, be thereby prevented. Yet for all this King *Philip* was not absolutely perswaded from giving Battle, he was too Wise to give an Implicit Faith to things apparently of no great Authority: But however, as the Morning was wholly spent in the former Debates, so upon occasion of these Letters, and the Discourses ensuing thereon, the Afternoon was also taken up, and the Day in a manner quite worn out: So that at last leave was given for every Man to withdraw to his former Lodgings in the Camp. When the young Earl of *Hainault* saw by this Dishonourable delay, that now no Battle was like to happen, he immediately went off with all his Men in Displeasure, and that Night reach'd *Quesnoy*. Now toward the [x] Evening of this Day, three *French* Spies being brought before King *Edward*, and separately examin'd, declared, that King *Philip* Design'd on the *Saturday* following to Present him Battle, and that he was not encamped above a League and an half off. On the *Saturday* therefore, King *Edward* descended into the Field again, as before, and in the Forenoon there were taken certain of the *French* Scouts, who said, that the *French* were ready ranged in the Field, and Resolved to give them Battle. At which Report, the *English* were well pleased, as desiring above all things to bring the Matter to a full Tryal. But in the mean time some of our Scouts were taken, and among them a Knight of *Almain*, who confessed in Order the whole Array of the *English* Army, and their Ardent Desire to Fight. Hereupon the first Battail of the *French* was Order'd to Retreat, and they began to set up their Tents, and to encompass the Camp with a Ditch, and to cut down great Trees to lay between them and the Enemy, to hinder all sudden approach. But the *English* on the other Hand stood all Day in the Field on Foot, always looking for the coming of the *French*, but in vain: Wherefore toward the approach of the Evening, the Marshals of the Host, and others, considering, that they had waited enough that Day of all Reason, and that it was better to encamp by Daylight; commanded

to

[a] *Froissib. c.42. Mezeray p.15. Du Chesne p 649. Asmole p. 650. P. Æmyl. p.275. & cæteri ferè omnes.*

[x] *Knighton p. 2575. n. 10.*

to Horſe, and ſo went off on the Right hand towards *Aveſnes en Hainault*. But at the time of their removal King *Edward* ſent to the *French* King, telling him, that all the *Sunday* following he would expect him, as before, in the ſame place: Which alſo he did do. But he heard no more of him, but that on the *Saturday*, when the *Engliſh* took Horſe, with Deſign to go into their Night Quarters, the *French* Scouts without conſideration believing that they intended to fall on their Army, return'd in all haſte with ſuch a Report; ſo that the King of *France* thinking fit to retire to a more ſecure Place, there happen'd in the Reer ſuch a [y] Panick Terror, that for preſſing over haſtily on one another, there were loſt in a certain Miry Place more than a Thouſand Horſe. Yet when after this the Army was disbanded, becauſe being late in the Year, little more could now be done, when King *Philip* reflected on the whole Matter, he was extreamly diſpleaſed with himſelf, that he had thus declin'd fighting: But the Lords of his [z] Council told him, "that he had not loſt one jot of his Honour, ſince "he had Couragiouſly ſought out his Enemies, and Faced them boldly for ſeveral days, "and finally (for by that time King *Edward* alſo was return'd to *Antwerp*) had made "them quit his Realm without any Great Advantage. And they moreover ſaid, that "the King of *England* muſt be fain to make many vaſt and expenſive Voyages, before "he ſhould be able to Conquer *France*, unleſs the *Frenchmen* by their own heat and "raſhneſs would fling their Country away. King *Philip* however went the next day to St. *Omers*, and thence placed his Men of War in Garriſons, eſpecially at *Tournay*, *Lille* and *Douay*, and to other Towns bordering on the Empire. Sr. *Godmar du Fay*, a *Norman* Lord, was now made Captain of *Tournay*, and Sr. *Edward* Lord of *Beaujeu* was ſent to *Mortagne* confining on *Hainault* near the *Skell*: And having thus ſettled Affairs King *Philip* returns to *Paris*.

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[y] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 128. & *Knighton ibid.*

[z] *Freiſ. c.* 42.

X. The mean while King *Edward*, who knew nothing of the Departure of the *French* Army, ſtood after his uſual manner embattled'd in the Fields the next *Sunday*, on which Day the Lord of [a] *Andelys* was taken by the *Engliſh*: Then the King heard that the *French* Army was marched off, and retired to their own homes: Whereat he was extreamly amazed. But on the *Monday* the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh* Son to the Emperour, the Marqueſs of *Nuys* his Son in Law, the Duke of *Brabant* and the other *Germans* diſpoſed themſelves for home, becauſe of the ſharpneſs of the Weather, the Winter being already pretty well enter'd. King *Edward* gave them his leave to depart, and he himſelf went ſtraight to *Antwerp* in *Brabant*, where he had left his Queen, and her young Son Prince *Lionel*: Upon his Return to *Antwerp* he iſſued out another [b] Commiſſion to *John* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, Sr. *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, and Sr. *Geoffry Scroop* Knights, and *John Hufford* Archdeacon of *Ely*, to treat of Peace with *Philip* of *Valois* (as he is called in the Commiſſion) or with Commiſſioners from him; and a Month after, to wit on the 16 of *December*, the ſaid Commiſſion was renewed, upon adding *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk* to the forenamed Commiſſioners. The mean while the King kept his *Chriſtmas* in great Splendour at *Antwerp*, together with his Queen and her Ladies and many *German* Lords, moſt part of his Army remaining ſtill about him. To adorn the Solemnity the better, he had ſent for his Eldeſt Son Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter* (for he was not yet created Prince of *Wales*) whom he had left his Lieutenant or Warden of *England*, being now a Proper, Hopefull, Young Gentleman of almoſt ten Years of Age. His great Grace and exact Shape made him as acceptable to the Ladies Eyes, as his large and well-proportion'd Limbs rais'd a full Expectation of his future Manhood among the Lords both of *England* and *Almain*. And here it ſeems by what follows in the next Year, that a Match was, if not fully concluded, yet at leaſt propounded and well-nigh agreed on, between the ſaid Young Prince, and the Duke of *Brabants* Fair Daughter the Lady *Margaret*, at that time but four Years old; thô indeed the ſame thing had been projected the Year foregoing, as appears by [d] the Rolls. About the ſame time Prince *Otho* Duke of *Auſtria*, ſtirred up with the Fame of King *Edward*, with whom he had enter'd an [e] Alliance this Year, ſent and required the Lady *Iſabella* his Daughter in Marriage for his Young Son; the Letters beginning thus, "[f] To the moſt Excellent and Mag- "nificent Prince, the Lord *Edward*, the moſt Illuſtrious King of *England*, his Sincere and "moſt Dear Friend, "*Otho* by the Grace of God, Duke of *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Suabia* and "*Carinthia*, Lord of *Carniola*, *Moravia* and *Portænaon*, Earl of *Hapsburgh*, and *Chi-* "*burgh* and *Landtgrave* of *Alſatia*, with all Hearty and Devout Affection, wiſhes a good "Succeſs of his Deſires, and a continual Encreaſe of Health and Felicity, *&c.* But neither [g] of theſe Matches took effect, the Pope by the King of *France's* underhand-

[a] *Knighton p.* 2575. *n.* 50.

[b] *Aſhmole p.* 650 *ex Pat. inter Regem & diverſos Magnat. German.* 15 *Novemb.* 13 *Ed.* 3. *m.* 3.

[c] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 132.

[d] *Rot. Aleman.* 12 *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 17. *vid. Aſhmole p.* 675. & *Sandford p.* 184.

[e] 16 *Febr. Patentes inter Regem & diverſos Magnates German. de anno* 13 *Ed.* 3. *m.* 2.

[f] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 133.

[g] *Aſhmole p.* 675. & 676.

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dealing, ſtill refuſing a Diſpenſation for the Firſt (they being within the Third Degree of Conſanguinity) and the Other being otherwiſe hindred, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

At the End of this Year there came from the Pope to King *Edward* this Letter following, the like whereof He alſo at the ſame time ſent to King *Philip* of *France*.

* *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 129. *Conſimiles Literæ Regi Franciæ directæ, exſtant apud Odoric. Rainald. ad an.* §. 1339. 14.

"* *Benedict* the Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his moſt Dear Son in Chriſt, "*Edward* the Illuſtrious King of *England*, Greeting and Apoſtolick Benediction. While we "ſeriouſly conſider and deeply revolve in our Minds, how great hath been the Bounty of "the moſt High and Eternal King, and the Abundance of his moſt merciſull Goodneſs, that "when lately your Army (moſt Dear Son) and the Army of our moſt Dear Son in *Chriſt*, "the Illuſtrious King of *France*, ſtood ſo near together confronted in Battle Array, furiouſly "diſpos'd to a terrible Conflict on both ſides, thoſe miſerable Effects did not enſue, "which thoſe warlike Preparations and Force of Armed Men did threaten, to him we "pay the tribute of our Praiſe, ſince it ought to be eſteemed as the greateſt Gift of Al-"mighty God, and no leſs than a Miracle, gratiouſly wrought by the Goodneſs of the "Wiſdom of God, which never fails in its Diſpenſations. And ſurely it may be more "evidently gather'd, that ſo great an Effuſion of Blood of thoſe who had been re-"deem'd with the precious Blood of our Lord, as muſt needs have followed, if the "ſaid Armies had come to Battle at that time, to the great loſs and ſcandal of all "Chriſtendom, and to the hazard of many Souls, was by no means pleaſing to the moſt "High, who maketh *Wars to ceaſe*, and by the Prophet threatens *to ſcatter the Nati-"ons, that delight in War*. Your Royal Wiſdom alſo may conſider, how deeply both "You and the foreſaid King muſt have incurr'd the Divine Anger, if you had procee-"ded to hazard ſo many of thoſe, whoſe Souls and Bodies he hath ſo dearly ranſom-"ed: And it is to be feared, that without doubt God Almighty will moſt ſeverely "animadvert againſt him eſpecially, who of the two ſhould be moſt forward in pro-"moting ſuch Miſchief, whereby ſuch Slaughter and Confuſion would follow, that all "*Chriſtendom* would be ſhook thereby, and a Reformation of Peace and Concord, "would not only be rendred difficult, but which God of his infinite Mercy avert, im-"poſſible. And moreover it doth not ſeem leſs worthy of conſideration, how migh-"tily by occaſion of the preſent Wars, your Majeſties Subjects are, as it is ſaid, many "ways exhauſted of their Mony and other their Goods, and are like upon continuance "of ſuch Burthens (which God forbid) to be further grieved: And that the E-"vent of War is doubtfull, but eſpecially upon the Divine Indignation to be feared.

"Wherefore We more earneſtly in the Lord require and exhort your Royal Mag-"nificence, nevertheleſs beſeeching You by the Mercies of God, that taking the Pre-"miſes, and what elſe may occurr to your Royal Wiſdom, into your Princely Conſi-"deration, you may by taking Truce with the ſaid King and renewing the Peace, ob-"viate the dangers both of your Self (moſt Dear Son) and of your People; and ſo "pleaſe God, who loveth Peace, and delighteth in Peace-makers, rendring thereby your "ſelf more acceptable unto Him, and confirming the ſtrength of your whole Kingdom: "And that therefore you would incline to the wholſom Admonitions and Perſwaſi-"ons of our dear Sons *Peter* of the Title of St. *Praxedis*, Prieſt, and *Bertrand* of St. *Ma-"ry* in *Aquiro*, Deacon, Cardinals of the Apoſtolick See, our Nuntio's, who are zea-"lous of your Royal Honour and Succeſs, and whom we have lately by Advice of our "Brethren ſent to thoſe Parts for that purpoſe.

"Truly, conſidering the Premiſes, and that we might prevent the like dangers, and "innumerable more, which are ready to follow from the ſaid Wars, and that between "You (our moſt Loving Son) and the ſaid King, who is by the near Tye of Blood "and Affinity joyned unto You, the fulneſs of Peace and mutual Charity may flou-"riſh, We wiſh with moſt ardent deſires a Reformation of this Peace; and if perhaps "it cannot be obtained by the Inſtance of the ſaid Cardinals, yet if You (O moſt Dear "Son) and the ſaid King, diſpoſing your ſelves to mutual Concord, accceptable to God, "amiable to Men, profitable to *Chriſtendom*, and many ways the beſt for both of "You, will but conſent, that We alſo in our own Perſon ſhould intend, as Friendly "Moderators to the Reformation of Peace, taking a mutual Truce, and granting a Ceſ-"ſation from Arms for a convenient time, wherein the Treaty of Peace may be be-"gun, continued, and if the Lord of Mercies grant, brought to an happy End; We, "thô we are continually occupied with weighty and importable Affairs even above "our ſtrength, do notwithſtanding thrô Deſire of the ſaid Peace, hereby offer Our "ſelves ready, as far as conveniently and with honeſty may be done, effectually to in-"terpoſe in the Reformation of this Peace, to the Quiet, Profit and Honour of each "Party, our ſhare of Sollicitude, as it ſhall be adminiſtred unto Us from above. Con-

"cerning

"cerning all which we requeſt your Royal Majeſty, upon the moſt mature Deliberation, "to write unto Us, your Pleaſure. Given, *&c.* at *Avignon* x *Kalen. Jan. Anno Pon-* "*tif.* iv.

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To this Letter of the Popes, the King of *England* wrote this Anſwer. * "To the moſt "Holy Father in God, *Benedict*, by Divine Providence Biſhop of the Holy *Roman* "Church; *Edward*, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, and of *England*, and Lord "of *Ireland*, Devout Kiſſings of his Holy Feet.

* *Walſingh. hiſt.* p. 130.

"We received with due Reverence and Devotion, the Letters of your Holineſs, "ſent laſt unto Us, wherein your Goodneſs perſuades us to renew the Peace, or take "a Truce, with the Lord *Philip* of *Valois*, graciouſly adding, that You in your own "Perſon would intend to the Reformation thereof, as a Friendly Moderator, if We "and the ſaid *Philip* would conſent thereto. Surely We, conſidering in the Lord "your Holineſſes Affection, which is ſo ſollicitous for the quiet of your Sons, do hum- "bly return You all poſſible Thanks, for that your wholſom Perſuaſion, and an Offer "ſo condeſcending and ſo pious, and in a firm love and confidence of your Integrity we "deſire to follow your Counſel, and particularly to conform Our ſelves to your Holy "Pleaſure.

"But it is now notoriouſly known, how the ſaid *Philip* contrary to Juſtice hath u- "ſurped unto himſelf the Kingdom of *France*, lawfully devolved unto Us, by the "Death of the Lord *Charles* of Famous Memory, the laſt King of *France*, our Uncle: "And not content with this, he hath ſeiſed into his hands our Lands in the Dutchy "of *Aquitain*, as many as he was able, in Hoſtile manner invading our Iſlands in the "Sea, and alſo our Kingdom of *England*, with that very Fleet, which under colour of "an Holy Expedition beyond Sea, he pretended to rig forth, having ſworn for the "Cauſe of *Chriſt*. He hath alſo excited the *Scots* to rebell againſt us, deſigning alto- "gether to oppreſs us; that ſo according to his unſatiable Deſire of Sovereignty, he "may the more freely withhold from us our ſaid Kingdom of *France*, and other our "Hereditary Lands. To whom (as we remember we have written before to your Ho- "lineſs) We have offer'd many deſirable Methods of Peace, willing even to pur- "chaſe Quiet of him, thô with no ſmall Reſignation of our own Rights: But he long "holding us in ſuſpenſe by divers ſpecious Treaties, and expoſing us to vaſt Expences, "that ſo he might drain our Exchequer, and render us thereby unable to recover our "Rights, hath at laſt took no care to give us any Satisfaction, but ſtill his Perſecu- "tion encreaſed and rag'd againſt Us: Wherefore neceſſity ſo compelling, We are "now come to the Parts beyond Sea, to take unto us the Aſſiſtance of our Friends, "to revenge the Injuries done, and to repulſe thoſe, that would have been done, by "him unto Us, and to obtain our Hereditary Rights: Which certainly we intend not "to neglect, but will purſue them (when we cannot by any other agreeable way) by "Force of Arms, God being our Help.

"And althô in Preſence of the Reverend Fathers, *Peter* of the Title of St. *Praxedis*, "Prieſt, and *Bertrand*, of St. *Mary* in *Aquiro*, Deacon, Cardinals and Nuntio's to "your Holineſs, who have laudably and ſollicitouſly labour'd in the Affair of Peace, "the ſaid Realm of *France*, which by all Right is known to belong to Us, hath been "demanded, and We have, under certain ways of Peace, cauſed our ſaid Will to be "ſincerely open'd to the foreſaid Cardinals, always offering Our ſelves ready to em- "brace any reaſonable Method of Peace, on condition the Adverſe Party will agree "thereto: Yet neither by the ſaid Cardinals, nor by Others, could we know to this "Day, that he the ſaid *Philip* would do or offer any thing of Satisfaction unto Us. "And truly if then he had made but never ſo ſmall Offers, to ſhun the hazards of "Wars and the profuſeneſs of Expences, we ſhould have made a reaſonable Anſwer "thereupon, but now we ſee not what we can do farther with our Honour in the way "of Peace.

"But for all that if it ſhall now pleaſe the foreſaid Lord *Philip* to offer us any Reaſona- "ble Way, or if your Prudent Conſideration, or the ſaid Lords, Cardinals, ſhall o- "pen unto us any agreeable Method of Peace (to which the ſaid *Philip* ſhall con- "ſent) preſently (when we ſhall be once aſſured thereof) we will take Deliberation "thereupon, and with all ſpeed return ſuch an Anſwer, as ought to ſeem reaſonable "and acceptable to your Holineſs and to All, that have a ſolid, right and ordinate "Reaſon.

"And if perchance in the foreſaid Method of Treating, the Conſent of our Friends and "Allies ſhould ſeem requiſite to be obtain'd, We our ſelves will put too all poſſible "Diligence, inſomuch, that it ſhall appear, not to be our Fault, that a firm Peace

"doth

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"doth not follow thereupon, if the other Party will but condescend to Reason.
"We therefore heartily beseech your Clemency, that if it please you, you would
"duly weigh our Justice and Intention founded upon Truth, and incidently cherish
"Us, who continue in all fulness of Devotion to You and the Holy *Roman* Church,
"with the favour of solid Love and Charity, esteeming of Us, as of a most Devout
"Son. For God, the Lord of Consciences, is our Witness, that We desire to aug-
"ment the Honours and Liberties of the Church, and if God shall grant us to pro-
"sper, with devout and humble Affection we aspire to fight his Battles against the E-
"nemies of his Faith. God preserve your Holiness, *&c.* Given, *&c.*

XI. Before this there were two Parliaments this Year held at *Westminster*, One being called by the Duke of *Cornwall*, who had Commission thereto from the King his Father: The Other by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Others, who in the Absence of the King and his Son, Prince *Edward* Duke of *Cornwall*, had the same Commission.

* C. Lit. Dom. [h] *M.S. Rot. Parl. p.* 23. & *Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 17. §. 1, 2, 3. *&c.*

The First was held on the *Quindene* of St. *Michael*, or the 13 of *October*, * which then fell on a *Wednesday*. At the Opening [h] whereof its Causes were declared to be Three: First to take care for a strict Observation of the Kings Peace: Secondly, to provide for Defence of the Marches toward *Scotland*: For that People, being thereto instantly urged by their Kings Letters from *France*, and the promised Assistance of the *French* King, began to stir again notwithstanding the Truce: And the Third and last Reason was for the better keeping the Sea: To all which was added a Demand of a Supply for the King in his Wars.

After this the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who together with Dr. *Richard Bury* Bishop of *Durham*, and Sr. *Michael de la Pole* came from beyond the Seas, as the Kings Messengers to the Parliament, made a Narration of the Kings Exploits, which he had atchieved in those Parts at that time, and the present Hazards both He and his Men were exposed to, without liberal and speedy Supplies out of *England*. The King, as then lay near St. *Quintin*, accompanied with 15000 Men of Arms, and of Archers and Others more than 30000, as appeared by his Letters to the Lord *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntington*, who was then [i] Admiral of the River *Thames*, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and to the Merchants at *Pearch*; besides what we have related before of this Expedition. It was also further declared, that the King and Others about him, for the procuring of his Allies to assist him thus far, and for his own necessary Expences in this War, stood bound in Three hundred thousand Pounds, which in Honour he could not but pay before he left those Parts: Wherefore the Result was, he wanted liberal Contributions. Hereupon the Young Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Warden of *England*, with the other Lords, granted unto the King the Tenth Sheaf of all the Corn of their Demesnes, except of their bound Tenants, the Tenth Fleece of Wooll, and the Tenth Lamb of their own Store, to be paid for two Years: Desiring withall, that the Maletoste, or Wrong set upon Wooll, be revoaked, and that this Grant turn not into a Custom: All which was allow'd by the Prince in the Kings Name. For he had full Commission by the Kings Letters Patents to grant what should appear reasonable to the Lords and Commons.

[i] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 531.

The Lords demand, that the Keeping of the Kings Wards Lands may be committed to the next of Kin to the said Ward: And that Remedy be provided against those, who dying pass away their Lands to defraud the Lord of the Wardship, or the King himself. To this the Commons answered, that as they knew well, so they heartily tendred, the Kings Estate; and were ready, according to their Duty, to maintain the same: But this being a new Point, they durst not determin about it, till they had further conferred with their Counties that sent them; And so desiring Respite till another time, they promise to travel and enquire throughout their several Counties.

To the Three Causes of their Assembling at this time, the Commons answer'd thus, First, as to the Keeping of the King's Peace, that would be kept sacred; if good and couragious Justices were appointed in every County, and such as were permitted to Main-prise, do put in good Sureties, as Esquires or Gentlemen, and if no Pardon were granted but by Parliament: These Matters once established, they humbly conceive, the Peace could not be violated. Then as to the Defence of the *Northern* Marches, they thought that would best be performed; if all, who had Lands in those Parts, were obliged to live upon them. As for the Keeping of the Seas, they proposed, that the *Cinque*-Ports, or other Haven Towns, which are discharged of all other Contributions, should look to that especially, and also, that those, who had Lands either there, or elsewhere upon the Sea coasts, should repair thereto and dwell upon them.

them. Then the Commons demanded a few things, First, that the King will pardon all Felonies, Escapes, Trespass for the Forests and otherwise, all Aids to make the Kings Son a Knight, or to Marry his Daughter. That all Purveyors, as well with Commission as without, shall be arrested, if they make not present Pay. That the King would pardon old Debts and Duties from any time to before his Coronation. That all Customs of Wooll and Lead may be taken as they have been, and not as lately enhanced, with Common Assent, and that if they be, Resistance may be made. And lastly, that knowledge may be had, how these things may be assured. But their Art to provide against the Scarcity of Mony was this, that every Merchant for every Sack of Wooll exported, should be obliged to bring in at least 40 *s.* of Bullion to be coined within the Realm. AN. DOM. 1339. An. Regni XIII.

For the upholding the Kings Navy, it was Enacted, that the Navy of the whole Realm, except what should be Actually in the Kings Service for the time being, should remain in some certain place, without any scattering by any private Men, till further Order be taken. 'Tis agree'd, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other Nobles should by their Letters require the Archbishop of *York* and his Clergy, largely to contribute for the Defence of the *North*, even as they had already done: And then several were appointed to follow this device, and to prepare the Commissions for Array into divers Countries.

It is agree'd, that the Inhabitants of *Holderness* in *Yorkshire*, should be Arrayed, and grant Aid for the Defence of those Marches, as well as others of the County of *York*, altho they be appointed by Commission to keep the same. It is agree'd, that the Commissions of Sr. *William Wallingford*, and all other Commissioners for Purveyance for the King, be utterly void: And that all Officers of the Ports by the Kings Writ, do refrain the exporting of [k] Corn. That the Earl of *Richmond*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Roos* of * *Werke*, the Lord *Moubray*, and Sr. *William Daubeny*, should be commanded by Writ to repair towards their Lands, for the Defence of the *North* Marches, or if unable, or otherwise occupy'd in the Kings Service, then to send their Quota's thither to the Lords, who were Captains there. That the Writs of Summons for the next Parliament should charge every Sheriff to return for his County two Knights girded with Swords. That every Archbishop and Bishop do before the next Session of Parliament take a Certificate of all Benefices, being in the Hands of Aliens, of the Value of each of them, and of Residence, or Non-Residence thereon. That two Writs be issued out, the One to call a Convocation of the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, and the other of *York*, against *Hilary* Term following. It is also determin'd, that the Parliament should be Summon'd against the Octaves of St. *Hilary* then ensuing: Of which we shall now take leave to discharge our selves, that our following Discourse may find no Interruption.

[k] *Alii legunt* Coyne.
* *M.S.* Wake, *malè.*

When the time of the next Sessions of Parliament approached [l] because the Duke of *Cornwall*, Warden of *England*, was busied about the Kings Weighty Affairs (being as I shew'd with his Father beyond Sea) there were appointed to preside in Parliament *John Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellour, and *William de la Zouch*, Archbishop of *York*, [m] Lord Treasurer, with the Dean of *York*, and Sr. *John Willoughby*, Deputy Lord Chief Justice, Sr. *John Stonore* Justice of the Kings Bench, and Sr. *John* St. *Paul*, any Four, Three, or Two of these, by the Kings Letters Patents were appointed to begin, continue, and end the Parliament, for, and in the Name of the King, and the Lord Warden of *England*, and there to do all things, which the said Guardian should do, until his, or the King, his Fathers coming. The Commission began *Edwardus D. Gr. &c.* and ended---*Teste Edwardo, Duce Cornubiæ & Com. Cestr. Filio nostro Charissimo, Gardiano de Angl.*

[l] *Rot. Parl. M. S. ibid. p. 25. Sr Rob. Cotton p. 19.*

[m] *Philipot's Catal. p. 33.*

These [n] Commissioners aforesaid caused sundry of the Lords and Commons to assemble in the Presence Chamber, before whom, because several of both Houses were not yet come, they continued the Parliament from day to day, till the * *Monday* next after the Octaves aforesaid, during which time, Merchants, Owners of Ships, and Mariners, did attend. That [o] same day the Causes of the Parliament were declared to be the same, as before, namely, for Granting the King an Aid, for keeping of the Sea, and for Defence of the *North* Marches, whereunto the Commons require Respit until *Saturday* the 19 of *February*: And then they unanimously offer'd to the King for Aid 30000 Sacks of Wooll, on certain Conditions expressed in a pair of Indentures. But for the better Expedition, after some Debate, they yielded to give the King presently 2500 Sacks of Wooll; so, as if the King liked the Conditions aforesaid, the same should go in part of Payment, if not, they were freely offer'd unto him. The Lords promised, to send unto the AN. DOM. 1340. An. Regni XIV.

[n] *Jan.* 20.
* Dom. Lit. B. A.
[o] *Jan.* 24.

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the King to know his Pleasure, and in the mean time, they also for their Parts, grant, that such of them, or of their Peers, as hold by a Barony, should give to the King the Tenth of their Grain, Wooll, and Lambs, and of all their own Demesnes.

[p] *i.e. 6 Martii nam Pascha hoc an°. 16. April.*

As for the Merchants, their Day was put off till [p] *Monday*, in the First Week of *Lent*, but the Mariners of the *Cinque* Ports promised to make ready their Ships before [q] *Midlent*, viz. 21 Ships of their own, and 9 of the *Thames*, and to bear half the Charges themselves, the other half the Privy Council promised to bear of their own good Will to their King and Country, but not of Duty, or that it should stand for a Precedent. The Mariners of the *West* promise to set forth 90 Sail and 10 Ships of the Burthen of one Hundred Tunn or more, and to bear the whole Charges, if they could. Two Sufficient Scholars were appointed to compute the Charges, the One for the *West*, and the Other for the *Cinque* Ports. It was here order'd, that all Ships of *Portsmouth*, and from thence toward the *West*, of the Burthen of one Hundred Tunn, or upward, should ride at *Dartmouth*, the Admiral to be *Richard Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel*; and that the Ships of the *Cinque* Ports, and the *Thames*, being of that Burthen, should ride at *Winchelsea*, the Admiral to be *William Clinton*, Earl of *Huntington*: The whole Fleet to be ready before the end of *Lent*. Command was given to the Admirals, to stay all other Ships which might pass the Seas, and to warn them to go into safe Harbours: And to Furnish this Fleet with Souldiers, beside those, whose Duty was to attend, and also those, who were prest, general Proclamation was order'd to be made, that all Persons who had received of the King Charters of Pardon, should now repair to the Sea-coasts for the Kings Service, on pain of forfeiting the same.

[q] *i.e. 26 Martii.*

The Lord *Richard Talbot*, that Noble Warrier, some of whose Valiant Acts we have mention'd in the *Scotch* War, having in Parliament undertaken for the security of the Town of *Southampton*, is now appointed Captain of the Town, and allow'd for that Service 20 Men of Arms, and an 100 Archers extraordinary at the Kings Wages, and more upon occasion. All which Souldiers to have one Months Pay beforehand, and Sr. *Richard* one 100 Pounds by way of Gratuity: Being also appointed to see the said Town forthwith fortified, according to Covenants, in a pair of Indentures, and to levy the Charges of the Neighbours, bordering thereabouts, and if that shall not suffice of the Inhabitants. The Bishop of *Winchester* (who at that time was *Adam Orleton* the Traytor) the Prior of St. *Swithens*, and the Abbot of *Hyde*, were order'd to keep at their Mannors near *Southampton*, with all their Powers, to be ready to assist the said Sr. *Richard* at his Call: Also, that two Pinaces, the one at [r] *Milbrook*, the other of *Roger Normans*, do constantly attend the Pleasure of the said *Richard* in the Port of *Southampton*. Further, that all the Inhabitants should remain still upon the Place to Defend the same on Pain of loosing all they have. Sr. *Richard* was to have all the Ammunition and Warlike Furniture of the same Town, to be deliver'd into his Hands by Indenture, and was endued with a like Power in all things as the Earl of *Warwick* had been, when he was Governour there; The Sheriff of *Southampton* having a Writ of Attendance on him for Victuals, and other Necessaries, Mr. *Stephen Butterly*, and Mr. *William Weston* Serjeants at Arms, were to provide sufficient Timber, Boards, and other Necessaries for the said Town, by Indenture.

[r] *Ita corrigo pro* Welbrook *in M. S. & Sr. R. Cotton.*

Thus much for the Sea, and the Sea-coasts: Now as for the Defence of the Marches of *Scotland*, and the Places thereabouts, which might want Strength or Provision; *William Snoring*, and *John* at *Fennes*, Merchants of *Lynn-Regis*, *Robert* of *Bayon*, and *Henry Smith*, Merchants of *Barton* upon *Humber*, do undertake at a certain Price, and by a certain Day, to deliver Ten Thousand Quarters of all kind of Grain at the Town of *Barwick*, and in the Road of *Leigh*: Every Quarter of Wheat and Malt at 9 shillings; of Oats, Beans and Pease at 5 shillings: To which there was added a Caution, that under Colour of this Licence they should not serve the Kings Enemies. Sr. *Thomas Rokeby* (who, for finding out the *Scotch* Army in the first Year of this King, was by him Knighted, as we shew'd in due place) being now a Person of great Reputation for Valour, Wisdom, and Fidelity, took upon him to keep the Castles of *Edenburgh* and *Sterling*, till *Midsummer* next ensuing. And the Division of all the Grain aforesaid, and of other Victuals for the said Castles, and the Town of *Barwick*, being proportionably made, the greatest Share was allotted to the Castles.

Next in Order to preserve the Isle of *Wight*, this Wise and Great Assembly provided, First, that the inhabitants of the same, during the War, should be respited the Payment of any Aid to the King; and that None of them should by any Means be dispensed with to travel abroad, or to absent themselves out of the said Isle; nor should be impannel'd,

or

or warned at any Aſſiſe, or Inqueſt, during the ſaid War. Alſo, that due Proviſion of Wine, Grain, Coals, and other Neceſſaries for the Caſtle of *Caresbrook* in the ſaid Iſle be forthwith made; the Kings *Butler* being appointed to deliver the Wine to Sr. *John Langford*, Conſtable of the ſaid Caſtle, and *William* of *Rewinock* was commanded to provide the reſt of the foreſaid Neceſſaries. AN. DOM. 1340. An. Regni XIV.

Sr. *John Ferrers* Captain of *Jerſey* Iſland, was now appointed to ſend thither a ſufficient Deputy; to whom like Rules were ſet, and Proviſion allow'd for Defence of the ſame: Command being alſo ſent to Bayliffs there to ſeiſe upon the Goods of one *William Payne*, late Jurate of that Iſle, who Revolted to the Enemy, and to Chooſe another.

On the back-ſide of this Roll are ſeen the Numbers of ſuch Souldiers, as were arrayed, and ſet out by certain Nobles, Knights, and Gentlemen of the Counties of *York*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Lancaſter*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Cumberland*, by their particular Rates, which in the whole amounted to 7400 Men of Arms, 200 Archers on Horſeback, and two Thouſand Halberdeers. Thoſe of the three firſt-named Counties were order'd at the Coſts of the Country to March to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine* only; and they of *Weſtmorland*, *Cumberland*, and *Lancaſter*, to *Carlile* only: And the Captains and other being together ſhall lie and forrage upon *Scotland*, and not upon the Marches of *England*. A Clergyman was appointed for the defraying of their Wages, having the Lords *Percy* and *Nevile* to overſee his Accounts, and to ſpeak with the Nobles, Knights, and Captains, to execute theſe Orders, and to bargain with Merchants for Shifts and returns of Money. The Lord *Richard Talbot*, who was late Captain of *Barwick*, upon his undertaking the Charge of *Southampton*, was now diſcharged for a while thereof, Sr. *Walter Clark* being appointed to keep the ſame till *Eaſter* next enſuing.

Thoſe, who had directed unto them the Commiſſions of Array for Souldiers for the County of *York*, were *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *William* Lord *Roos*, Sr. *Thomas Vghtred*, Sr. *William de la Pole*, and Sr. *Michael Wath*; only afterwards, [f] becauſe the Lord *Wake* had been appointed Guardian of the Sea-coaſts in *Lincolnſhire*, and had in that Service many Souldiers under him, for whoſe ſupport he had been at great Expences, he was in conſideration thereof, diſcharged from finding ſuch Men at Arms, Hobelers, and others, as for his Lands in *Yorkſhire*, he had elſe been lyable to be charged with. Thoſe, who had Commiſſions of Array for *Nottingham* and *Derby*, were the Lord *Nicolas Cantelupe*, Sr. *Richard Willoughby*, and Sr. *Thomas Longvillers*, all Noble Barons of the Realm. For the County of *Lancaſter*, Sr. *Henry Heydock*, and Sr. *Robert Radcliff*: For *Weſtmorland* and *Cumberland*, *Anthony* Lord *Lucy*, Sr. *Pierce Filliol*, Sr. *Hugh Delowthrey*, and Sr. *Robert Perning*: For *Northumberland*, the Lord *Henry Percy*, and *Ralph* Lord *Nevill* of *Raby*, *Ranulph* Lord *Dacres*, of the *North*, Sr. *John Fenwick*, and Sr. *Thomas Helpſcots*, all who were empower'd to Place and Diſplace Captains upon Reaſonable Cauſe. This is the *Subſtance* of the Parliament held at this time, eſpecially in Matters Relating to *Scotland*, (the Diſcourſe whereof we ſhall refer to another Place) and alſo to *France*.

[f] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 541.*

CHAPTER the FOURTEENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *holds a Parliament of his Allies at* Bruſſels in *Brabant: Where he takes upon him the Arms and Style of* France, *the* Flemings *entring an Alliance with him, and rendring him their Homage thereupon.* II. *The Queen of* England *deliver'd of her Fourth Son at* Gaunt, *with the Manner of King* James *the Second's Pedigree, by the Mothers ſide down from him.* III. *King* Edward *Publiſhes his Letters Patents Monitory to his Subjects of* France, *to own his Authority, as of their Right-full King, and to come to his Peace and Protection, with a True Copy of the Letters.* IV. *King* Edward *returns into* England, *with Deſign to hold a Parliament, the time whereof he fixes on the* Wedneſday *after* Midlent-Sunday, *which then fell on the Twenty Ninth of* March. V. *King* Edward *informs the Pope*

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of his Reaſons, for Uſing the Style and Arms of France; *with the Popes Anſwer.*

I. THE Sacred Solemnity of our Saviours Nativity being now over, King *Edward* by Advice of the Lords of the Empire his Friends, went from [a] *Antwerp* to *Bruſſels*, the Chief City of *Brabant*, there to hold a Parliament, and to conſult with his Friends how to proceed farther in his *French* Wars. These Lords being there met accordingly, firſt perſwaded the King to require the Aid and Friendſhip of the *Flemmings* in this his Cauſe, and that for his Sake they would defie the *French* King, and March whither he ſhould lead, or direct them. For all which he ſhould Engage to Recover *Liſle*, *Doway*, and *Bethune*, which three Towns the *French* King withheld from *Flanders*. Upon King *Edwards* Requeſt therefore *Jacob van Arteveld* came to this Parliament at *Bruſſels* with a great Retinue, as if he had been Earl of *Flanders*, and at his Motion, all the Chief Burgeſſes of *Gaunt*, and the other Good Towns of that Country, by ſome, called the *Hanſe-Towns* of *Flanders*; thô properly ſpeaking, they belong rather to the Four Provinces of *Lubeck*, *Cologne*, *Brunſwick*, and *Dantzick*. All theſe were well pleaſed with the foreſaid Promiſe of King *Edward*, and thereupon deſired to take Advice among themſelves: When having Retired and Debated ſufficently upon the Point, they gave the King this Anſwer; the Contrivance and Menagement of all which is Attributed to *Jacob van Arteveld*: "Sir, You were pleaſed to require of Us, that which of Our ſelves We would moſt willingly do; if We might do it handſomly, and without Loſs, or Diſhonour: But alas! Sir, We are Obliged both by Oath, and a Bond of [b] 2000000 of Florens of Gold to be paid into the Popes Chamber, never to make War againſt the King of *France*, whoſoever he ſhall be: Which Forfeiture not only keeps Us in Aw, but alſo the Danger of being Interdicted by the Pope, if We break Our Oath made to him. But Sir, If You will but undertake to bear the Arms of *France*, and Quarter them with the Arms of *England*, and Own Your Self publiquely King of *France*, (as indeed You are, and ought of Right to be Accounted) then We will look upon You as the True King of *France*, againſt whom We are not to make War, and thereupon demand of You an Acquittance of Our ſaid Bond, which You may Grant Us, as King of *France*. By this means We ſhall be aſſured of Our Money, and acquitted of Our Oath, and then We will be ready to ſerve You in what You ſhall Command. This Fine Trick was thus Invented by that ſubtle Demagogue *Jacob van Arteveld* to ſatisfie the unthinking Commons of the Equity of ſtanding to King *Edward* againſt *France*, notwithſtanding all their Solemn Engagements to the Contrary. However, the King demurr'd at this their Anſwer: For thô he knew he might Lawfully claim the Crown of *France*, in Right of his Mother Queen *Iſabella*; yet he thought it neither Reaſonable, nor much for his Honour to take upon him the Arms, and Kingly Title of that Realm before he had made Conqueſt of any Part thereof; not being ſure, that ever he ſhould be able to bring thoſe Matters to effect. On the other ſide he was very loath to refuſe the *Flemmings* this their Deſire, becauſe they might prove ſo Inſtrumental in his Service. Whereupon he Advis'd in private with the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Gueldre*, the Earls of *Juliers* and *Blankburg*, *Mons* and *Bergen*, the Lords of *Hainault* and *Valkenburgh*, the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, and his *Engliſh* Peers; by whoſe Advice he return'd this Anſwer, "That if they would Swear and Seal to this Covenant, and Engage to ſerve him upon all Occaſions in his War, he would then readily do all this, ſince in Equity he might, and further undertake to reſtore them thoſe three Cautionary Towns, of *Lille*, *Doway*, and *Bethune*, which they had deliver'd, as Pledges of their Faith to the *French* King. To this the *Flemmings* agree'd, and [d] ſo the 23 of *January* was appointed, firmly to Ratifie theſe mutual Covenants and Conditions at *Gaunt*; on which day the King and moſt of the forenamed Lords came to *Gaunt*, where he was met by the Chief Burgeſſes of all the Towns of *Flanders*, and then and there all the foreſaid Agreements being ready Engroſſed, were rehearſed, Sworn, and Seal'd to; and ſo the King took upon him the Style of *France*, and Quarter'd the Arms of that Kingdom with thoſe of *England*. But thô [e] afterwards, perhaps to gratifie the *French* Nation, or becauſe that was the more Ancient and Greater Monarchy, he placed the Flowers de Lis in the Dexter and more Honourable Quarter, yet it is highly probable, that at their Firſt Entermingling it was not ſo; as appears not only by the Figure of this King in Armour, trampling on a Boar by a Caſtle, ſignifying *France*, in a very Old Vellam M. S. now by me, where the *Engliſh* Lions are ranged in the Firſt and Laſt Quarters of his Shield; but alſo from [f] a Seal of Queen *Iſabella*, this Kings Mother, where the Arms of *England*,

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 43.

[b] *Aſhmole p.* 650. *Fox p.* 340. *Sandford p.* 160

[d] *Joh. Villani l.* 11. *c.*108. *Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc annum* §. 3. *Hocſem. l.*2. *c.*25.

[e] *Speed p.* 572.

[f] *Speed p.* 572.

England, as being those of the Husband's Line, and therefore to have Precedence, are Marshal'd where now the Flower de Luces shine. But to put this out of all Doubt, We shall further produce the Words of King *Philip*, spoken at this time upon occasion of this Action of King *Edwards*, to certain *English* Gentlemen sent to him about the present Affairs. "Our [g] Cosin, says he, doth wrongfully Quarter the Arms of *England* and *France*, which notwithstanding doth not so much displease Us, because indeed he is descended (thô by the Weaker Sex) of Our Kin; and therefore, as being a "Batchelour, We could easily be content to allow him part of the Arms of *France*; "but whereas in his Seals and Letters Patents, he Styles himself King of *England* "and of *France* in the One, and sets the Quarter of his Arms with Leopards, before "the Quarter, Charged with Lillies, in the Other, this is that which We disdain exceedingly: For thereby it should seem, he Prefers that Inconsiderable Isle of *England* "before the Mighty Kingdom of *France*. To this Complaint Sr. *John Shoreditch*, the King of *Englands* Agent, made Answer, "that it was the Custom of *England* to set "the Title and Arms of their Progenitors before the Arms and Title of a Right derived "from the Mother. And thus, said he, doth my Lord the King of *England* Prefer his "Paternal Coat, both out of Duty and Reason. But as it appears, soon after they were alter'd, even as now they stand at this Day; only, [h] that when *Charles* the Sixth of *France*, with Design to shew a Difference, changed the *Semee Flours de Lize* into *Three*, Our King *Henry* the V. also did the like, and so it hath continued ever since.

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[g] *Stow p.* 236.

[h] *Sandford p.* 157. *in Not. vid. eund. ibid. in Notis p.* 270.

Either at this time or soon after, the King set at the Foot of his Shield, beneath the Arms of *France* and *England* thus quarter'd, this *French* Motto, DIEV ET MON DROIT, in *English*, GOD AND MY RIGHT, declaring thereby his Confidence to be only in God and the Equity of his Cause: Which Motto with the Title of *France*, hath been continued by the Kings of *England* his Successors, even unto this day.

That King *Edward* might justifie his Title to the Kingdom of *France*, whose Arms he thus undertook to Bear, he sent his Ambassadors to the Pope with these Instructions following, "[i] That it may be made evident to the Holiness of our Lord the Pope, "that our Lord the King of *England*, doth justly by Hereditary Right claim the Kingdom of *France*, the Information which follows, was given in by the Ambassadors of "the said King. The Matter whereupon the Lord *Edward*, King of *England* saith, "He hath Right to the Crown of *France*, is thus. It is and hath been notoriously "known, that the Lord *Charles*, the Younger Son of *Philip* King of *France*, commonly called the *Fair*, after the Death of the Lord *Philip* his Brother, at which "time the said Lord *Charles* immediately by Hereditary Right succeeded in the said "Kingdom, was true King of *France*, and that unto him the said Kingdom of *France* "was lawfully devolved by Right of Succession; and that he the Lord *Charles* held, "and peaceably and quietly possessed the said Kingdom of *France*, for the time that he "Reigned, as true King of *France*: And that at last the same Lord *Charles* leaving no "Brother then surviving, deceased without any Heir Male, begotten of his Body. It "is also certain *de jure*, that in Hereditary Successions, coming from one Intestate, the "next of Bloud to the Deceased, being able at the time of the Decease to Succeed, "doth wholly exclude all the more remote of the Blood of the said deceased, whether "he was allied to the Deceased by the Person of a Male or Female. And it is certain, "that at the time of the Death of the said Lord *Charles* King of *France*, as aforesaid, the foresaid Lord *Edward*, King of *England*, was his neerest Kinsman, as who "was Son of the Sister of the said Lord *Charles*, namely, of the Lady *Isabella* Queen of "*England*, being only removed from the same Lord *Charles* aforesaid in the Second "Degree of Consanguinity: But the Lord *Philip* of *Valois*, who occupies the said "Kingdom of *France*, was Son of the Uncle of the said Lord *Charles*, namely Son of "the Lord *Charles* of *Valois*, Brother to the foresaid *Philip* the *Fair*, and so notoriously removed from the said King *Charles*, in the Third Degree of Consanguinity: "And by Consequence, in common Right, the foresaid Lord *Edward*, King of *England*, Son of the Sister of the foresaid Lord King *Charles* deceased, [k] ought by Right "of Succession to be preferr'd, in the Succession of the said Kingdom, to the foresaid "Lord *Philip* of *Valois*, who only is near to the said King *Charles* in the Third "Degree of Consanguinity. [l] The Intention therefore of our Lord the King of *England* being founded on Common Right, nothing remains, but only to answer, what "may be objected.

[i] *Odoricus Raynald. ad hunc annum §. 9. extat apud Benedict. Tom. 6. Epist. secr. 302. & M.S. Dr.* Stillingfleet, *sic incipiens*, Ut Sanctitati Domini nostri Summi Pontificis, *&c.*

[k] *The Original more full*, debuit & debet,

[l] *Hic in M.S. Dr.* Stillingfleet *multa adduntur ex Pandect. &c. ad Jus Regis stabiliendum allegata: tum quæ sequuntur hic.*

"And first it is objected on the part of the Lord *Philip* of *Valois*, who bears him-

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"ſelf as King of *France*, againſt the King of *England* aforeſaid, that the ſame King "of *England* did unto him, as King of *France*, make Homage for the Dukedom of "*Aquitain* and for the Earldom of *Pontive*; and did thereby recogniſe him the ſaid Lord "*Philip* to [m] be his Lord and King of *France*.

[m] *The Original more full,* fore & eſſe.

2. "It is alſo objected to the King of *England*, that he made unto him Liege Ho- "mage and Oath; and that of theſe things the foreſaid *Philip* hath by him Letters "ſealed with the Seal of the foreſaid King of *England*; and moreover, that theſe "Letters were ſealed in *England*.

3. "It is alſo objected to the foreſaid King of *England*, that he is not of the Blood "of the Houſe of *France*, but by Means of a Woman, namely of the Lady *Iſabell* "his Mother: And that a Woman neither can, nor ought (an approved and lawfully "preſcribed Cuſtom in the Realm hindring) to be admitted to obtain the ſaid King- "dom by Right of Succeſſion, and by Conſequence by means of her, her Son is not "to ſucceed.

"To anſwer theſe Objections, the Information which follows was given in by the "Ambaſſadors of the King aforeſaid. Firſt, that the Homage made ought not in effect "to prejudicate the King of *England*, becauſe the ſame King of *England* at the time "of making the ſaid Homage was notoriouſly under Age, nor had then compleated the "18th Year of his Age; whereby he ought, as other Minors, when they are abuſed, "within the times provided by the Laws of Reſtitution to the full, to be aided by a "competent Judge, if there had been a Competent Judge, with the benefit of Reſti- "tution to the full. But upon Defect of a Competent Judge, the ſaid King of *Eng-* "*land* within the foreſaid times of Reſtitution to the full, uſed other Remedies of Law; "which ought to ſuffice him in this Part.

"Moreover the ſaid King of *England*, being under Age, as aforeſaid, did before the "making of his Homage, by one of his Procurators, eſpecially conſtituted for that "purpoſe, proteſt openly and expreſly, that for any Homage whatſoever, to be made "to the Lord *Philip* of *Valois*, then bearing himſelf as King of *France*, by the ſaid "King of *England*, for the Dukedom of *Aquitain* and the County of *Pontive*, he "did not, nor would intend, to renounce his Hereditary Right, which he had to the "Realm of *France*, or any way from the ſaid Right to derogate; althô thereupon "Letters ſhould thereafter be ſigned with either of his Seals: And he did proteſt, "that he made not any Homage to the ſaid Lord *Philip* of his own Free Will, but "only he ſhould do it for the juſt fear he had of Loſing the ſaid Dukedom and "County; and becauſe he feared, that unleſs he ſhould do ſuch Homage unto him, "he could not avoid other great Dangers and irreparable Loſſes. And to the Truth "of the Premiſes, the King of *England* cauſed by his ſaid Procurator an Oath to be "taken upon his Soul, by laying Hands on the Holy Goſpel, before many Witneſſes "called thereto.

"As to the Objection concerning the Oath, which the King of *England* in his Ho- "mage ought to have made, or that he ſhould have ſworn, ſo to have declared, ſa- "ving the Objectors Reverence, it is not true; becauſe neither the Lord, the King "of *England*, nor any of his Progenitors did ever ſwear in the Performance of any "Homage, as will evidently appear by the Inſpection of the Regiſters, containing the "Forms of the ſaid Homages; nor is it contained in any Letters ſealed with the King "of *England's* Seal, that ſuch an Oath hath been made. Nor can it be ſaid, that in "the Homage made by the ſaid Lord the King, an Oath was tacitly implied hereby, "that the Letters were ſealed with the King of *England's* Seal, wherein it was contai- "ned, that this Homage was Liege, becauſe the word *Liege* doth by its ſignification no "way import the ſame.

"And as to what is ſaid, that theſe Letters were ſealed in *England*, and ſo without "Fear; it is anſwer'd, that even ſo it was not without Fear, when there was a fear of "loſing the whole Dukedom aforeſaid, by reaſon of an Army then ready to invade "the King himſelf in the Dukedom, and in *England* by the way of *Scotland*; and that "the ſaid Letters were ſealed, while the ſaid King was notoriouſly under Age, as a- "foreſaid, not of the perfect Knowledge of the ſaid King, nor upon (due) Notice of "his Right or Prejudice, as neither by reaſon of the frailty of his Age could then be "had. Beſides he the ſaid King, ought to be reſtored in full in this Caſe, within the "Times thereto limited, if he had had a Competent Judge, and becauſe he had not a "Competent Judge, he uſed in due time other Remedies, whereby there was taken "better Proviſion as to his Right. And the King of *England* would have our Lord "the Pope to be more ſurely informed, that the ſaid King never did any thing on

"purpoſe

" purpose to the Lord *Philip*, bearing himself as King of *France*, for which he ought to " cease, or desist from the Prosecution of his said Right, or for which he thought, or " doth think his Conscience wronged in this part; and that it was so, He calls God to " Witness.

" As to the Objection, wherein 'tis said, that the said Lord, the King of *England*, " is not of the Blood of *France*, but by means of a Woman, who is not capable of " the Right of the Hereditary Realm of *France*; it is answerd, that althô by the " Custom of the Realm of *France*, a Woman of the Royal Blood be excluded from " the Hereditary Rights of the Realm of *France*, yet hereby it doth not follow, that " her Son being a Male, and able to Reign, ought to be excluded from the Succession " of his Forefathers devolved unto Lawfull Heirs; because the King of *England* claims " the Succession of his Uncle, the Lord King *Charles* deceased, according to the Pre- " rogative of his Degree, as next of Kin to the deceased King, who ought not to be " excluded from the Inheritance of his Uncle, or his Grandfather, by any Kindred more " remote in Degree, even althô the Mother of the said King by reason of her Sex should " be excluded, or put by.

" And if it be said, that some Nephews and Kindred, of the Lords *Lewis* and *Phi-* " *lip*, Brethren of the said Lord, King *Charles*, successively have been excluded from " the Royal Succession upon that Account, that they were only allied to the said " Kings by the means of Females, as also the King of *England* was allied to the said Lord " King *Charles* by means of a Female only, namely of his Mother; it is answer'd, " that not upon that account were the said Nephews excluded, but upon this, that " none of the said Nephews was in Being at the Time of the Death of the said King, " about whose Inheritance the Controversie was; and this will evidently appear by " matter of Fact underwritten. For it is to be known, that the Lord *Philip* the Fair, " King of *France* deceased, leaving behind him three Brothers, namely *Lewis* the El- " dest, *Philip* the Long, the Second Born, and *Charles* the Third and Youngest, and " one Daughter, namely *Isabell*, Queen of *England*; *Lewis* the Elder Son succeeded " his Father, *Philip* the Fair, immediately in the Kingdom of *France*, and got one " Daughter; after which King *Lewis* died, leaving the said Daughter (which had no " Issue during the Life of the said King *Lewis*) and his Wife impregnate, who after " the Death of the said King brought forth a Male Child named *John*, who after Nine " Days, wherein he was accounted King of *France*, deceased: And *Philip* the Long, " the Middle Brother of the said Three, succeeded him immediately in the said King- " dom. This King *Philip* begat three Daughters, but no Male, the Elder Daughter " whereof was coupled in Matrimony to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Second to the " Dauphin of *Vienna*, the Third and Youngest to the Earl of *Flanders*. Of the First " Daughter, married to the Duke of *Burgundy*, was born a Male Child, called as is " said, *Robert*, during the Life of King *Philip*, but that *Robert* died before King *Phi-* " *lip*, his Grandfather, and so was not in Being at the time of the Death of the said Lord " *Philip* his Grandfather. Of the Second Daughter married to the Dauphin, there was " no Issue at all, during the Life of the said King *Philip*, as neither of the Other, " who was married to the Earl of *Flanders*. After the Death of the said King *Phi-* " *lip*, his Third and Younger Brother, namely the Lord *Charles* immediately succeed- " ed; who in the end leaving two Daughters unmarried, deceased without Issue Male. " From all which it is evident, that the said Lord *Charles* was True and Lawfull King " of *France*, and by Consequence, that the Lord the King of *England*, who was Son " of the Lady *Isabella*, Queen of *England*, Sister to the said *Charles*, as aforesaid, ought, " as his Neerest Kinsman, to succeed him in the Kingdom.

These Instructions were given to *Nicolas de Flisco* and his Son *Andrew*, who were to be fol- low'd by others with Letters from the King to his Holiness, sealed with the Arms of *England* and *France*, which New Seal was not yet made: But while the foresaid *Nicolas de Flisco* remained at the Court of *Avignon* under the Pope's Protection, certain wicked Persons, thinking to curry Favour with the King of *France*, about Midnight on Good-*Fryday* Eve, enter'd his House by Violence, broke open his Chamber, and hardly giving him time to put on one thin Garment, hurried Him and his Son, and one young Gentleman away, and carried them down the *Rhosne* to a certain Tower, where they kept them close till *Saturday*, and then convey'd them into the Parts of *France*. At which In- jury his Holiness was so moved, that he began to thunder out the most heavy Edicts against the Authors and Accomplices of that Crime, and put *France* under Interdict; as appears by an Expostulatory Letter of King *Philips* to the Pope, " Wherein cal- " ling God to Witness, that this Violence was neither done by his Command, nor

" Will

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"Will or Knowledge, and that when he heard the *Engliſh* Men thus taken were with-
"in his Kingdom, he had given Order to make diligent Search for them, and to re-
"turn them to *Avignon* again; he complains that thoſe Proceſſes were too ſudden and
"too rigorous, ſince he was wholly innocent of the matter, and ſo to the blackning of
"his Honour, and that for the future he would not be ſo haſty in acting againſt him,
"without giving him Notice, *&c.* Dated at *Moncell* near *Pont* St. *Maixence* 21 of
"*Maii.* To which the Pope return'd, That he could never think, the Knowledge of
"that Fact did belong to him; however it was ſo horrid, that the Severity, which
"he had uſed, was neceſſary: But that his Paternal Affection toward him was no
"way diminiſhed thereby, nay he would rather conſpire with him in a mutual A-
"greement of Good-will and kind Offices. Dated at *Avignon* iii Kal. *Jun. Anno*
"*Pontif.* vi. Soon after at King *Philips* Command *Nicolas de Fliſco* and *Andrew* his Son, with the Gentleman their Servant, were brought back and reſtored to the Pope; whereupon he return'd his Thanks to the King of *France*, and took off the Interdict; but as the Author of his Life ſays, hang'd all thoſe of his own Family, who had a hand in the matter, before the Doors of the Houſe, which they had broke open. But as for his own Maſter of the Horſe, who was conſenting to the Deed, when being in Priſon, for anguiſh and ſhame he had ſlain himſelf, after it was found willfull Murder, he gave Order that his Body ſhould be expos'd on a Gibbet, to be devour'd by the Birds of the Air.

II. But to return to the King of *England*, who had lately taken upon him the Arms and Title of King of *France*, as we ſhew'd, He the mean while preſently found the expected Effects of this Contrivance of *Jacob van Arteveld's*; for now immediately upon the ſame, all the People of *Flanders* [n] yielded unto him, as True and Rightfull King of *France*, and conſequently their Superior Lord, their Homage and Fealty, and ſubmitted themſelves and their Country to his Government; and were long after in all matters obedient unto him, as to the King of *France* both by Right and Conqueſt. After things thus done, it was determin'd in this Parliament, that [o] the next Summer the War ſhould be hotly purſued in *France*, being to be begun with the Siege of *Tournay*: Which was the thing chiefly deſired by the *Flemings*. For they made ſure to be able to get it, and then they hoped eaſily to recover *Lille*, *Douay* and *Bethune*, with the Appurtenances. With this Reſolution the Council brake up, and the King within a few days returned to *Antwerp*; But the Queen, who was then big with Child, remain'd ſtill at *Gaunt*, where ſhe was very honourably entertain'd and viſited, eſpecially by *Jacob van Arteveld*, and the chief Lords and Ladies of *Flanders*: And within a while after was happily deliver'd of a Lovely and Lively Boy, her Fourth Son, who was named *John*, and ſirnamed of *Gaunt*, from the place of his Birth. This *John* of *Gaunt* in time became a Noble and Mighty Prince, himſelf being both Duke of *Lancaſter*, and King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, his Son *Henry* of *Bolingbrook* was afterwards King of *England*, by the name of *Henry* the Fourth, who was Father to the Conqueroul *Henry* the Fifth, but that Kingly Dignity was extinguiſh'd in his Son *Henry* the Sixth: However from *John* of *Gaunts* Loins [q] by the Mothers Side was deſcended *Henry* the Seventh, who was the Son and Heir of [r] *Edmund* of *Hadham* Earl of *Richmond*, by his Lady *Margaret*, the only Daughter and Heir of *John Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, Nephew of *John* of *Gaunt* by his Son *John Beaufort*. And he marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, who had the Blood and Right both of Prince *Lionell* and *Edmund* of *Langele*, Third and Fifth Sons of King *Edward* the Third, got of her the Lady *Margaret*, his Eldeſt Daughter, from whom the Kings of *Scotland* is deſcended our moſt Gracious Soveraign *James* the Second, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, whom God grant long and happily to reign.

III. But it muſt not be omitted, that before King *Edward* left *Gaunt*, [t] he ſent his Letters Patents to the Prelates, Peers and Commons of *France*, thereby ſignifying, that *Charles* late King of *France*, his Mothers Brother, being Dead, the ſaid Kingdom was devolved to him by manifeſt Law. And that *Philip* of *Valois* Son to the Uncle of the ſaid King, had by Violence and Injuſtice intruded into it, during his Minority, and even yet wrongfully detain'd it. Left therefore he ſhould ſeem to neglect his own Right, He now thought good to own the Title of *France*, and take upon him the Defence and Government thereof; and having offer'd the ſaid *Philip* divers Friendly Conditions of Peace, to which he refuſed all Condeſcention, he was therefore neceſſitated to defend himſelf, and recover his Right by Force of Arms: And therefore all ſuch Subjects, as would ſubmit to him, as True King of *France*, by *Eaſter* then next enſuing

[n] *Knighton p. 2576. and Stow p. 236.*

[o] *Froiſ. c. 43.*

Walſingh. hiſt. p. 133. and Stow p. 236.

[q] *Sandford Geneal. Hiſt. p. 248*
[r] *Mill's Catal. Nobility p. 613.*

[t] *Rot. Franc. 14 Ed. 3. m. 1. and Aſhmole p. 651.*

enſuing ſhould be received into his Royal Grace and Protection. But here the Stile of *France* is ſet firſt, and the Title of Duke of *Aquitain* omitted, it being immerged in the more General Title of King of *France*. This is the Summ of his Letters, which he cauſed to be ſent [t] to the Frontiers of the *French* Dominions, and to be fixed upon the Doors of Churches and in other Publique Places: But to ſatisfie the Curious I ſhall adjoin a full Copy of the Letter it ſelf, the Tenour whereof was this. AN. DOM. 1340. An. Regni *Angliæ* XIV. *Franciæ* I.

[t] *Speed p. 572. a.*

[u] *Fox Acts and Monum. p. 346.*

"[u] EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and of *England*, Lord "of *Ireland*, unto all Prelates and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and to the Peers, Dukes, Earls, "Barons, and to the Commons of *France*, Greeting.

"The High Lord and King above, althô his Will be in his own Power, yet is plea- "ſed to make that Power Subject unto Law, commanding every thing to be given "unto Him, which is His; thereby declaring, that Juſtice and Judgement ought to be "the Preparation of a Kings Throne. Wherefore ſeeing the Kingdom of *France* thrô "the Providence of God, is by the Death of *Charles* laſt King of *France* of Famous "Memory, Brother German to Our Lady Mother, devolved and fallen unto Us by "plain and manifeſt Law; foraſmuch as the Lord *Philip* of *Valois*, Son of the Uncle of "the foreſaid King, and ſo remov'd from that Crown by a farther Degree of Conſan- "guinity, thrô Force and Uſurpation hath intruded himſelf into the foreſaid Kingdom, "(while We were yet in Our Minority) and ſo contrary both to God and Juſtice, doth "ſtill detain and occupy the ſame: Now leaſt We ſhould ſeem to neglect Our own "Right, and the Gift which God hath given Us, or not to ſubmit Our Will to Gods "Ordinance, We have thought Good to acknowledge the Title of *France*, and by ſup- "port of the Almighty King have taken upon Us the Defence and Government of "the ſaid Kingdom, firmly purpoſing within Our Selves (as every Good Man ought to "do) Graciouſly to Adminiſter Juſtice to every One, according to the Rights and Lau- "dable Cuſtoms of the foreſaid Kingdom. Alſo to Renew the Good Laws and Cuſtoms "which have been in the time of *Lewis* Our Progenitor; moreover, adding thereto what "ſhall ſeem Expedient, according to the Condition and Quality of the time. But as "for any Change of Coin, or any Inordinate Exactions, We intend not to ſeek Our "Profit by Your Detriment: Becauſe (the Almighty be Praiſed) We have enough and "abound: And as concerning the Affairs of the Realm, Our Purpoſe is not to pro- "ceed raſhly, or by Our own Will, but by the Diſcreet Advice and Counſel of the "Peers, Prelates, Nobles, and other Our Faithfull Subjects of the kingdom, ſo far "forth, as ſhall make for the Honour of God, the Defence and Advancement of the "Church, (which in all fullneſs of Devotion We Reverence) and to the Advantage "both Publique and Private of all the Subjects thereof, with full Execution of Juſtice, "by the Grace of God to be Adminiſtred unto all and Singular Perſons, We being ear- "neſtly carefull for the Honour, Profit, and Tranquility of You all. For as the Lord "knoweth, nothing will be more acceptable to Us, than that by Our carefull Solici- "tude, Peace may be engendred in General among all *Chriſtians*, but eſpecially be- "twixt Us; ſo that by Our Concord the force and Strength of all *Chriſtian* Princes "may be united together, for the Recovery of the Holy Land, which Our Saviour and "Redeemer hath dedicated with his own Precious Blood; whereunto We will endea- "vour Our Selves thrô the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt. And foraſmuch as We have "offer'd to the foreſaid Lord *Philip* divers Friendly and Reaſonable Conditions of "Peace, whereunto he would neither condeſcend, nor agree to any Conformity, nay "rather he moveth againſt Us unjuſt War, to the Utter Subverſion of Our State; "We are of Neceſſity compelled to the uttermoſt of Our Power (for Our own Se- "curity, and the Recovery of Our Right) to Defend Our Selves by force of Arms: "Not ſeeking any ſlaughter of Good and Humble Subjects, but deſiring their ſafe- "guard and Profit.

"For the which Cauſe, all and ſingular ſuch Our Subjects of the Kingdom of *France*, "as ſhall ſubmit themſelves unto Us, as unto the True King of *France*, between this "and the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next enſuing, profeſſing unto Us their Fealty, and doing un- "to Us, as unto the King of *France* of Duty it appertaineth (ſo as Our beloved Sub- "jects of *Flanders* have done already) or ſhall be ready to offer themſelves ſo to do: "All ſuch We willingly Admit and Receive to Our Peace and Grace under Our Pro- "tection to be defended, them to maintain, as is convenient from all moleſtation and "trouble whatſoever in Perſon or Goods, hereafter to be inflicted by Us or by Our "Officers, upon whatſoever occaſion of Rebellion afore-paſſed.

"And foraſmuch as the Premiſes cannot eaſily be intimated to all and ſingular Perſons, "We have provided the ſame to be fixed upon Church Doors and in other publick Pla- "ces,

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"ces, whereby the Manifeſt Notice thereof may come to all Men, to the Comfort of "You, that are to Us Loyal, and to the Information of thoſe, who thrô the Siniſter "dealing of Our Enemies, are otherwiſe informed of Us. Given at *Gaunt* the 8 day of *February*, in the Year of Our Reign over *France* the Firſt, and over *England* the Fourteenth.

IV. Preſently after King *Edward* had thus aſſumed the Arms and Style of *France*, and had cauſed his Great Seal to be Changed, leaving the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Robert Hufford le Fitz*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, in *Flanders*, with his Queen and Children, he took the Sea for *England*, and Landed ſafe at [x] *Orwell* in *Suffolk* on the 21 of *February*, at Nine of the Clock in the Morning; on which very day, that his New Seal might be made more Publique, he cauſed [y] Impreſſions thereof, and of his Privy Seal (which was alſo alter'd) to be made, and ſent to all the Sheriffs in *England*, to be Publiſhed in the ſeveral Counties; in regard he intended at the meeting of the Parliament on the [z] *Wedneſday* next after *Midlent-Sunday*, to acquaint them with the Cauſe, wherefore he had added to his Style the Title of King of *France*. And on the Firſt of *March* following, he deliver'd his New Broad Seal to Sr. *John de* St. *Paul*, in the Cage-Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, the Old Great Seal being then deliver'd up to him by the ſaid Sr. *John*, which he gave to *William de Kildesby* to be laid up in his Wardrobe. But it is to be [a] remembred, that upon this Change, there were two Seals made alike in all things, but only One was circumſcribed *Edvardus Dei Gratiâ Rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ.* And the other was *Edvardus Dei Gratiâ Rex Franciæ, & Angliæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ*; the Style being varied in Reſpect of the Place, as Our King is now in *Scotland* called *Rex Scotiæ & Angliæ*, but in *England*, *Anglia* is put firſt. But of King *Edward* and his Affairs in Parliament We ſhall not yet ſpeak, till We have given ſome account of other Matters of no ſmall Conſequence in other parts, which fell after the two Armies had broke up at *Vironfoſs* without engaging.

[x] *Clauſ.* 14. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 42. *dorſo.*

[y] 21 Febr. *ibid. m.* 33. *in dorſo.*

[z] 29 Martii.

[a] *Vid. hujus ſigilli Imaginem Sandford p.* 124

V. Only here We ſhall remember, that the King of *England* upon this variation of his Seal, to ſet forth the Equity of his Cauſe, ſent his Letters to the Pope, wherein uſing the Style of King of *France*, and the Lillies quarter'd, he largely ſets forth, how the Realm of *France*, was devolved unto him by Hereditary Right; and that *Philip* of *Valois* had by Violence and Injuſtice uſurped it, to whom the Pope ſent an Anſwer, the Tenour whereof followeth, "*Benedict* the Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God to "his moſt Dear Son in *Chriſt*, *Edward*, the Illuſtrious King of *England*, Greeting, and "Apoſtolical Benediction. When lately the Letters of Your Royal Excellency were "preſented to Our Apoſtleſhip, and the Contents thereof more fully underſtood, as "ſoon as ever a New Title therein deſcribed, and the Impreſſion of a Seal engraven "with the Arms of *France* and *England*, did at firſt view appear, they Adminiſtred un-"to Us great Matter of Aſtoniſhment and Admiration. For by how much We Em-"brace You with the Preheminence of a more Ample Charity, by ſo much the more "grievouſly are We afflicted inwardly, while We perceive You to be led by Perverſe "and Deceitfull Counſels, and to be induced to ſuch things, as are neither Expedient "nor Decent. Nor doth our inward Affection permit Us to be ſilent or diſſemble; but "that We ſhould ſet before the Eyes of Your Mind theſe things, that You may be able "more Diſcreetly and Profitably to take Care to Your ſelf, as to the Premiſes.

M.S. Dr. Stillingfleet *p.* 1. & *apud Odoric. Rainald. ad* An. 1340. § 4. *ex Tom.* 6. *Epiſt. Secret.* 255. *in Vatican.*

"For it is affirmed for certain, and undoubted; that whereas the Cuſtom hitherto "kept inviolably doth not admit the Succeſſion to the Realm of *France* by the Fe-"male Line, the Succeſſion is ſaid not to be due unto You, who, as You know are "deſcended of the Stock of the Houſe of *France* by the Female Line. And if no ſuch "Cuſtom did forbid the [c] *Succeſſive* Proceeding of the Female Line, to the Crown of "the ſaid Kingdom, there are however to the Kings of *France* of Famous Memory, who "gradually Succeeded unto *Philip* King of *France*, of Famous Memory, Your Grand-"father, Daughters, and their Children, who, as to the ſaid Succeſſion, as is reported, "are nearer unto the Kings, their Fathers, than are You and our moſt Dear Daughter in "Chriſt, *Iſabella*, the Illuſtrious Queen of *England*, Your Mother, Daughter of the "foreſaid King *Philip*: But the Cuſtom aforeſaid hath been of former time ſo invio-"lably obſerved, and ſtill is obſerved, that it admits not a Succeſſion to the ſaid Kingdom "by the Female Line.

[c] *Succeſſone M. S. Succeſſionem Odoric.*

"But to think that by the way of force You may obtain the ſaid Kingdom, conſi-"dering the Greatneſs and Power of the King and Kingdom of *France*, Your Forces "are by no means believed to ſuffice thereto: And that holding and poſſeſſing no-"thing in the ſaid Kingdom, You make Your ſelf to be called King of *France*, and have aſſum'd

"assum'd the Arms thereof, as is Premised, it is certainly reckoned to proceed from E- AN. DOM.
"vil and Unrighteous Counsell. But if those who perswaded You to such things, en- 1340.
"deavour to say for an Excuse, that You are Lord in *Flanders*, which is known to be An. Regni
"in Fee of the King and Kingdom of *France*; truly it is to be attended and consider- *Angliæ*
"ed, and Your Royal Wisdom may diligently examin who, and what Men, and of what XIV.
"Condition they are, who have brought You in there: For in them hitherto hath the *Franciæ*
"Vertue of Constancy and Loyalty never been Praise-worthy: For they have often I.
"basely ejected out of *Flanders* it self, Their Natural Lords, to whom they were bound
"in the Debt of Loyalty, violating the Covenant of Their Faith, after the Pleasure
"of Their own Wills; and if they have done this to them, whom they were Natu-
"rally Obliged to Reverence, what may be presumed of You, ô Son, and what kind
"of Title may thence be taken or formed, We pray that Your Wisdom would discreet-
"ly consider.

"Again consider, even thô it did proceed of Good and Right Counsel, that (now)
"You cause Your self to be named King of *France*, during the Reign of Our most Dear
"Son in *Christ*, *Philip* the Illustrious King of *France*, who, as King, hath for many
"Years peaceably held and possessed the Kingdom of *France*, and to whom, as such,
"for the Lands within the said Kingdom to You belonging, by doing Fidelity and
"Liege Homage, You have recognis'd him for King of *France*, and Your Lord for the
"Lands aforesaid: Those that hear asmuch, are amaz'd, [d] ascribing it not to discre-
"tion, but rather to Simplicity and Vanity. Finally We judge it ought to be more
"strictly consider'd, that such a Title, wanting both Reality and Advantage, (which
"those are said to have perswaded You to, who love you not, but seek by Your Losses
"to make Their own Market, believing to attain thereto more fully, when they shall
"have procured You to be insnared and involved in more deep Intricacies, and hazar-
"dous Necessities and Troubles) is feared to be a Poysonous Root, which will probably
"(unless other Care be taken) bring forth Fruits of Bitterness and Sorrow.

[d] Ascribentes *in M.S. quod malè legitur* arbitrantes *apud Odor. Rainald.*

"Moreover We account, that You ought no less diligently to consider, how ma-
"ny, and how Great Kings, Princes, and Noblemen, who have proceeded from the
"Stock of the House of *France*, or have Affinity, or Confederation therewith, who
"opposed not themselves unto You about Your Affairs before, by this Name and Title
"You would provoke against You, and more directly incense, if (which God forbid)
"You should insist thereon. And the very Title might begin such a Matter (which God
"avert) whereby the Reformation of Peace between You and the said King of *France*,
"might, as to all humane judgement, be render'd for ever impossible: And also the
"Princes, and other Subjects of the said Realm (who, as the vulgar report goes, would
"expose themselves to the hazards of Death, and the perpetual loss of Their Goods,
"rather than endure the Premises, would by the same Name and Title, be render'd more
"prompt, able, Valiant, and Couragious against You, [e] for the Defence of the said
"King *Philip*, and his Kingdom: Nor ought You, most Dear Son (as We remember
"to have written unto You elsewhere) to repose much Confidence in the *Germans* and
"*Flemings*; for You shall find them Affable and Kind unto You, as long as They can
"have leave to drain Your Substance, but otherwise You may not confide in Their As-
"sistance. And if You peruse the Deeds of Your Progenitors, how the same *Germans*
"and *Flemings* behaved themselves formerly towards them, You will manifestly find how
"far You may trust unto Them.

[e] Ad defensionem *M.S. rectè, Odoric.* ac defensionem *malè.*

"We therefore intreat Your Royal Highness, and earnestly in the Lord exhort You,
"that You would receive the Premises (which We write of a Fatherly Good Will and
"Sincere Affection) with a favourable Mind, and taking them together with other Mat-
"ters, which as to this Point may occurr unto You, into a just and considerate Discussion
"and Examination, laying by the foresaid Title, would incline Your Royal Mind to the
"way of Peace and Concord, whereby You may be able both to attain and peaceably to
"keep those things, which shall be Your Right, a Mutual Agreement being made be-
"tween You and the said King; that as You are joyned with the Tye of Blood and Affi-
"nity, so You may be allied in the perpetual Bond of Confederation and Love. Dated
Aven. III. *Non. Martii* An°. *Pontif.* VI.

Other Letters bearing the same Date were written to the King, wherein the Pope chid him, that being Admonished the last Year, IV *Id. Octob.* under Penalty of Ecclesiastical Censures, and other heavy Penalties, to break with *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, he had yet return'd no Answer to the Apostolick See; and as it appears, [f] those very Cardinals, who were Nuntio's of the Apostolick See upon the Account of Peace, wrote to the Pope, that those Censures he had once threatned the King of *England* with, might now

[f] *Odoric. Rainald. ad eundem* Ar. §. 8. *ex Tom.* 6. *Epist. Secr.* 256.

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be inflicted on him, becauſe he ſtill kept the Lieutenantſhip of the Empire, but *Benedict* wrote Back unto them to abſtain from any ſuch Proceedings againſt *Edward*, till with the Cardinals he had more maturely weigh'd ſo important a buſineſs. But before things went ſo far, We ſhall find the Emperour himſelf to Repeal his former Commiſſion, given unto King *Edward*; ſo that there was no further Occaſion for that Papal Thunderbolt to ſtrike *England* at that time.

CHAPTER the FIFTEENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *The* French King *ſends an Army into* Gaſcoign, *which the Lord* Oliver Ingham, *King* Edwards *Seneſchal of* Aquitain, *being too weak to match, overthrows by a Stratagem.* II. *King* Philip *reinforces his Navy, and ſends to waſte the Lord* John *of* Hainalts *Lands.* III. *Sr.* Giles Manny, *Brother to the Lord* Walter Manny, *ſlain by the* Cambreſins. IV. *The* French *King gives leave to the Bordering Garriſons to make an Incurſion into the Earl of* Hainalts *Territories: Whereupon the Earl ſends him a Defiance.* V. *After that the ſaid Earl Marches in Hoſtile manner into the* French *Pale, where being ſatisfied with Revenge for that time, he paſſes over the Sea for* England *to enter a ſtrict Alliance with King* Edward. VI. *The mean while King* Philip *orders his Eldeſt Son*, John *Duke of* Normandy, *to Revenge this ſeverely upon* Hainalt, *and he himſelf having try'd in vain to draw off the* Flemings *from* England *to his ſide, procures the Pope to Interdict* Flanders, *and Commands his Garriſons, that Border'd that way, to make ſharp War upon them, which is done accordingly.* VII. Jacob van Arteveld *in Revenge reſolves to go and lay Siege before* Tournay, *and invites the Earl of* Salisbury, *and the Earl of* Suffolks *Eldeſt Son to come to ſuch a Place, and joyn him: They in their Paſſage thither are intercepted, and taken Priſoners by the Men of* Lille, *and are ſent to the* French *King, who is hardly perſwaded by the King of* Bohemia *not to put them to Death in cold blood.* VIII. *The Duke of* Normandy *Invades* Hainalt, *with the various Rencounters thereupon.* IX. *He returning to* Cambray, *Mutual Inroads are made into* France *and* Hainalt *by the Garriſons of either Party.* X. *The Duke, when the ſeaſon of War was come, Marches again from* Cambray, *and goes before the Caſtle of* Thine l' Eveſque: *The Earl of* Hainalt *coming home, Marches with a great Army to raiſe the Siege.*

I. NOW thô *Philip* the *French* King, had upon good Reaſons, as we ſhew'd before, declin'd to venture his whole Stock upon the chance of one Battle, yet was he not wanting to ſhew himſelf both Active and Provident, in offending his Enemy of *England*, where he imagin'd any probability of Succeſs. He [a] therefore appointed the Lord *Gaſton* Earl of *Laille*, who was a right Valiant Leader, and as then at *Paris* with the King, to undertake an Expedition againſt the *Engliſh* in *Gaſcoign*, and to act as his Lieutenant there; making war againſt *Bourdeaux* and *Bourdelois*, and all the Fortreſſes that held ſtill of King *Edward*. At that time the worthy Baron [b] *Oliver* Lord *Ingham*, was Governour of *Bourdeaux* and the Parts thereabout, who not much doubting any great matter from *France* in this juncture, when the King of *Englands* Forces were in *Flanders* (For King *Edward* upon his Departure into *England* had left in *Flanders* great Part of his Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord [c] *Robert Hufford le Fitz*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*) was notwithſtanding ſuddenly ſurprized to behold a compleat Army of *Frenchmen* approaching the Walls of *Bourdeaux*, to lay Siege thereto. He was not ready enough prepared to make good the Place by pure Force, nor had he ſufficient Power at that time (many of his Men being diſperſed into Winter Quarters) to man the Walls and make good all other Defences: Only this was his Comfort, that the Inhabitants were all entirely affected to the *Engliſh* Intereſt. Wherefore putting all his own Men, which were under 6000 into Arms in the moſt ſecret manner, he commanded the Citizens to ſhew no Fear or Diſtruſt, but to follow their Occupations, as in time of Peace. Then immediately he ſet the City Gates wide open, and rear'd upon the Walls both of Town and Caſtle the *French* Lillies. The Enemy

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 46. *fol.*26.

[b] *Walſingh hiſt. p.*133. *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*104. & *Odoric. Rainald. ad* An.1339. *n.* 15.

[c] *Dugd.*2 *Vol. p.* 48.

nemy finding the Gates open, enter'd peaceably, but when they saw the Arms of *France* every where erected, and also upon the Castle it self, supposing the *English* Garrison fled; and so secure now, both they within and they without for the most part laid by their Arms, but all went in without Order, to rifle the Houses of the *English*, and to seize the Castle. But just then the Valiant and Politick Lord *Ingham* with his Men all well-arm'd and in good Order rush'd forth upon them, slaying them down by Heaps, and driving all before them. At which instant the Citizens fell in upon them from all Parts with their Weapons in their hands, so that it was impossible for them, tho never so numerous to rally again and recover any Order: Wherefore with great ease the Lord *Ingham* prevail'd and vanquish'd them utterly, so that they were all either slain or taken almost to a Man; the Earl of *Laille* hardly with a few escaping. King *Edward* upon News hereof, besides his Gracious Acceptance of Sr. *Oliver's* Service, sent his Royal Letters of Thanks to his Subjects of *Bourdeaux*, wherein he also promised them considerable Aid very speedily. They began thus. *Edward, &c.* "You ought, O most "loving and loyal Subjects of *Bourdeaux*, greatly to rejoyce, for that by your Cou- "rage and Loyalty, you have purchas'd unto your selves a Name, that will be crown'd "with immortal Honour: And we nothing doubt, but you will yet further endeavour "to exalt your Glory more high by perseverance in those laudable Beginnings. But "as for this last piece of your Service to Us, We shall take care to requite it with "such Bounty, that by example of your Rewards, obtained from Us, other of our lo- "ving Subjects may be rendred more prompt and willing to hazard in our Service both "their Lives and Fortunes, *&c.*

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When the News of this Succes was brought to King *Edward*, it was also shew'd unto him, that the Lord [d] *De la Brett*, and other Lords of *Gascoign*, who had lately yielded to the *French* King; had now, for want of sufficient Protection from him, return'd to the Obedience of the King of *England*, and wasted the Lands of the *French* King as far as *Tholouse*.

[d] *Knighton p.* 2575. *n.* 60.

About the same time the *English* [e] Mariners of the *Cinque* Ports, to revenge in part those late Affronts done to *England* by the *French* Navy, embarqued themselves in Pinnaces and small Boats well appointed, and after the Feast of St. *Hilary*, arrived at *Boulogne* upon the Sea-coast, from whence is the shortest Cutt to *Dover*: The weather was so misty, cloudy and dark, that they were scarce perceived when they were in the Haven. So that by the Lower Town they burnt 19 Gallies, 4 great Ships and 20 Small Boats with all their Tackling, beside those Houses near the Shore, among which one was the Block-House at that time full of Oars, Sails, Weapons, all manner of Rigging, and other Necessaries sufficient to furnish 19 Gallies and Men for them. After all which they slew many of the Townsmen in a skirmish on the [f] land, set fire to the Lower Town, hang'd twelve Captains of their Ships, whom they had taken, and so bad them farewell for that time.

[e] *Stow p.* 236.

[f] *Knighton p.* 2573. *n.* 50.

II. The mean while King [g] Philip bestirr'd himself, as One, who was sensible, how near all these matters concern'd his Honour and Estate Royal; he mightily enforced and strengthned his Navy, then on the Sea, under the Command of his three Admirals, Sr. *Hugh Quyriel*, Sr. *Peter Bahuchet*, and *Nicolas Barbenoir*, the *Genoan*. These were furnished with a notable Fleet of *Genuans*, *Normans*, *Bretons*, and *Picards*, who did this Winter no small damage to the Coasts of *England*, at *Dover*, *Sandwich*, *Winchelsey*, *Hastings*, and *Rye*: For they were more than 40000 Men in all. Beside this King *Philip* wrote to the Lord of *Beaumont*-in-*Champaine*, the Lord of *Bresne*, the [h] Vidame of *Chalons*, the Lord *John de la Beau*, the Lords *John* and *Gerard* of *Loire*, enjoyning them to furnish themselves with competent forces, and so make an Impression upon the Lord *John* of *Hainalts* Lands, burning, killing, and destroying without Pity, because he took King *Edward*'s Part against *France*. These Lords did as they were Commanded, and enter'd the said Lands with 500 Men of Arms; appearing suddenly one Morning before the Town of *Chimay*, a strong Town of *Hainalt*, seated in a Wood, on the little River *Blanche*. Here they found a vast quantity of Cattle and other Prey, for the Country People never imagin'd the *French* could have come so far, without passing the Wood of *Thierasche*. The Place was too strong however, to be won by them, so that setting fire on the Suburbs, and the neighbouring Villages, they return'd laden with Spoil to *Aubenton*, and there divided the Booty.

[g] *Froiss. c.* 44. & *c.* 50. *Ashmole p.* 651.

[h] *Qu. Vidome, i.e. Vicedominus.*

At the same [i] time the Garrison of *Cambray* sent a small Detachment to a little strong House hard by, called *Relenques*, which also belonged to the foresaid Lord *John* of *Hainault*, and was now kept by a Bastard son of his, who had only 15 Men of Arms, and about fourty others in his Company. These few held out manfully one whole day a-

[i] *Froiss. c.* 44.

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gainſt a continual Aſſault of the *Cambreſins*; but becauſe the Ditches were ſo frozen, that there was free Paſſage for the Enemy to approach to the very Walls, about Midnight the Baſtard and his Men in great ſilence truſſed up all they had of any worth, and ſetting fire to the Houſe, departed for *Valenciennes*, whither they all came in ſafety. Next day, as the *Cambreſins* came thither again to renew the Aſſault, ſeeing all was reduced to Aſhes, they beat down the Walls and what remain'd to the ground, and ſo returned.

[k] *C.* 13. § 3. *p.* 135.

III. We ſhew'd before, [k] how the Lord *Walter Manny* had taken the ſtrong Caſtle of *Thine l' Eveſque*, ſo called, becauſe it belonged to the Biſhop of *Cambray*, over which he had ſet as Captain his Brother Sr. *Giles Manny*. This [l] Sr. *Giles* was a Valiant Knight, and very much incommoded the Garriſon of *Cambray*, both diſtreſſing them, that iſſued out of the Town, and alſo boldly braving them at their own Walls. Once particularly this Winter he Marched from his Garriſon in the head of Sixſcore Men of Arms, and came to the Barriers of *Cambray*; where the clamour roſe ſo high, and the skirmiſh grew ſo fierce, that great numbers within the City were fain to run to Arms, and come to the Gate to the aſſiſtance of their Fellows, who were hitherto too weak for Sr. *Giles*, and were ready to turn their backs. But now upon this reinforcement Sr. *Giles* cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded to his Men, and ſo began to draw off fair and ſoftly. The freſh forces of the *Cambreſins* iſſued out of the Barriers after him, as they might well do, both conſidering their own Numbers, and that ſo ſtrong a Place was at hand to ſecond them. Among the *Frenchmen* there was a young luſty Eſquire of *Gaſcoign*, named *William Marchant*, who came out among the foremoſt into the Field, well-mounted, his ſhield about his Neck, and his Spear in his Hand. Him when Sr. *Giles* beheld, he turn'd his Horſe and rode up fiercely to him, thinking to have ſlain or taken him: But the Eſquire held him tack gallantly, inſomuch that at laſt either by his Hands, or ſome others, (for the Medley and Confuſion was now at the higheſt) Sr. *Giles* was ſtricken thrô all his Harneſs, the Spear paſſing quite thrô his Body, upon which he fell down to the earth. Upon the fall of their Captain, his Men renew'd the skirmiſh more fiercely, but by continual Recruits from the Town they were finally overpower'd, ſlain, and put to flight. The *Cambreſins* took up the Body of Sr. *Giles*, wounded mortally, as he was, and brought him with great Triumph into the City, where preſently they diſarm'd him, and got skilfull Surgeons to dreſs his Wound, for they were very deſirous to ſave him to be Ranſom'd; but for all their Care, he died the next day after. Then they reſolv'd to ſend his Body to his Brethren, *John* and *Thierry* (for the Lord *Walter* the Elder was about King *Edward*'s buſineſs) which two kept Garriſon at *Bouchain* in *Oſtervandt*: For thô at that time the Country of *Hainault* was not engag'd in any War (ſaving the late Incurſion made into the Lord of *Beaumonts* Lands) yet all the Frontiers toward *France* were Garriſon'd for fear of the Worſt, the times beginning to be troubleſome. So they prepar'd an Horſe, and Litter, and putting his Body therein, cauſed two Fryers to convey it to his Brethren, who received him with great ſorrow, and ſaw him decently interred at the Fryers in *Valenciennes*, where afterwards the Lord *Manny* [m] buried his Father, as in due place we ſhall ſee. This being performed, his two Brethren, *John* and *Thierry*, (who were alſo half [n] Brethren to the Earl of *Namur*) went to their Deceaſed Brothers Caſtle of *Thine*, whence they made ſharp War upon thoſe of *Cambray*, in Revenge of the Death of their Brother.

[l] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[m] *Froiſ. c.* 110.

[n] *Id. c.* 49.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 44.

IV. At that time the [o] Lord *Godmar du Fay* of *Normandy*, was Captain of *Tournay* and the Country thereabout; the Lord of *Beaujeu* was Captain in *Mortagne* on the *Skell*, at the Confines of *Hainault* in *Tournois*, the Seneſhall of *Carcaſſon* in the Town of St. *Amand* on the *Scarp*, Sr. *Emeric* of *Poictiers* in *Doway*; and the Lord *Galeas de la Bauſine*, the Lord of *Villers*, the Marſhall of *Mirepoix*, and Sr. *Theobald* of *Marville* in the City of *Cambray*: All which Garriſons deſired nothing more than to make an Inroad into *Hainault*, there to rob and ſpoil the Country. This their Deſire was brought to effect by the Biſhop of *Cambray*, who being then at *Paris* with the King, complained "that the *Hainalders* had done him great Dammage, having de-"ſtroy'd and overran his Country more than any other: And that the Lord *John* of "*Hainault* was an apparent and known Enemy to *France*, and the Earl his Nephew "alſo, ſecretly a Friend to *England*. Whereupon King *Philip* (as one that conſider'd not how many Enemies he created to himſelf) preſently gave leave to the foreſaid Garriſons of *Cambreſis* and *Tournois* to make an Incurſion into *Hainault*, which they gladly did to the number of 600 Men of Arms. On a *Saturday* Morning they all began their March from *Cambray*, and were met by a Troop of *Almains* from the Caſtle

ſtle of *Mal-maiſon*, which ſtood two leagues from *Cambray*; the *Almains* being Servants to the Biſhop of the ſaid City. So that all joyning together they went to the Town of *Haſpre* upon the *Selle*, which was rich and large, being much extended in the Suburbs without the Walls. The Inhabitants were all ſecure, as in the depth of Peace, for they had ſeen no War of many Years, and knew of none near them. Wherefore the *French* enter'd without reſiſtance, and found Men and Women in their houſes and at work, whom they took or ſlew, as many as they laid hands on, and having robbed the Town at their pleaſure, they ſet it then on fire and burnt it to the very ground, that nothing remain'd but the bare Walls: Nor did they ſo much as ſpare the Great Priory of Black-Monks within the Walls, of large Buildings, beſide the Church, which being all within the Walls was a Cell to St. *Waaſt* or *Vedaſt*, an Abby of *Arras*; but this alſo being firſt robbed, they burnt to the ground, and ſo return'd laden with prey to their ſeveral Garriſons. The News of this was brought to the young Earl of *Hainault*, when he was a bed in his Palace at *Valenciennes*, called *la Salle du Comte*: Whereupon he aroſe ſuddenly, buckled on his Armour and haſtily call'd for all thoſe Knights who were about his Court; but their Lodgings were ſo ſcatter'd, that they could not all be ready ſo ſoon as the Earl: He for his part not tarrying for any Man, rode into the Market-place and cauſed the Bells to ring an Alarm: At the ſound whereof all the Men of War, then in pay in the City, aroſe, put on their Armour and follow'd the Earl their Lord, who with a few was already ridden out of the Town in great haſte towards *Haſpre*. He was ſcarce well out of Town, when news came to him, that the *Frenchmen* had atchieved their Enterpriſe and were gone home. Then he rode in a great paſſion to the Abby of *Fontaine*, where the Lady *Joan de Valois*, his Mother was retir'd in Devotion, [p] as we ſhew'd before, upon the death of her Husband the Earl. To her he related this Affront of her Brother King *Philip*, with the moſt bitter Invectives imaginable; ſhe good Lady! took much pains to appeaſe his Anger, and to excuſe his Uncle of being concern'd in ſuch an unnatural Cruelty to him: But he ſaid with an Oath, that the Deſtruction of *Haſpre* ſhould be ſoundly revenged in *France*. So after a ſhort Viſit he return'd to *Valenciennes*, and preſently ſent out his Writs of Citation to the Prelates and Knights of his Country, to come and give him their Counſel in this Affair. When his Uncle the Lord *John* of *Hainault* heard this News, he took horſe and rode to the Earl his Nephew to *Valenciennes*, whom as ſoon as the Earl ſaw, he ſaid, "Ah! Dear Uncle, your Abſence from us hath made the *Frenchmen* "preſumptuous. "Sir, repli'd he; that you have received any Trouble or Dammage, "I am very ſorry, I aſſure you; and yet in a manner I cannot but gather thence ſome "kind of ſatisfaction: For now you are fitly rewarded for the love and ſervice you "ſhew'd to the *French* King, when you left your Brother-in-Law, the King of *Eng-*"*land*, to go and aid him at *Viron-foſſe*. Conſider now, whether you had beſt ſtay "for a little more Provocation; till you ſee all your Country overrun, as ſome of my "Lands have been already. "Ah Uncle, ſaid the Earl, do you but adviſe into what "Quarter we had beſt to March, and I'll ſee it ſhall be ſhortly done with a Witneſs.

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[p] *C.* 10. §. 6. *p.* 114.

Now the Day of the Parliament being come, which the Earl had ſummon'd to *Mons*, thither came all the Burgeſſes of *Hainault*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, among whom were divers Opinions: The more Cauteous adviſ'd, "That certain Perſons of Quali-"ty ſhould be ſent to the *French* King, to know whether he conſented to thoſe Ho-"ſtilities done in *Hainault*, or no; and if ſo, upon what Pretence he made War in "the Earls Land without Defiance. Others more warm were of the mind, that the "Earl ſhould immediately ſeek Revenge, in the ſame manner as he had ſuffer'd the Injury, "to wit ſuddenly, and without giving any Notice at all. But at laſt a third Opinion "prevail'd above theſe, "that indeed the Earl could do no leſs in Honour than make "War in *France*; but it was reckon'd more generous and agreeable to the Law "[q] made by King *Edward* at *Arques* in *Brabant*, to defie the *French* King firſt, and "then to paſs into his Realm with an Army. Accordingly the Defiances being there written and ſealed by the Earl and all his Nobles, the Abbot *Theobald* of St. *Criſpin* was preſently diſpatch'd away with them to *Paris*. The Earl thanked all his Lords for their readineſs to maintain his Honour, and ſet himſelf with all his Power to prepare for the War. The Abbot of St. *Criſpin* went and preſented the Defiances to King *Philip*, who upon peruſal thereof, notwithſtanding his Quarrel with *England*, haughty as he was, made but ſport of the matter, ſaying, "His Nephew was but an Outragious "Fool, and that he was only taking the readieſt courſe to ruine his own Country. The Abbot return'd to the Earl and his Council, to whom he ſhew'd how he had ſucceeded: But the Anſwer enflam'd them all ten times more than before. The mean while

[q] *Vid. c.* 11. §. 5. *p.* 125.

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while the Earl made great Levies from *Brabant* and *Flanders*, as well as in his own Countries, till he had gotten together a Formidable Army.

V. All things being ready, he [r] began his March towards the Lands of *Chimay*, for his intent was to go and destroy the Lord of *Bresne's* Lands, and the Great Town of *Aubenton* in *Tierasche*: The Inhabitants of *Aubenton* were in much doubt of these Preparations; whereupon they sent for Succour to the Grand Baily of *Vermandois*, who sent unto them the Vidame of *Chalons*, the Lord of *Bresne*, the Lord *de la Bonne*, the Lord of *Löire*, and Others to the number of 300 Men of Arms. So they all fell to fortifie the Town where it most wanted, determining to expect the *Hainalders* and to defend the Place, which was very considerable in greatness and riches, especially in Drapery. The *Hainalders* came thither, as was expected, early on a *Fryday* and view'd well the Town, to find in what part it was most assaultable: That same Morning they resolv'd to give a general Assault, and so approached in very good Order in Three Battalia's, with their Crossbows before them, and their Banners waving in the Wind. The Earl of *Hainault* himself led the first Battail, having in his Retinue a great number of Choice Knights and Esquires of his own Subjects: The Lord *John* his Uncle had the second Battail, consisting of many choice Bands of Men of War, *English* and Others; the Third and last was brought up by the Lord of *Valkenburgh*, which consisted for the most part of *Almains* and *Brabanders*. These 3 Battails assaulted the Town at one time in three several places, with much Vigour and Gallantry, the Archers all the while both from within and without letting fly their Arrows and Quarrels without sparing. The Earl with his Battail came up near to the chief Gate, which for a while was worthily defended by the Vidame of *Chalons*, who there and then Knighted three of his Sons, and obliged his Men by words and example to do gallantly: But yet at last both he and they were by the Earl beaten back again into the Town in some Confusion: The Earl carrying the Barriers by fine Force, and keeping them. The mean while his Uncle the Lord of *Beaumont* was fighting with like Valour and Success at the Gate toward *Chimay*, where after a sharp Conflict, which yet was well manag'd by the Lord *de la Bonne* and the Lord of *Bresne*, he forced the Enemy to retire into the Town, and thereby wan both the Barriers and the Bridge also. Yet what they had, as it was not cheaply won, was not easily maintain'd: For the Besieged being beaten into the Town, came now to revenge that Affront upon the Walls, whence they cast down barrs of Iron, Stones, Timber, Darts, and Pots of quick Lime, which did a great deal of Mischief. An Esquire of *Hainault* had such a stroke with a stone upon his Target, that it was quite cloven in sunder with the blow, and his Arm so shatter'd and broken, that it was long before it could perfectly be healed. The next morning being *Saturday*, the Assault was again renew'd on all sides with far more fury than before, so that althô they within did their utmost to defend themselves, at last all their Barriers and Defences were beaten down, and the Town was carried by Force. Sr. *John* the Earls Uncle, enter'd first with great noise of shouting and Trumpets, his Men of Arms beating down all before them. At this dreadfull sight the *Vidame* of *Chalons*, like a Noble Knight withdrew himself into a fair spacious place before the Minster, where he stood with his Men in a square Battail, resolved as it should seem to sell his Life dearly. But as for the Lord of *Bresne*, when he saw all was lost, knowing he had so much displeased Sr. *John*, by his late Incursion into his Lands about *Chimay*, that if he were taken no Ransom would be accepted for his Life, he determin'd to save himself by flight, and presently taking a good Horse fled away without any Order upon the spur. Sr. *John* hearing that his Capital Enemy was escaped, immediately with a good Brigade of Horse sped after him; but the Lord of *Bresne* had got the start of him so much, that finding the Gate of his Town ready open to receive him, he made shift to enter and close the Gates again, just as Sr. *John* came up to the very Walls, thrô eager pursuit with his Sword drawn in his hand. Wherefore seeing his Enemy had escap'd him, he return'd back to *Aubenton*; but in his passage thither, meeting with many of the Lord of *Bresne's* Men following their Master, he put them all to the Sword without mercy. The mean while in the Town, was the young Earl and his Men hard fighting with those who were drawn up before the Minster; and there the *Vidame* of *Chalons* did Wonders in Arms, and so did two of his Sons, and all his Company plaid this their last Stake gallantly and with honour; but the *Hainalders* were as cunning Gamesters, besides that they were more animated with Success; so that at last the *Vidames* Party being oppress't by numbers of Men no less valiant and desperate than themselves, were slain upon the spot every Man, not one was taken to ransom, and the *Vidame* indeed scorn'd to be taken,

[r] Froiss. c. 45.

and

and his Sons were of his Mind, and so they all fell with their Swords in their hands. And of the whole Town not one escaped, but only those who fled away with the Lord *Bresne*, so that there died about 2000 People of the Town besides the Souldiers. After this bloody Execution the Town was rifled and plunder'd, and all the Goods sent away to *Chimay*, and the residue committed to the Flames. From *Aubenton* these incensed Warriers went to *Maubert Fontaine*, which they presently wan, and spoiled the Town, and then ras'd it to the ground; after that they took and burnt the Town of *Aubigny*, and *Signy* the Greater and the Less, and all the Hamlets thereabout, to the number of above 40. And then at last the Earl of *Hainalt* being (as the manner of War is) rather overrevenged of his wrongs, return'd to *Mons* well pleased, and having satisfied his Men with Thanks and Prey, gave them leave to depart for a while, because the season was not yet come to keep the Field.

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But considering, that these his Actions would shortly call a War upon him from *France*, having constituted his Uncle Sr. *John*, Deputy Governour of *Hainault*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, he immediately shipt himself for *England*, with design to make an Alliance Offensive and Defensive with his Brother-in-Law King *Edward*; that so he might be the better able to withstand the Power of *France*. But the Lord *John* of *Hainault* staid at *Mons*, where like a good Provident Captain he took care for all Parts, and retain'd Souldiers, and strengthen'd all his Nephews Castles and Fortresses with Men and Ammunition. And first he sent to *Valenciennes* the Lord of *Engien*, the Lord of *Vergny*, the Lord of *Gomegines*, and Sr. *Henry* of *Hofalize*: To *Landrecy* he sent the High-Steward of *Hainalt* with an hundred Spears; to *Bouchan* in *Ostervandt* three Captains, Brethren, Knights of *Almain* named *Courrars*; instead of the two *Mannys*, who were removed to the Castle of *Thine*, as [t] we shew'd before: To *Escandure* he sent Sr. *Gerard van Sanckins*, and the Lord of *Valkenburg* to the Town of *Avesnes*; the like care he took of St. *Amand* and of every Fortress fronting on *France*.

[t] *Hujus cap.* §. 3. p. 164.

VI. But when King [t] *Philip* heard, how the *Hainalders* had wasted the Country of *Tierasche*, and had slain and taken his Captains, and destroy'd utterly his good Town of *Aubenton*, he presently in a great fury commanded his Eldest Son *John* Duke of *Normandy*, to make a notable Inroad into *Hainalt*, and there to harrass and destroy all the Country, that the Memory of his severe Revenge might remain for ever: And him we shall leave about his vast Preparations to execute his Fathers Command. His Father the mean while to provide against the Storm, which he expected from *England*, reinforced his Navy greatly at this time, and commanded his Admirals to cruise about the Coasts of *Flanders*, and by no means to suffer the King of *England* upon his return to set Footing there on pain of their Heads. And because he now understood for certain, that the *Flemings* had made homage and Fealty to the King of *England* his Adversary, he sent unto them a notable Prelate, who pretended to come from the Pope to shew them, "That if they would return to their Duty, and own themselves to hold only "of his Holiness and of the Crown of *France*, forsaking King *Edward*, who (as he "said) had enchanted them; then he would forgive them all their Trespasses, granting "unto them a General Absolution, and also quit them of 2000000 of *Florens*, in which "Summ they were bound unto him by a Former Obligation; and that he would fur"ther procure them many Advantagious Privileges and Franchises. The *Flemings* an"swer'd, "That they look'd upon themselves as fully acquitted already of whatsoe"ver they were bound in to his Holiness: Since they fought not against the King of "*France*, but the Usurper of that Crown. King *Philip* being nettled with this Answer, made his Complaint to the Pope, and so well handled the Matter with him, that (contrary to the Opinion of St. *Austin*, who says, [u] "*That neither a Common-Wealth, "nor a Prince of a People, ought to be excommunicated*) he too easily interdicted all *Flanders*, insomuch, that no Priest there durst say or sing any Divine Service, while they should continue unreconciled to the Church. Whereof when the *Flemings* complain'd bitterly to King *Edward*, he sent them word, "that when he should come among them "he would bring along with him Priests out of *England*, that should sing Mass, and "perform Divine Service among them, whether the Pope would or no: For he said, He "had Authority and Privilege so to do: And this Answer contented the *Flemings*.

[t] *Froiss. c.* 46. *fol.* 26.

[u] *Neque Multitudo neq; Princeps Populi sunt excommunicandi. August. in Glossa ad Matthæ. c.* 13.

But when King *Philip* saw he could not win them to his side by fair means, then he sent command to his Garrisons of *Tournay*, *Lisle*, *Douay* and other Frontier Fortresses, to make War on the *Flemings* and to overrun their Country. According to these Orders the Lord *Godmar du Fay*, Sr. *John du Roy*, Sr. *Matthew du Trie* Marshall of *Mirepoix*, and divers other Lords and Knights from *Tournay*, *Lisle* and *Douay*, collected

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lected a Body of 1000 Men of Arms, 3000 Croſsbows and Others; who all together one evening ſetting out ſecretly from *Tournay*, and riding about ſix leagues *Northward*, came early the next Morning before *Courtray*. By that time the Sun was riſen, they had gather'd together all the Cattel about the Town, while a Party of them rode up to the very Gates, and ſlew and hurt all whom they found without the Walls. Then they return'd homeward with all their Prey, which they carried clear off, and found, when they came to *Tournay*, that they had got more than 10000 Sheep, and of Swine, Beefs and Kine as many more.

VII. The *Flemings* were extreamly fretted at this Inroad of theirs, but eſpecially *Jacob van Arteveld*, who ſwore to take a bloody Revenge within a little ſpace: And preſently commanded the good Towns of *Flanders*, to get ready their Quota's of Souldiers, and ſend them to him to *Geertsberg* or *Mount Gerard* directly between *Antwerp* and *Tournay* by ſuch a certain day, in order to go with him before *Tournay*. He wrote Letters alſo to the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Robert Hufford*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, being then at *Ipres*, deſiring them to come and meet him there at the ſame time. He himſelf againſt the Day prefixed went out of *Gaunt* with his Men of War, and made his Rendezvous at *Mount Gerard* aforeſaid, being on an Arm of the *Skell*; where he reſolved to ſtay for the Lords of *England*, and the Men of *Frank* and *Bruges*. The foreſaid *Engliſh* Barons thought it diſhonourable to delay a Matter of ſuch Importance, eſpecially the *Flemings* being ſo forward in what they themſelves on behalf of the King their Maſter extreamly deſired; wherefore they immediately diſpatch'd an Anſwer to *Jacob van Arteveld*, ſignifying, that they would not fail to be with him at ſuch a Day.

There was then at *Ipre* a Lord of *Almain*, named Sr. *Vauflart de la Croix*, who for a long time had made War againſt the Garriſon of *Lille* (by the *Dutch* called *Ryſſel*) whereby he was well acquainted with all the Avenues and Paſſages of that Country. Him now the two *Engliſh* Lords took for their Guide, and when the time appointed drew near, marched out of *Ipre* with 50 Men of Arms and 40 Archers in their Company: But as they came toward the Town of *Lille*, either by Treaſon of ſome among them, or by the Enemies Spies, their Approach was ſignified to thoſe of the Town, who ſent out beforehand 1500 Men both Horſe and Foot, in three ſeveral Bodies, that the *Engliſh* might by no means eſcape. It is likely they had at leaſt a ſtrong preſumption ſome time before of this their Coming; for in ſuch a certain place they had made a great Dike, where there never was any before, that their Paſſage might be the ſlower, and they might not ſlip quickly by unperceived. Sr. *Vauflart* had guided them well till they came to this Dike, but here he began to ſmell a Plot, and making an Halt, ſaid to the *Engliſh* Barons, "My Lords, now I ſee well you can-"not paſs without peril from the Garriſon of *Lille*. For this way is but newly thus ſtop-"ped, and without fail they have had notice of our Coming: Wherefore by my ad-"vice, you would do well to turn back again and take ſome other way. But the "Lords anſwer'd him, "Nay Sr. *Vauflart*, it ſhall ne're be ſaid, that we went out of "the way for fear of the Men of *Lille*; therefore ride on before in Gods-name, for "we have promiſed *Jacob van Arteveld* to be with him as on this day. And ſaying ſo, they began to move forward; but then Sr. *Vauflart* repli'd, "Gentlemen, you "have taken me in this journey for your Guide, and I have been with you all this "Winter in *Ipres*, where indeed for your kind Company and ſingular Favours, I have "been particularly obliged unto you: But if the Men of *Lille* once appear without "the Walls, never expect that I ſhould ſtand by you: For I deſign to ſave my ſelf "as ſoon as I may; becauſe, if I am taken by them I am ſure to die for it: And you "muſt pardon me, if I love my Life ſomething better than your good Company, thô "you are my Friends. The *Engliſh* Lords laughed heartily at him and ſaid, "Well "Sr. *Vauflart*, if it be ſo, we freely excuſe you from further Attendance. And truly juſt as he had imagin'd, ſo it fell out, for unawares they were even then in danger of the *French* Ambuſh, who cri'd out, "Hold Meſſieurs, you are not like to paſs this "way without our Leave, and at that inſtant they poured in a whole Flight of Arrows upon them, and came out in good Order againſt them. The Lord *Vauflart* had no ſooner eſpi'd them, but he turn'd his Horſe and got out of the Preaſs, as haſtily as he might, and ſetting ſpurs to his Horſe eſcap'd away: But the *Engliſh* Captains thought ſcorn to flinch, and ſo rode forward, till finding themſelves enclos'd with their Enemies, as it were in a Net, they alighted on foot and began to defend themſelves like Men; inſomuch that for all their great Diſadvantage, they ſlew and hurt many of their Enemies. But the Men of *Lille* were now both behind and before,

and

and they were encloſed in a narrow ſtraight Paſſage beſide, ſo that on each Flank alſo they lay open to the Enemies ſhot, among buſhes, hedges and ditches, that they could neither turn backward nor forward, nor yet have convenient Ground to fight it out on: And however well they might behave themſelves, 'twas impoſſible they ſhould get off, becauſe perpetually freſh Men flow'd in upon them under the Conduct of the [x] Lord of *Rambois*; ſo after ſome Reſiſtance they were all taken of neceſſity, and with them a young Eſquire of *Limoſin*, named *Raymund Rogerii*, Nephew to *Peter Rogerii* then Cardinal, and ſhortly after Pope of *Rome*, by the Name of *Clement* VI. This young Gentleman having yielded himſelf priſoner, was afterwards ſlain in Cool blood by the *Frenchmen*, for greedineſs of his rich Arms and coſtly Apparel. This is the manner of the taking of the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of *Suffolks* [y] eldeſt Son (not as is commonly ſaid, of the Earl of *Suffolk* himſelf) as *Froiſard* hath deliver'd; and truly it would not ſeem improbable neither, but upon theſe accounts, that it is hardly credible, two ſuch Great Captains as theſe were known to be, ſhould erre ſo much againſt the Rules of War, in being ſo raſh and careleſs; and beſides the way from *Ipres* to *Greetsberg* by *Ryſſel* or *Lille* is the fartheſt way about by much, and ſhews that Sr. *Vauflart* had rather a mind to expoſe them to their Enemies, both of *Lille* and *Tournay*, than to guide them the neareſt and ſafeſt way: Which had been by paſſing from *Ipre* to croſs the *Skell* about *Courtray*, a Garriſon of their Friends, to keep the left hand till they came to the place of Rendezvous, which was not above 4 leagues beneath *Aelſt* or *Aloſt*, on another Arm of the *Skell*. Wherefore having a more probable Account elſewhere of the taking of theſe Men, I ſhall ſet that down alſo, leaving the Reader to judge, which Opinion ſeems moſt preferable. Immediately after *Eaſter* the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of *Suffolks* Eldeſt Son, called *Robert Vfford le Fitz*, went and laid Siege to the Town of *Lille* in *Flanders*, [z] ſo called from its Scituation among Lakes, which are now dri'd up, that Town holding then for the *French*; and being furniſhed with a good Garriſon. Hereupon full of Courage, one Day they made a vigorous [a] Sally upon the Beſiegers, but whether really overpower'd by the *Engliſh*, or only in Policy pretending ſo to be, they at laſt retir'd in great (ſeeming) Confuſion, much faſter than they iſſued out. The two *Engliſh* Lords, as the Nature of Man is, preſuming belike on their late frequent Succeſſes, hoped by purſuing them cloſe to enter with them Pell-mell, and ſo to be Maſters of the Place. With this Deſign they follow'd the Townſmen cloſe at their heels, themſelves being follow'd but by a few of their Troops, that were then in readineſs; thô greater Numbers were haſting on to ſecond them. But as ſoon as ever the two Lords with a few about them were got within the Gates, down fell the Armed Portcullis from behind them, and in their Face they met with a great number of Men of Arms; beſides that thoſe who lately fled from them return'd upon them now with greater vigour. So that immediately they were both taken and ſworn Priſoners (with their Men) and then clapt in Irons and laid in the Town-Hall Priſon or common Goal, till it might be reſolv'd what to do with them. At laſt it was determin'd, that theſe two Illuſtrious Captives, being fetter'd and ſhackled with Iron, ſhould be ſent and preſented to the *French* King, as a lucky Hanſel of his future Succeſs. As they were [b] convey'd to *Paris*, they were drawn in a Cart thrô the midſt of every Town, Village or Hamlet in their way, with great ſhouts and cries of the Vulgar, and ſcoffs and railings of the raſcal ſort of People. Being [c] at laſt brought into the King of *France's* Preſence, he moſt unworthily commanded they ſhould be put to Death; but to this the moſt Noble King of *Bohemia*, *John* of *Luxemburgh*, oppos'd himſelf with words to this effect.

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[x] Charles Alleyne *in Creſſy fight p.7.*

[y] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.48.b.*

[z] *Engl. Atlas 4 Vol. p.244.*

[a] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.133. Stow 236*

[b] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p.646.b.*

[c] *Stow p.236.*

"Sir, if theſe Gentlemen your Priſoners, were not Perſons of as high Merit as Quality, I ſhould not take much notice of them at this time; thô I ſhould hardly allow of putting the moſt mean or undeſerving Enemy to Death in cold blood. They are indeed, as Matters now ſtand, open Enemies to your Majeſty; but they are Honourable Enemies however, and ſuch as never fought againſt you, but in their Liege Maſters Quarrel; nor then till open Defiance had been made. Nor were they taken ſo much by the Valour of your Subjects, as thrô an exceſs of their own, and that too by a ſubtle Contrivance of their Adverſaries; nor even then perhaps had they ſo tamely yielded, but that they believ'd, they ſhould not fail of being uſed like Priſoners of War. Let not the moſt Chriſtian King of *France* prove more ſevere and leſs juſt or honourable, than even his Enemies ſuppos'd him to be.

"Beſide, the Event of War is uncertain, and the King of *England* is not only himſelf of great Puiſſance, but has gained ſtrong Allies in the Empire; ſo that he may be ſuppos'd able to return like for like: If theſe Men therefore ſhould now die, who

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"of your Lords would willingly fight in your Quarrel; since if taken, they must never "expect to be put to Ransom, but in Revenge of these Mens Blood, to inevitable "Death: Nor are your Enemies only like to resent this Action, if you proceed se- "verely; but the better Part of your Friends also, as you may guess from Me, who am "the First, that blame this Resolution of yours against them. To kill those that re- "sist is Valour and Justice; but to put those to the Sword, who have laid down theirs, "is both cruel and ungenerous: It may be any Mans fortune to be taken Prisoner; "but it will be an eternal Blot to that Conqueror, who destroys those in cold Blood, "whom the Law of Arms makes only Prisoners of War. My Royal Friend and Bro- "ther, let us resolve to be valiant Enemies but Mercifull Victors; at least let us forbear "these unreasonable Severities, till we are first provoked by the example of the *English*, "to use them.

King *Philip* being convinced by these Reasons of his Old Friend, the Heroick King of *Bohemia*, revoak'd the Sentence of their Death; but however [d] committed them to close Prison: He sent also to thank the Garrison of *Lille*, for this agreeable piece of Service, and promis'd them gratiously to take them into his Consideration. But *Jacob van Arteveld*, when he heard of their Taking, in great Displeasure broke up his Assembly at *Mount-Gerard* or *Geertsberg*, and laying aside all hopes of Succeeding as then against *Tournay*, went back again to *Gaunt* the Metropolis of *Flanders*.

[d] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 134.

VIII. The mean while *John* Duke of *Normandy*, King *Philips* Eldest Son, who as we shew'd before, had Orders from his Father to invade the Earl of *Hainalt's* Country, made his general Rendezvous at St. *Quintin*. There came to him thither *Walter de Brenne*, the Duke of *Athens*, *Lewis* of *Cressy* Earl of *Flanders*, who had now little or no Authority left him in his own Country; *Ralph* Earl of *Eve* and *Guisnes*, Constable of *France*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of *Porcien*, the Earl of *Grand-Pre*, the Earl of *Coucy*, the Lord of *Bresne*, the Lord of *Craon*, and divers other Nobles of *Normandy* and of the Lower Marches. All these with their several Retinues being assembled at the Place aforesaid, a little after * *Easter*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCXL; The Constable and the two Marshals found the whole Number to consist of 6000 Men of Arms and 18000 Others. So they took the Field and began their March, passing by the strong Castle of *Bouhain* and *Cambresis*, and lodged in the Town of *Montais* on the River *Selle*. The Lord *Richard Verchin* High Seneschall of *Hainault*, being beforehand informed by his Spies, that the Duke of *Normandy* intended to lodge that Night at *Montais*, took with him certain Choice Men of Arms from several Garrisons, and about Sun-set, leaving his Castle of *Landrecy*, rode forth till he came to a Forest on the Confines of *Hainault*, a little league from *Montais*. It was now Night and very dark, but this Lord and his Men knew the whole Country perfectly. Wherefore in a field by this Forest the Lord *Verchin* made an Halt, and there first declared to his Company, "That he design'd to go and beat up the Duke of "*Normandy's* Quarters at *Montais*; whereat all his Men expressed much joy, and promised to live and die with him in the Undertaking. He thanked them heartily, and then gave them the Word and full Directions, thô they were all expert Captains; the Knights being Sr. *James Sart*, Sr. *Henry* of *Hofalize*, Sr. *Oliver Guistels*, Sr. *John Chastellet*, and Sr. *Bertrand* his Brother: The Esquires were *Giles* and *Thierry Sommain*, Brethren, *Baldwin Beaufort*, *Colebrier Brule*, Esquire *Moreau*, *Soldat Stramen*, *John Robsert*, *Bridol Thyaulx* and Others to the number of 56, who all rode secretly to *Montais*, and enter'd the very Town undiscover'd. The *French* were so secure they had set no [e] Watch, so that the Seneschall of *Hainault* alighted very silently before the chief House of the Town, for there they expected to find the Duke of *Normandy* himself: But whether by Chance, his own Discretion, or meer Providence, he was not lodged there; but two other Great Lords of *Normandy* had the Place assigned them to their no great advantage in the end, for now they were suddenly assailed by these unexpected Guests, and the Gate of the Lodgings broken down. But when they heard the Cry of *Hainalt* in the House they were extreamly amazed, and yet they defended themselves as well as they could, thô it availed but little; for they were but few within, and those but ill prepared; there one of the Lords was slain outright, as he fought valiantly, the other was taken Prisoner, but being naked was left there, when he had first given to the Seneschall his Faith and Troth, that he would not fail to yield himself Prisoner, within three Days after at *Valenciennes*. At this Noise the Army began to take the Alarm, and the *Frenchmen* came out of their Lodgings and made fires, and lighted up Torches and Candles, while others went to awake their Fellows; but the Duke of *Normandy*, at the first noise arose in all hast, put on his Armour, and order'd

* *Pasch.* 16 April Dom. Lit. B. A.

[e] *Froiss. c.* 47.

order'd his Banner to be displayed before his Lodgings, whereto his Men might repair; for it was not known what Numbers the Enemy consisted of, the Darkness of the Night making all things uncertain. But now the *Hainalders*, perceiving it high time to depart, retired in good Order to their Horses, mounted and went away with 10 or 12 Prisoners of Quality clear off, for the *French* durst not pursue them in the Dark, for fear of an Ambush. By the next morning they reached *Quesnoy*, where having rested a while to refresh themselves they rode to *Valenciennes*.

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In the Morning the Duke of *Normandy*, being mightily incensed at this presumption of the *Hainalders*, and resolving a severe Revenge, gave Command to his Men to dislodge, and March into *Hainault*, and there burn and destroy without Mercy. So his Vancurrours consisting of two Hundred Spears, rode forth under the Command of Sr. *Theobald* of *Marville*, *Galeas* Lord of *Bausine*, the Lord of *Mirepoix*, the Lord of *Ravenal*, the Lord of *Sempy*, *John* Lord of *Landas*, the Lord of *Angers*, and the Lord of *Tramels*: Next these rode the two Marshals of the Army, with 500 Spears; then came the Duke himself with the other Lords, Knights, and Esquires, and the Gross of the Army. The Vanguard burnt *Feresť*, *Bertran*, *Bertinginel*, *Sormaine*, *Vendegres* in the Wood, *Vendegres* on the Sands, by the River *Rouelle*; the next day they burnt *Osmenal*, *Wallers*, *Gomegnies*, *Marchiennes*, *Pestell*, *Anfroy*, *Pyeprux*, *Fresnoy*, *Obiez*, the good Town of *Bannoy*, and all the Country as far as the River *Honneau*. That same day the Marshals with their Battail gave a Brisk Assault to the Castle of *Verchin*, but the Seneschal had so well provided for it, that they got no Advantage there. Thence the Army passed on, and encamped by the River of [f] *Selle*, between *Aussy* and *Sancoy*. Now at this time the Lord of *Valkenberg*, who had been sent at first to *Avesnes*, was Captain of the strong Town of *Maubeuge* upon the *Sambre*, having with him in Garrison an 100 Spears of *Germans* and *Hainalders*. When he heard how the *French* were about these Hostilities in *Hainault*, and saw the poor Country People daily flying away from before them, he was very much moved both with Indignation and Compassion; and so now leaving the Town to the Care of the Lord *Beaurenoire* and the Lord *Montecuculi*, he arm'd himself and his Company, whom for that purpose he had drain'd from several Garrisons, saying, he had a great Mind to find out these *Frenchmen*. So he rode carefully, and with secresie all day by the Forest of *Mormaux*; but in the Evening hearing by his Spies, that the *French* Army was encamped on the *Selle*, between *Aussy* and *Sancoy*, he said, he would go and give them a *Camisade*. So riding on till about Midnight, by the help of a Guide, he passed the River, and then gave the Word, and necessary Orders, making all things ready for the Exploit: So he rode on fair and softly, till he came to the skirts of the *French* Host, but then all in one instant set Spurs to their Horses, and dashed in with great Fury among the sleepy *Frenchmen*, crying out *Valkenberg*, and cutting down Tents and Pavilions, and slaying and wounding whomsoever they met with. The Alarm waken'd the whole Host, so that they began to Rise and Arm apace, and so flock'd to their Banners, moving as they were ranged, to that Part, whence the noise came. Of the *French* there were already slain the Lord of *Picquegny*, and the Lord *Anthony Condom* desperately wounded; the Viscount of *Quesnes*, and the *Bourge* of *Rouvres* were taken Prisoners, besides the Mischief done among the Common sort. But now, when the Lord of *Faulquemont* (which is *Valkenburg*) saw by the Lights in the Host, and the Banners approaching, that it was time for him to be gone, he went off in an instant with all his Company, and repassed the River of *Selle* without any Damage in the World; for he was not followed, because the *French* were unskill'd in the Country, and feared an Ambush. By Sunrise that Morning he got to *Quesnoy*, where he was let in by the Captain Sr. *Thierry* of *Valcourt*; who knew him for a Friend. About the same time also the Duke of *Normandy* went over the River after him, his Vanguard being enforced with 200 Spears more under the Lord of *Noisiers*, besides the Footmen arm'd with Brigandines, all who appear'd before *Quesnoy*, and made a shew, as if the Army was coming up to besiege the Place, or at least attempt it by Assault: But the Town was so well provided with Ammunition and Valiant Souldiers, that they would but have lost their Labour; which also the Enemy partly knew, but however they were resolv'd not to leave them unsaluted, and so came to the Barriers to skirmish. Tho they came on fast enough, they were soon obliged to withdraw much faster, for they were entertain'd by the Town with many pieces of Artillery, from whence were discharged huge quarrels of Stone, and mighty Weights of Lead and Iron, which kill'd whereever they fell, but especially made the *Frenchmen* unwilling to approach, for fear their Horses should be slain, now they were in a strange Country. Wherefore they turn'd off thence, and in their way set on fire *Verchin* the Great

[f] *Ibid.*

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and the Leſs, *Freſne*, *Samners*, *Artes*, *Semeriens*, *Sariten*, *Turgyes*, *Eſtines*, *Aulnoy*, and ſo many Towns and Villages that way, that the ſmoak was ſeen at *Valenciennes*. After this the *Frenchmen* order'd their Battails on the Mountain *Caſteres* near *Valenciennes*, to ſee if by any means they could entice the Enemy to come forth againſt them. The mean while a Detachment of 200 Spears under the Leading of the Lord *Craon*, the Lord *Mauliverer*, the Lord of *Mathelor*, and the Lord of *Dunoy*, rode towards *Montigny*, and went and Aſſaulted a great Tower belonging to Sr. *John Vernier* of *Valenciennes*, which afterwards came to Sr. *John Nevill*. The Aſſault was fierce and continued long, even well-nigh an whole day, ſo that ſeveral of the *French* were ſlain and wounded before they left off: But they within behav'd themſelves ſo well, that they receiv'd no loſs at all. About the ſame time another Party of *Frenchmen* went to *Tryche*, thinking at their Pleaſure to paſs the Bridge, and ſo to approach the Town: But the Townſmen had already broke down the Bridge, and ſtood there to Defend the Paſſage: So that they could not hope for any Advantage that way. However having Guides among them, and ſuch as knew the Country, they made ſhift to Convey over at *Denain* two Hundred Men on Foot, who came ſuddenly upon the Men of *Tryche*: They therefore being but few in number, and not very Expert in Military Affairs, could not endure againſt the *French* in plain fight, and ſo they fled to the Town as faſt as they could, leaving ſeveral of their Friends behind, both dead and wounded. Upon this Succeſs of the *French*, another Body, both Horſe and Foot paſſed over, who joyning with the others, ſet themſelves all together to Aſſault the Town. That day the Seneſchal of *Hainault* went ſecretly from *Valenciennes* with an Hundred Men of Arms to ſuccour the Men of *Tryche*, and in the way a little beyond St. *Waaſt*, he met with 25 Forerunners of the *French* Army, whoſe Captains were the Lord *Bouciquaut*, afterwards Marſhal of *France*, the Lord *Surgieres*, and Sr. *William Blandeau* who had paſſed the Bridge by *Valenciennes*, called *de la Rouelle*. When the Seneſchal of *Hainault* eſpied theſe Men, he rode forth like a Valiant Captain in the Head of his Troop againſt them, and at the firſt ſhock bore down to the Earth with his Spear, the Lord *Bouciquaut*, whom he took Priſoner and ſent to *Valenciennes*, as one who was ordain'd to a Nobler Deſtiny: The Lord of *Surgieres* eſcaped away by the Goodneſs of his Horſe, but Sr. *William Blandeau* was alſo taken alive by Sr. *Henry de Hofalize*, and the reſt either all taken or ſlain. Then the Seneſchal proceeded on toward *Tryche*, but he had almoſt come too late; for the *French* had juſt taken the Town before he came, and were now beating down the Mills, and a little Caſtle that was hard by: When upon the Seneſchals approach, being ſuddenly taken, they had hardly the leiſure to mount their Horſes; ſo they were eaſily diſcomfited and put to flight, and purſued ſo narrowly, that many leapt into the River of *Skell*, and ſome were drown'd, eſpecially the Footmen, of whom very few eſcaped. Thus was *Tryche* ſav'd out of the fire, and moſt of the ſpoils recover'd again: After which the Seneſchal repaſſed the River at *Denain*, and rode to his Caſtle of *Verchin* to defend it, if need ſhould be.

All this while the Duke of *Normandy* was upon the Mount of *Caſteres* near upon all day, expecting that the Men of *Valenciennes* would have iſſued out to have fought with him: And ſo they would gladly have done, but that Sr. *Henry Dantoing* their Governour and the Provoſt of the Town, according to the Seneſchals Order, ſtood at the Gate which looks towards *Cambray*, and by fair Words and good Arguments us'd all their endeavour to ſtop them from ſallying out: For it was too Great, Populous, and rich a City to be hazarded at one caſt of Fortune; But while the Men of War remain'd within, both they and the Town were ſafe, being a mutual ſecurity to one another. When therefore the Duke of *Normandy* ſaw plainly that they would not come forth againſt him, he ſent the Duke of *Athens*, and the Marſhals of his Hoſt, the Earl of *Auxerre* and the Lord of *Chaſtillon* with 300 Spears to go and skirmiſh with them at the Barriers. All theſe rode forth accordingly in good Order and came to the Barriers on the ſide *de la Rouelle*, but they durſt not tarry there long for fear of the ſhot from the Walls, which ſlew their Horſes; the Lord of *Chaſtillon* notwithſtanding rode ſo near, that his Horſe fell dead under him, ſo that he was fain to leap upon another in great Danger of his Own Perſon. Then they return'd by the Marches, and burnt and beat down the Mills on the River *Rouelle*, and ſo came by *Chartreux* to their Hoſt again: But certain of their Company tarried behind at *Marley* to get ſtore of Forage for their Horſes. Now there was a conſiderable Caſtle not far off, formerly belonging to the Lord *Robert* of *Namur*, in Right of the Lady *Iſabella* his Wife, who was one of the Siſters of the Preſent Earl of *Hainault*, but now by exchange it was again reverted to the Earl. The Garriſon within this Caſtle perceiving how theſe *Frenchmen* loytred thus behind their fellows

lows in great Security, and that the Army was now very far off before them, made upon them a ſudden and vigorous Sally, wherein they ſlew the greater part of them, recover'd all their Prey, and without any loſs return'd in Triumph to their Caſtle. AN. DOM. 1340. An. Regni *Angliæ* XIV. *Franciæ* I.

All this [g] while the Great Battail of the *French* was ſtill on the Mount *Caſteres*, till now at laſt, that all their Detachments were return'd from all Parts, thô as we have ſhew'd, not without loſs, they enter'd Conſultation how they ſhould proceed farther. In the end it was reſolved, that ſince they were not ſufficiently numerous to Storm ſo Great and Populous a City as *Valenciennes*, they ſhould content themſelves for the preſent with what they had already done, and ſo return to *Cambray*. So that Night they reach'd *Monchau*, and *Fontaine au Tertre*, and the Abbey pertaining to the Lady *Jane* of *Valois*, Counteſs Dowager of *Hainault*: There they lodged that Night, keeping good Watch, as being ſtill in the Enemies Country; But the next Morning they decamped betimes, ſome of thoſe in the Rear upon their departure ſetting fire on *Monchau*, and *Fontaine*, together with the foreſaid Abbey, thô it belonged to the ſaid Lady *Jane*, Siſter to King *Philip* of *France*. This when Duke *John* her Nephew underſtood, he was ſo diſpleaſed, that he commanded thoſe who began the Fire to be hang'd up immediately. After this they burnt the Town and Caſtle of *Tryche*, (ſo lately reſcued to no purpoſe) and beat down the Mills; alſo they ſet fire on *Prony*, *Romeny*, *Thyaulx*, and all the plain Country between *Valenciennes* and *Cambray*. Then the Duke proceeded to *Eſcandure*, a ſtrong Frontier Caſtle of the Earl of *Hainalts*, ſtanding on the River *Skell*; the Garriſon whereof had been a great Plague to the City of *Cambray*; Sr. *Gerard van Sanctius* being the Captain. But when the Duke of *Normandy* had lain before the Place ſix days, it was deliver'd up unto him; not without the Admiration of all who knew its ſtrength, and therefore vehemently ſuſpected the Captain Sr. *Gerard*, and an Eſquire of his, named *Robert* of *Marmeaulx*, to have play'd the Traytors in this Matter. However, ſhortly after they both ſuffer'd a ſhamefull Death upon this account at *Mons* in *Hainalt*: But the Garriſon of *Cambray* raſed the Caſtle to the ground, conveying the Stones and Timber thereof into their own Town to help them in their Neceſſary Reparations.

[g] *Froiſ. c. 47. fol. 28.*

IX. After [h] this Deſolation of *Eſcandure*, Duke *John* return'd to *Cambray*, where for the preſent he disbanded ſome of his Men, and others he ſent to reinforce the Garriſons of *Doway*, *Lille*, and other places. As ſoon as theſe freſh Aids came to *Doway*, the Garriſon was ſo encouraged, that they ſent forth together with them of *Lille* 300 Spears, whoſe Leaders were the Lord *Lewis* of *Savoy*, *Amè* Earl of *Geneva*, the Earl of *Villers*, Sr. *Galeas* of *Bauſine*, the Lord of *Vaurain*, and the Lord of *Vaſiers*. All theſe overran with fire and ſword, the fruitfull Country of *Oſtervandt* in *Hainault*, ſo that they left nothing untouch'd, but the ſtrong Caſtles. At this the Three Brethren, Captains of *Bouchain*, were extreamly concerned; as thoſe who daily ſaw the fire and ſmoak, and other ill effects of the Enemies Rage, but were not ſtrong enough to oppoſe it. Wherefore they ſent to *Valenciennes*, to tell the Governour, that if in the Night he would ſend forth 600 Spears to joyn him, they would moſt certainly take a Notable Revenge upon the *Frenchmen*, who lay ſcatter'd abroad without any Retiring place, or ſhelter in the plain Country: But whatever they alledged, thoſe of *Valenciennes* durſt not ſtir out of the Town, becauſe the Earl had ſtrictly enjoyn'd the contrary, during his abſence. Wherefore the *French* meeting with no Oppoſition, took great Booties, and fired the Town of *Nyche*, *Deſcoux*, *Eſcaudan*, *Hery*, *Monteney*, *Senain*, *Verlain*, *Vargny*, *Ambreticourt*, *Lourge*, *Salx*, *Ruette*, *Neville*, *Lieu*, St. *Amand*, and all the Villages of that Country, from whence they brought off much plunder. But as ſoon as they were return'd into Garriſon, thoſe of the Garriſon of *Bouchain*, went forth and burnt a Moiety of *Deſcon*, which was *French*, and the Town of *Deſquerchine*, and all the Villages that held with *France*, as far as to the Gates of *Doway*. Thus on both ſides were the Garriſons furniſhed with Men of War, and daily mutual Advantages and Loſſes were exchanged between both Parties.

[h] *Froiſ. c. 48.*

At the ſame time there was a Garriſon of *Germans* in the Fortreſs of *Mal-Maiſon*, which was but two Leagues from the Caſtle of *Cambreſis* on the *Selle*, being placed there by the Biſhop of *Cambray*, who held with *France*. This Fortreſs on the ſide toward *Hainault* look'd directly upon *Landrecy*, whereof the Lord of *Poitrel* was Captain; for thô the Earl of *Blois* own'd it once, yet on certain conſiderations he had lately parted with it to the Earl of *Hainault*, before the Earl had broke with *France*. Theſe *Germans* of *Mal-Maiſon* aforeſaid came one day to the Barriers of *Landrecy*, and in ſight of the Town began to drive away a great Booty of Cattle, that graſed thereabout. The Lord of *Poitrel* underſtanding thus much, Arm'd himſelf and all his Company,

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pany, and rode forth to the Reſcue in the Head of his Men, with his Spear in his Reſt, ſtill crying after the Enemy, "Sirs, it is a ſhame to fly away. Now the *Germans* of the *French* ſide had among them an Hardy and Couragious Eſquire of *Almain*, named *Albert* of *Colen*, who not enduring thoſe biting Words, immediately turn'd his Horſe, couched his Spear, and ran furiouſly againſt the Lord of *Poitrel*, giving him ſuch a ſtroak on the Target, that the Spear flew all to pieces, but having preſently recover'd another, he redoubled his ſtroak with ſo much Fury, that the Spear enter'd quite thrô his Armour into his Body juſt to the Heart; ſo that the Lord *Poitrel* fell dead from his Horſe. But his Companions, the Lord of *Bauſiers*, Sr. *Gerard Maſtin*, and Sr. *John* his Brother, with their Troops renew'd the Chace againſt the *Frenchmen* ſo briskly, that moſt of them were ſlain, all the Prey reſcued, and their own Priſoners recover'd, but a very few having the Good Fortune to eſcape. So the *Hainalders* return'd again to *Landrecy*, bringing along with them, as a Qualification of their Victory, the Dead Body of their Captain, the Lord of *Poitrel*, in whoſe place ſucceeded the Lord of *Floron*.

Thus various were the Rencounters between the *Hainalders* and *French*; but the Country of *Hainault* was grievouſly waſted and afflicted with this War; and ſtill the Duke of *Normandy* lay on the Frontiers, no man knowing whither he would turn his Fury next: But the Greateſt Concern of all was, they could hear no tidings of the Earl of *Hainault*, their Lord. He for his part, as we ſhew'd before, had taken a Voyage into *England*; where he was well received by the King and his Barons, and there was made between the King and the Earl his Brother-in-Law, a mutual Alliance, Offenſive and Defenſive. From *England* the Earl went into *Germany* to the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who had Married his Eldeſt Siſter the Lady *Margaret*, as King *Edward* had Married the Youngeſt, and with him alſo he made an Alliance, Offenſive and Defenſive: And theſe were the Occaſions that kept the Earl ſo long abroad. Beſides this the Lord *John* of *Hainault* his Uncle, having as well as he could, ſupply'd all Places of Strength, and given neceſſary Orders, ſince he had received peremptory Command abſolutely to decline coming to Battle, till the Earl's Return, was alſo gone now into *Brabant*, and other parts of *Flanders*, where he ſhew'd to the Duke of *Brabant*, and to *Jacob van Arteveld*, the Deſolation of his Country of *Hainault*, deſiring of them their Advice and Aſſiſtance, They anſwer'd, "How they were ſure, that ſhortly the Earl himſelf would return Home, and then they promiſed to be ready to go with him whither he would pleaſe to lead them.

[1] *Froiſ. c. 49.*

X. Now[1] while the Duke of *Normandy* remaind'd at *Cambray*, the Biſhop and the Burgeſſes of the City told him, how the *Engliſh* and *Hainalders* had gotten by Surpriſe the ſtrong Caſtle of *Thine l' Eveſque*, deſiring him for the Common good to endeavour its Recovery: Becauſe the Garriſon that lay there was ſo prejudicial to all their Country. Upon this the Duke began again his Muſters out of *Artois* and *Vermandois*, and having compleated a ſufficient Army went forth of *Cambray*, and came before *Thine* on the River[k] *Sambre*, and ſat down before it, pitching his Tents in the fair plain Meadows toward *Oſtrevandt*. The Duke had brought with him from *Cambray* and *Doway* ſeveral great Engines, but eſpecially ſix of extraordinary ſize, all which he reared up againſt the Fortreſs, caſting from them night and day mighty Stones, wherewith he beat down the Roofs of their Chambers, Halls, Towers and Houſes: So that the Beſieged were fain to lie in Vaults and Cellars for their better Security againſt theſe Engines; the Captains of the Fortreſs at that time were Sr. *Richard Limeſi*, an *Engliſh* Man of honourable Extract, and two valiant Eſquires of *Hainalt*, *John* and *Thierry*, Brethren to the Lord *Walter Manny*, and to the Earl of *Namur*: Theſe three Captains, thô infinitely moleſted by theſe Engines, would often ſay to hearten their Company: "Surely Fellow-Souldiers, one of theſe Days the Earl of *Hainalt* will "come againſt theſe *Frenchmen* and deliver us with Honour, and fully acquit us of "our preſent Danger: Nor will he then fail to give us both great Rewards and "Thanks for having ſo truly defended this Place ſo long. But after that the Engines caſt in upon them dead Horſes and Dogs, and other ſtinking Carcaſſes, which annoyed them much more than any other thing; for it being about the time of *Midſummer*, thrô the heat of the Air the ſtink became ſo abominable, that they ſaw at this rate they ſhould never be able to hold out any longer. So by good Advice they concluded to deſire a Truce for 15 Days, in which time to ſend and inform the Lord *John* of *Hainalt* (who was Governour of the Country in the Earls abſence) of their State and Condition; and if he ſhould not afford them any Succour in that ſpace, then they would yield up the Fortreſs to the Duke. This Treaty being agreed to by the Duke,

[k] *Mezeray p. 16.*

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the Three Captains ſent forth an Eſquire of *Hainalt*, named *Eſtrelart de Sommain*, to *John* of *Beaumont*, to whom the Eſquire, finding him at *Mons*, related the whole Meſſage, not forgetting to aggravate the ill Condition of his Friends at *Thyne*. Sr. *John* thereupon ſhew'd him the Letters he had newly received from his Nephew the Earl, wherein he wrote, "That he was coming homeward into his own Country, and "that he had been with the Emperour and King of *England*, and with ſeveral Lords "of the Empire, with all whom he had made a ſtrict Alliance. "And, ſays he, go "and tell our Friends at *Thyne*, that they be of good Courage; for the Earl will be "here within a Day or two, and without doubt they ſhall be relieved effectually upon "his Return.

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During this term of Truce the Earl returned home accordingly; at which time the Lord of *Beaumont* his Uncle, gave him an exact Account of all publique Tranſactions during his Abſence; how the Duke of *Normandy* had lain on the Frontiers, and how he had burnt and waſted his Country. The Earl anſwer'd, "that it ſhould be dearly "paid for, adding, how the Realm of *France* was rich, and large enough to make ample Satisfaction for all their Treſpaſſes done againſt him: But for the preſent, he reſolv'd to addreſs himſelf immediately to the Aſſiſtance of thoſe who were beſieged in *Thyne*, ſince they had hitherto defended themſelves in ſuch Difficulties with ſo much Honour. Whereupon he ſtraight ſends out his Summons to all his Friends and Allies in *Germany*, *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and thrô all his own Country, himſelf went to *Valenciennes*, where he made his General Rendezvous, and preſently he had a gallant Army. This done, he marched from *Valenciennes* in great Array with many Carriages, Tents and Pavilions, and other Neceſſaries, following the Army, and went and encamped by *Sar* on the Plain along by the River *Sambre*. He had in his Company theſe Lords *Hainalders*, *John* Lord of *Beaumont* his Uncle, the Lord of *Engien*, the Lord *Verchin* Seneſchall of *Hainalt*, the Lord *Dantoing*, the Lord *Barbancon*, the Lord of *Lens*, the Lord *William Bailleul*, the Lord *Havereth*, the Chaſtelain of *Mons*, the Lord *Montecuculi*, the Lord *Barbais*, Sr. *Thierry* of *Walcourt* Marſhall of *Hainalt*, the Lord *Dalmed*, the Lord *Gomeygnes*, the Lord *Briſuell*, the Lord *Roiſin*, the Lord *Triſagines*, the Lord *Lalain*, the Lord *Maſtin*, the Lord *Sars*, the Lord *Vargny*, the Lord of *Beaurien* and many Others, all ready with their Men to ſerve their Lord the Earl. Beſide of his Allies there came thither to his Aid, the Earl of *Namur* with 200 Spears, after whom came the Duke of *Brabant* with 600 Spears, and the Duke of *Guerle* with 400, *William* Marqueſs of *Juliers* was now in *England* with King *Edward*; but there was the Earl of *Mons*, the Lord of *Valkenberg*, Sr. *Arnold* of *Baquehen*, and divers other Lords and Captains of *Almain*, *Weſtphalia* and *Flanders*. All theſe with their ſeveral Troops were encamped along by the River *Sambre*, over againſt the *French* Hoſt, and Plenty of Victuals and other Proviſion was daily brought to them out of *Hainalt*.

When the Duke of *Normandy*, who lay on the other ſide of the River with a goodly Army, ſaw how theſe Lords his Enemies were thus lodged between *Sars* and *Auſne*, he ſent Word to the King his Father, letting him know how great the Earl of *Hainalts* Forces were, and how they ſtill encreaſed daily. King *Philip* being then at *Perone*, ſent preſently 1200 Spears to the Reinforcement of his Son, and he himſelf ſoon after went to the Army, but *Incognito* and like a private Souldier; for he was under an Obligation, made by Oath to the Emperour, never to come againſt any Lords of the Empire, or thoſe that held thereof, without the Imputation of flat Perjury: Which by this pittifull Salvo he thought now to avoid. Wherefore the Duke of *Normandy*, his Son, was ſtill look'd upon and named the Chief General of the whole Army; thô all the while he did nothing, but by the Advice and at the Command of the King his Father.

When thoſe, who were beſieged in *Thine*, ſaw the Earl of *Hainalt* come to their Aid with ſuch a Mighty Power, they were well refreſhed, as well with the Conſcience of having held out ſo gallantly, as with ſure Hopes of an eaſie Deliverance. But all their Friends were not come yet, for on the fourth Day after the Earls Arrival, there came to him a freſh Acceſſion of conſiderable Forces from *Valenciennes*, under the Conduct of Sr. *John de Boſſu* Provoſt of the City. Upon this Reinforcement the Earl of *Hainalt* began to skirmiſh with the *Frenchmen* couragiouſly: But neither were they wanting to do their Devoir; ſo that with Arrows, Quarrels and Engines many were ſlain and hurt on both ſides; but the Armies could not as yet joyn Battle, becauſe the River *Sambre* ran between them. [1] Only the Skirmiſhers fought daily together by means of four Bridges that lay over the River; which yet were well kept on both ſides,

[1] *Fabian* p. 269.

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sides, that neither could pass over to the other without apparent Disadvantage. While thus the two Armies lay by the River *Sambre*, the *French* toward *France*, and the *Hainalders* towards their own Country, the Foragers on both sides rode forth daily to fetch in Provision for the Army; but they never encountred one another, because the River parted them. Only a strong Detachment of the *French* went forth and burnt in the Country of *Ostervandt*, where it had not been wasted before, as part of the Town [m] of *Quesnoy*, and other Villages thereabout; which the *Hainalders* requited by burning in like manner in the Country of *Cambresis*. While [n] both Armies stood thus confronting each other, there came to the Earl of *Hainalts* Aid, at the Perswasion and under the Conduct of *Jacob van Arteveld* 60000 *Flemings*, well-arm'd and in good Array. Wherefore now that the Earl found himself above an 100000 strong, he sent by his Heralds to the Duke of *Normandy*, demanding Battle of him; for he said, it could not but prove a shame to that Party of the two who should now decline the fight, when both Armies were so equally great and alike provided. The Duke said, he would ask Counsel of his Lords, but they were so long in Debate, that the Heralds were fain to come back for that time without any Answer at all. The third Day after therefore the Earl, having all this while received no Return to his Message, sent again to the Duke to know his final Resolution. The Duke repli'd, "That he "was not sufficiently convinced, that it was necessary to give his Enemies Battle at "their pleasure, but at his own rather: That the Earl was too hot and hasty, but might "perhaps be cooled some time or other. The Earl hearing this, took it but for meer Tergiversation and Delay, and so declared to his Chief Lords and Captains the Summ of his two Messages with the Answer, and that he was resolv'd to fling a Bridge over, and go and give them Battle in spight of their Teeth, demanding their Opinions thereupon. At this they all began to look on each other, every Man being unwilling to speak First; but by and by the Duke of *Brabant* spake thus for all: "To make "a Bridge and so to go over and fight the *French* (whatever I should think in other "Circumstances) is not my Opinion at this time. For I am most certainly assured, "that the King of *England* will very shortly come over the Sea, and lay his Siege be-"fore *Tournay*, and you know we have all sworn to aid and succour him to the ut-"most of our Power. If we should now fight the *French*, and have so ill success "as to lose the Field, King *Edward* would miss of his Purpose, and be wholly dis-"appointed of the help he expecteth of us. And if we should obtain the Victory, he "will have but small reason to thank us; since we shall seem to have prefer'd the "Gratification of our own Revenge to the care of his Welfare. So that my Opinion is, "that by no means, while it is in our choice not to be compell'd, we engage our selves "with the whole Power of *France*, without the Presence of him, who is chiefly con-"cern'd in this War. But when we shall lie before *Tournay*, with King *Edward* on "our side, and the *French* King in Person against us, I think it will be next to impos-"sible, that we should then miss of a Battle. Wherefore for this time my Advice "is, that we break up and depart, when we have secur'd the Lives of this Garrison "here, since our Lying in this place is so excessive chargeable and expensive. For I "am certain within these ten Days at fartherst, we shall hear, that the King of *England* "is come. The Major Part of the Lords present approved of this Counsel, as most reasonable, all things considerd; and especially the *Brabanders*, Citizens of *Brussels* and *Louvain*, when they heard of this Advice of their Lord, applauded it extreamly, as being desirous to return home as soon as might be. But the Earl of *Hainalt* prevail'd with much ado with the Leaders to tarry a little longer: In which time, since he had never before seen himself in the Head of so considerable an Army, as he was very Couragious, he thought to force the Lords, his Allies to an Engagement before their Departure, as *Themistocles* did the *Grecian* Confederates at *Salamis*. Wherefore privately he brake his Mind to the Lord *John* of *Hainalt*, saying, "Dear Uncle, I "desire you would please to ride down by the River side, and to call over the River "to speak with some Body of the *French* Army: And then desire him to shew unto "the *French* King and his Son from me, that if they will give me three Days Respit "and Truce, I will make a Bridge over the Water, and so go over and give him Bat-"tle: Or else let him do the like, and we will by no means hinder the Workmen "from making the Bridge. The Lord of *Beaumont* according to his Nephews Desire, rode presently down along the River side with Thirteen Knights in his Company, and his Banner before him to let the Enemy know who he was. At last he perceived on the other side a Knight of *Normandy*, whom he knew by his Arms, and so called unto him, naming him by his Name, "Sr. *Maubousson*, I pray let me speak with you a little.

[m] *Fabian ibid.*
[n] *Froiss. c. 49. fol. 29.*

"little. Then the Knight drew near to the Bank side and said, Sir, what is it you "would have with me? Sr. *John* repli'd, Only that you will be so kind, as to go "to the *French* King and his Council, and tell them how the Earl of *Hainault* has "sent me hither to ask a Truce only, while he may lay a Bridge over this River, and "that then he will go over and give you Battle without fail: Of this if you will "please to bring an Answer, I'll tarry here till your Return. The Lord *Maubousson*, "having made signs of yielding to his Request, immediately set spurs to his Horse "and rode directly toward the Kings Tent, with whom at that time were the Duke of "*Normandy*, and many other Lords and Peers of *France*. Before all whom having declared his Message, he received a short Answer, being commanded to tell him that sent him thither, "That as the Duke of *Normandy* had held the Earl of *Hainault* all "this while, so he resolv'd to do, untill it should please him to do otherwise: And so "to put him to Charges, till he should be forced to sell all his Lands, which yet should "be either few or none, and what should be left worth but little: For he would "make hot War upon him on all sides. And (says King *Philip*) when We see Oc-"casion, we'll come over the River and invade *Hainault* with an Army Royal; till we "have utterly consumed all his Country. This Answer was brought by Sr. *Maubousson* to the Lord of *Beaumont*, who thanking him for his pains, return'd to the Earl whom he found playing at Chess with the Earl of *Namur*. But when the Earl saw his Uncle, he rose up hastily and went aside, and heard distinctly what the King of *France* had answer'd him; at which, thô outwardly he took little notice, he was extreamly displeased in his Mind, saying only this, "Well, well, but I hope things will not "fall out as he imagins.

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While thus the Castle of *Thine* was batter'd on one side by the *French*, and could not be effectually relieved by the *Hainalders* without a Battle, which it seems the *French* declin'd, as we have shewn, the [o] Three Captains of the Castle by secret advice from the Earl of *Hainalt*, having provided a good Ship and other Barks, into which they put all their Men and Provision, first set the Castle all of a light fire, and then immediatly departed to the Army of their Friends, by whom they were received with much joy. The *French* perceiving by the Fire, how the matter went, ran in all hast, and climb'd the Court Walls to quench the Fire, which at last with much labour they did, but the Castle was much endammaged thereby.

[o] *Fabian p.* 269

But before these things happen'd, King *Edward* had won a great Victory at Sea, and was arrived at *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, of all which we shall now take leave to discourse; only first we think it requisit to shew what Preparations he had made in *England* all this while, in order to those great Affairs, which then he was about to undertake.

CHAPTER the SIXTEENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *holds a Parliament at* Westminster, *with the Particulars thereof at large.* II. *Being warned of the Strength of the* French *Navy, he provides accordingly, upon his Setting forth for* Flanders. III. *He takes the Sea, and engages the* French *Fleet before the Haven of* Scluce, *with the particulars of his Victory.* IV. Nele Loring, *an* English *Esquire, Knighted for his Valour: King* Edward *goes to* Gaunt, *from whence he sends to his Clergy, with the Copy of his Letters.* V. *The Manner, how King* Philip *heard first of this Loss; the Use of Arrows prefer'd to our modern way of Guns.* VI. *The two Armies of* Hainalt *and* France *break up from before* Thine l' Evesque. VII. *King* Robert *of* Sicily *procures the Pope to write to King* Edward *to move him to accept of Peace.* VIII. *A Copy of the Popes Credence.* IX. *A Copy of King* Edwards *Answer, shewing how he had all along sought Peace to no purpose: And yet on certain Conditions was ready to admit of a Treaty.*

I. ON the [a] *Wednesday* next after *Midlent-Sunday*, King *Edward* of *England* held his High Court of Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein he demanded of the Commons, towards his Charges in order to the Recovery of his Right in *France*, the [b] Ninth Part of all their Moveable Goods, the Customs of Wooll for Two Years to be paid aforehand; and the Ninth Sheaf of Corn,

[a] *M. S. Rot. Parl. p.* 29. *&c. Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 22. *& Holinshead Eng. Chron. p.* 907.
[b] *Knighton p.* 2576. *a n.* 30. *ad n.* 60.

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with the Ninth of all other Grain, the Ninth of Wooll and the Ninth Lamb to be levied in two Years, which Grant was reduced into the Form of a Statute, beginning, [b] "To the Honour of God, *&c.* Saving that thoſe Articles thereof which were but Temporary, were in a Schedule thereunto annexed, exemplified under the Great Seal and began thus, "*Edvardus Dei Gratiâ Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, &c.* [c] Know ye, "that whereas the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Commons of our Realm of *England* in "our Preſent Parliament, holden at *Weſtminſter* the *Wedneſday* next after the Sunday of "*Midlent*, the 14 Year of our Reign of *England* and the Firſt of *France*, have gran- "ted to Us of their good Gree and Good-will, in aid of the ſpeed of our great Buſi- "neſs, which We have to do, as well on this ſide the Sea as beyond, the Ninth Sheaf, "the Ninth Fleece, and the Ninth Lamb, to be taken by Two Years next coming "after the making of the ſame, and the Citizens and Burgeſſes of Burroughs the very "Ninth part of all their Goods, and the Foreign Merchants and Others, which live not "of gain nor of ſtore of Sheep, the Nineteenth of their Goods lawfully to their value: "We willing to provide to the Indemnity of the ſaid Prelates, Earls, Barons, and o- "ther of the Commonalty, and alſo of the Citizens, Burgeſſes and Merchants afore- "ſaid, do will and grant for Us and our Heirs to the ſame Prelates, Earls, Barons and "Commons, Citizens, Burgeſſes and Merchants, that the ſame Grant (which is ſo "chargeable) ſhall not another time be brought for an Example, nor turn to their "Prejudice in time to come: Nor that they be from thenceforth charged, nor "grieved to make any Aid, or to ſuſtain Charge, if it be not by the Common Aſſent "of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other Great Men and Commons of our ſaid "Realm of *England*, and that in the Parliament: And that all the Profits riſing of the "ſaid Aid, and of Wards and Marriages, Cuſtoms and Eſcheats, and other Profits ri- "ſing of the ſaid Realm of *England*, ſhall be ſet and diſpended upon the Maintenance of "the Safeguard of our ſaid Realm of *England*, and of our Wars of *Scotland*, *France* "and *Gaſcoign*, and in no place elſwhere during the ſaid Wars. Beſides which extra-ordinary Grant of the Lords and Commons, the Clergy alſo at the Motion of the Archbiſhop freely gave unto the King a Tenth. Here alſo, becauſe the King in his Style was called King of *France*, and had alter'd his Arms, whereby his Subjects might think themſelves in danger of becoming a Province to *France*, that being the greater Kingdom, the Kings Letters Patents of Indemnity were granted, beginning, [d] "*Edvar- dus, &c.* "*Edward* by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of "*Ireland*, to all thoſe, who theſe Letters ſhall hear or ſee, Greeting. Know ye, that "whereas ſome People do think, that by reaſon that the Realm of *France* is devol- "ved unto Us, as Right Heir of the ſame, and foraſmuch as We be King of *France*, "our Realm of *England* ſhould be in Subjection to the King and Realm of *France* in "time to come, We having regard to the Eſtate of our Realm of *England*, and name- "ly, that it never was, nor ought to be in Subjection, nor in the Obeiſance of the "Kings of *France*, which for the time have been, nor of the Realm of *France*: And "willing to provide for the Safety and Defence of the ſaid Realm of *England*, and "of our Liege People of the ſame, do will and grant, and eſtabliſh for Us, and for our "Heirs and Succeſſors, by Aſſent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons and Commons of our "Realm of *England*, in this our preſent Parliament ſummon'd at *Weſtminſter*, the "*Wedneſday* next after the *Sunday* in *Midlent*, the xiv Year of our ſaid Reign of our "Realm of *England*, and the Firſt of *France*, that by the cauſe or colour of this, "that We be King of *France*, and that the ſaid Realm to Us pertaineth, as afore is "ſaid, or that We cauſe Our Selves to be named King of *France* in our Stile, or that "We have changed our Seals or our Arms, nor for Commands, which We have "made, or hereafter ſhall make, as King of *France*, neither our ſaid Realm of *Eng- "land*, or the People of the ſame, of what Eſtate or Condition they be, ſhall not in any "time to come be put in Subjection, or in Obeiſance of Us, nor of our Heirs nor Succeſ- "ſors, as Kings of *France* as aforeſaid, nor be ſubject, nor obedient, but ſhall be free "and quit of all manner of Subjection and Obeiſance aforeſaid, as they were wont to "be in the time of our Progenitors, Kings of *England* for ever. In Witneſs where- "of, *&c.*

[b] *vid. Statute Book* 1 *Vol. p.* 78, *&c.*

[c] *Statute Book* 1 *Vol. p.* 82. c. 1.

[d] *Vid. Statute Book* 1 *Vol. p.* 82

Certain Biſhops and Lords require of his Majeſty to be ſaved harmleſs for thoſe great Summs of Money wherewith they ſtood bound on the Kings Behalf to the Duke of *Brabant*, in caſe the Duke of *Cornwall* ſhould not Marry with the Daughter of the ſaid Duke, which Requeſt was granted, and all with the Letters Patents aforeſaid was enrolled in the Chancery. The Petitions alſo of the Clergy by Aſſent were made into a Statute, beginning *Edvardus, &c.* and enrolled as above. After this certain

fit

fit Perſons there named, were appointed for ſeveral Affairs, ſome to hold Debate of matters concerning *Flanders*; ſome to ſpeak with the Merchants, touching Exchange to *Bruſſels*; and to confer with the Merchants of *England*; ſome to dilate with Priors Aliens, of which we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter; others to adviſe touching the Defence of the *North* Marches; others to treat about the Affairs of *Gaſcoign*; and others how beſt to preſerve the Iſlands and the Sea-coaſts. As to the Keeping of the Peace, and performing of Covenants between the Duke of *Brabant* and Others on the Kings Behalf, that was all to be debated in the Kings own Preſence. Concerning the raiſing of Money, that was refer'd to the Commons. But becauſe the Taxes laſt granted were not duly anſwer'd to the King, by thoſe who had been entruſted with the Care thereof; Certain Perſons were now appointed to take the Accounts of Sr. *William de la Pole*, Sr. *John Charnells*, and *Paul de Monteflore* and Others, who had received Money, Wooll, and other Goods to the Kings Uſe. Whereupon Sr. *William de la Pole* and the Reſt had Day given them to ſhew their Accompts, each of them finding their ſufficient Sureties: The Earl of *Derby*, and the Lord *Wake* were Sureties for Sr. *William*; the ſame Earl of *Darby* and the Lord *John Montgomery* for Sr. *John Charnells*: *John* Lord *Dacres* and *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, Sr. *John Shareſhull* and Sr. *John Stradling* ſtood for *Paul de Monteflore*, Sr. *John Sturmy* and Sr. *John Charnells* were bound for *William Welchborne*; and the Earl of *Huntington* engaged for *Pierce Dyme* and other Merchants of *Barton*. Thereupon the Parliament was Prorogued till *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter* Week then enſuing.

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At which time certain were appointed to ſit on Petitions had before the King: When alſo the Biſhops at the Kings Requeſt, promiſed never to diſſent from the Kings Promiſe made for the Cuſtoms of Wooll, but by Common Aſſent of Parliament. A Motion to remember to Repeal a Commiſſion made to Sr. *Robert Waterford* of the [e] Oppoſer in the Exchequer: Alſo to remember to reſpit the Prior of St. *Dennis* near *Southampton*, and of *Southwick*, from paying of the Tenths and Fifteenths: And to direct a Commiſſion to Sr. *Robert Popham* to be Sheriff of *Southampton* during the Kings Pleaſure. It is Enacted, that the King may with the Aſſent of his Allies make any reaſonable Peace.

[e] *Appoſer M.S.*

In this Parliament in [f] conſideration of the many Good Services done by the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, the King made him Earl of *Cambridge*, and gave him in Fee a 1000 *l. per annum*, till he could provide for him ſo much of Hereditaments. Whence it appears, that the Learned Antiquary, [g] Mr. *Cambden*, was miſtaken, who ſays, that King *Edward* the Third, for the Love he bore to Queen *Philippa* his Conſort, created the Lord *John* of *Hainault* her Uncle, Earl of *Cambridge*. And that upon his Revolt to the *French*, he deveſted him thereof, and conferr'd it upon *William* Marqueſs of *Juliers*, Siſters Son to that Queen. Whereas the ſaid Lord *John* was not now, nor of ſome Years after, Revolted to the *French*, as We ſhall ſhew in due place, ſo that he could not yet forfeit with *Edward*, nor is there any thing at all in Our publique Records, that may give the leaſt Countenance to this Aſſertion of that Famous Man; as the Diligent Sr. *William Dugdale* acknowledges: Whereas it is moſt Evident, that at this time the Marqueſs of *Juliers* was created Earl of *Cambridge*, as We have ſhewn. But We have not made this Obſervation upon ſo Great and Venerable a Perſon out of Envy, or Oſtentation; rather thrô love of Truth alone, and to infer thereby, that if ſuch Mighty Men may ſometimes trip, if after all Our Diligence We alſo are found Tardy, the Candid Reader would reckon it to the account of Our frail Humanity. But to return, [h] It was alſo now Enacted, that Prince *Edward*, Duke of *Cornwall*, ſhould in the Abſence of the King his Father be *Cuſtos*, or Warden, of *England*, and that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Warwick*, and *Huntington*, taking for their Direction ſuch Juſticeers as they ſhould think fitting, ſhould attend on him, and be of his Council.

[f] *M.S. & Sr. R. Cotton ibid. & Dugd. 2 Vol. p 113.*

[g] *Cambden Brit.*

[h] *M. S. ibid. & Sr Rob. Cotton &c.*

That the Charter by Writs do pay the Merchants of *Barton* and *Lynn* for their Purvey of Corn. Such Merchants, Denizens, as by Writ were to appear, are commanded to attend the Day after the *Aſcenſion*.

Pardons ſhall be made to Sr. *Robert Joice*, and *William Claxton*, *Pierce Tiliol*, and *Simon Rokeby*, of all Debts: The like to be made to *Thomas Brookhall* for Thirty two Tunns of [i] Powder.

[i] *Powder.*

As to the Affairs relating to *Scotland*, We ſhall ſtill defer to ſpeak, till a more convenient occaſion, which will ſoon offer it ſelf: That We may not by dividing the Story diſtract the Reader: Only in ſhort We ſhall here remember, that the *Scots* this mean while taking Advantage of King *Edward*'s being occupied in Foreign Affairs, had

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begun to ſtruggle for their Liberty with ſuch Succeſs, that King *Bailiol* was fain to Retire into *England*, as well for his own ſafety, as to require Succour againſt his Importunate Enemies, the *Bruceans*. However, as yet King *Edward* ſaw no ſuch great Matter, as might Oblige him to make a Perſonal Expedition that way; for they fought rather by Craft and Surpriſe, than by plain and open force: Wherefore he ſtill reſolves Himſelf for *France*, only in this Parliament takes Care beforehand thus to provide for *Scotland*. [k] *Gilbert Umphraville*, Earl of *Angos*, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevill*, the Lord *Anthony Lucy* of *Cockermouth*, the Lord *John* [l] *Segrave* undertook altogether to ſet forth for *Scotland* at their own Coſts 210 Men of Arms, and 220 Archers. The Lord *John Moubray*, whom *Hector* ([m] as we obſerved before) aſſerts to have been ſlain 8 Years agone, being now found and well again for all that, was [n] conſtituted in this Parliament Governour of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, being retained by Indenture to continue there from the Firſt of *May*, then next enſuing for one whole Year, having for Defence thereof 120 Men of Arms, one Hundred Halberdeers (or Hobelers) and 200 Archers, of the which he was to provide of his own proper Retinue, ſixty Men at Arms, whereof Ten to be Knights; beſide twenty Hobelers, and [o] ſixty Archers, and the King to find the Reſt. Of all which number it appears, that there were three [p] Bannerets, and ten Knights, and that One Thouſand Nine Hundred Eighty Nine Pounds five Shillings, being due unto the ſaid Lord *Moubray* by thoſe Covenants, Dr. *Richard Bury* Biſhop of *Durham*, with two great Barons of the *North*, *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, and *Ralph* Lord *Nevill*, were commanded to take Care for the Payment thereof: Beſides, he was to have an Hundred [q] Pounds Impreſt to help to furniſh him. At the ſame time the Lord *William Felton*, [r] who was Governour now of *Roxborough* Caſtle (and had been ſo [s] ever ſince the *Eleventh* of this King) was charged with 60 Men at Arms, 50 Halberdeers, and 50 Archers, to ride in Company of thoſe Lords that were to Defend the Marches; beſides 36 Men of Arms, and 40 Halberdeers for the Defence of his own Caſtle. King *Bailiol* only [t] undertook to find but 20 Men of Arms; for he was reduced ſo low now, that among other Methods for his Supply, the King of *England* was fain to grant him toward the Maintenance of his Eſtate, [u] together with the Mannor of *Hexliſham*, Three Hundred Pounds *per annum* out of the Deſmes, within the Dioceſs of *York*, during the vacancy of that Archbiſhoprick. For to the Eſtabliſhing of the Credit of this M.S. ſo often by me Cited, which agrees notwithſtanding exactly with that Abridgement of the Records of Sr. *Robert Cotton*, ſet forth by Mr. *William Prynne*, we are to underſtand, [x] that Dr. *William Melton* Archbiſhop of *York*, was now lately, to wit, in the beginning of *April*, Deceaſed, and for this and other Reaſons, we find that See kept void in the Kings Hands about two Years: But this by the by. Now beſides all the foremention'd Preparations, [y] the Lord *William Roos* of *Hamlake*, *Ralph* Lord *Bulmer*, the Lord *John Willoughby* of *Eresby*, the Lord *Henry Fitz-Hugh*, and the Lord *Adam Welles* were to ſet forth to the Wars of *Scotland* 550 Men. The Valiant Sr. *Thomas Rokeby* (of whoſe being Knighted we ſpake [z] in the beginning of this Our Hiſtory) undertakes for ſuch a certain number of Souldiers in time of Peace, and for a Greater in time of War, for the Defence of the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Striveling*.

[a] A Commiſſion was order'd to be made to Mr. *John Burden* Parſon of *Rothbury* in *Northumberland* to be Chamberlain of *Barwick*, during the Kings Pleaſure, his Yearly Fee being one Hundred Marks, and that *Robert Turchill*, who had been both Chamberlain and Victualler, with one Hundred Marks Fee, ſhould have only fifty Marks Fee.

It is agreed, that every One who is of Power and Ability, ſhall be ready upon Warning, to go forth toward the North-Marches: That no Victuals be carried by Sea out of *England* into *Scotland*, and that a Commiſſion be made to the Earl of *Angos*, the Lords *Piercy* and *Nevill*, or any two of them to ſet forth the Arrays of *Yorkſhire*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, and *Northumberland*, to puniſh all Rebels and Diſobedient, to determine of all Treſpaſſes done in *Northumberland*, and the Kings Lands in *Scotland*, to receive any Perſon to the Kings Peace or Pardon, and to grant a Truce: The like Commiſſion to be made to the Lord *Wake*, the Lord *Anthony Lucy*, and Sr. *Pierce Tiliol*, whereof the ſaid *Anthony* to be one of the *Weſt*-Marches.

The Biſhop of *Lincoln* is order'd to paſs the Seas with the King, and to be of his Council; and Proviſion of Victuals appointed to be made at *Southampton* and *Sandwich* for the Kings Navy: And thus all things being fairly Eſtabliſhed for the Defence of the Realm on that ſide, the Parliament was Prorogued till the *Wedneſday* next after the Tranſlation of St. *Thomas Becket*.

II. And

[k] M. S. p. 32. § 41. 14 Ed. 3.
[l] Malè ibi Greygrave vid. Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 675.
[m] Hujus Operis l. 1. c. 5. §. 3. p. 67.
[n] Dudg. 1 Vol. p. 127.
[o] M.S. ibid. & Sr. Rob. Cotton, &c. Vbi tamen 40 Archers, ſed 60 apud Dugd.
[p] Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 127.
[q] M.S. ibid. § 46. & Sr Rob. Cotton, &c.
[r] M. S. & Sr. Rob. ibid.
[s] Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 65.
[t] M.S. & Sr. Rob. ibid.
[u] §. 44.
[x] Godwin Catal. Bps of York 42 & 43. p. 599. Obiit 5to April.
[y] M.S. & Sr. Rob. ibid.
[z] L. 1. c. 1. § 6. p. 12.
[a] M.S. & ibid.

II. And now the King having by Wise Counsel settled his Affairs at home, resolves in all haste to cross the Seas in Pursuance of his War abroad, and therefore goes the first Opportunity to [b] *Ipswich*, where he kept his *Whitsuntide*, intending thereabouts to pass over into *Flanders*. While he lay here, his Brother-in-Law *Reginald* the Second, [c] Duke of *Gueldre* sent him word by way of Caution, "that he should take an "especial Care of his Person, for that King *Philip* had set a Price upon his Head, and "had withall given so strict a Charge to his Admirals, that they had sworn to present "him Alive or Dead at *Paris*: And to that end they were furnish'd with the [d] most "Gallant Armada that ever any Man living had seen. For there lay as then in the "Haven of *Sluce* near *Bruges* in *Flanders*, between the Isle of *Cadsant* and *Blankeberg*, "more than [e] 400 Sail, whereof 200 were Great Vessels, well stuff'd with *French-* "*men*, and all manner of Habiliments of War, besides *Spaniards*, *Genoese*, *Normans*, "and *Picards*, all Manned with above [f] 40000 Men: Wherefore it behoved him to "look to himself. Now *John Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, having also received before this, some Imperfect hint of the Strength of the *French* at Sea, [g] advis'd the King out of pure Love to his Person and Welfare, by no means to Adventure to cross the Sea without a Royal Navy: But he looking upon him, as one whose Blood Age had Frozen, and that so he was apt to be timerous without Reason, gave him an angry Check, and resolv'd to set forward with what Strength he had: Whereupon the Good Prelate resign'd his Chancellourship for sorrow, and withdrew himself, as one says, from the Council: Thô others [h] more probably say, that not till after this Expedition he was by the King in his Displeasure remov'd from his Office of Chancellour. But when the Lord *Morley*, his Admiral of the *Northern* Fleet, sent him Word of the same, and the foresaid Letters from the Duke of *Gueldre*, made the Matter no more to be doubted, then [i] althô he had already near two Hundred Sail, yet he sent the Bishop of *Lincoln* to the *Southward* Ports, and himself rode *Northward* to *Yarmouth*, where he caused so many Ships more of the Cinque-Ports to be immediately equipped, that now at last his Fleet consisted [k] of 260 Vessels, Great and Small, all well Mann'd with Archers and Men of Arms; besides those, wherein many young Ladies and other Gentlewomen were to go over to see the Queen.

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[b] *Stow p.237.*
[c] *Walsingh. hist. p.134.*
[d] *Knighton p. 2577. n.10.*
[e] *Fox Acts and Monum. p.347.*
[f] *Froiss. c.50. Ashmole p. 651.*
[g] *Fox ibid.*
[h] *Philipot's Catal. Chancellors p.39.*
[i] *Walsingh. hist. p.134.*
[k] *Stow p.237.*

III. When he was thus provided, at last on the [l] 22d of *June*, being [m] the *Thursday* before the Nativity of St. *John Baptist*, about the first Hour of the Day, in the Name of God and St. *George*, he departed out of the Haven of *Orwell* in *Suffolk*, and set Sail for *Flanders*. The [n] next day, being the Eve of St. *John Baptist*, and a *Friday* about three of the Clock, they came to the Coasts of *Flanders* about *Blankeberg*, where [o] when King *Edward* [p] saw before him a Fleet so Numerous, that their Masts and Streamers made them resemble a great Wood, he demanded of the Master of his Ship, what People he thought them to be: To whom the Master reply'd, "May it "please Your Majesty, I take them to be *Normans*, and others, set out by the *French* "King to Rob and spoil Your Coasts, and if they may, to take Your Majesties Person: "And among these, I doubt not, but We shall find those very Men who burnt Your "Good Town of *Southampton*, and took Your two good Ships, the St. *Edward* and the "*Christopher*. "Ha! said the King, "I have a great while desired to Fight with the "*Frenchmen*, and now by the Grace of God and St. *George*, I shall Fight with some of "them, if I may: For surely they have done me so many Displeasures, that I shall "make them pay Dearly for all, if God shall enable me. Then * he commanded the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, Sr. *John Chandos*, and Sr. *Stephen de la Burkin* to take Land, and to ride along by the Shoar to view the Countenance of the Enemy: These Gentlemen rode so near, that they saw all their Order, and that the whole Fleet was divided into Three Squadrons, being as they guess'd, 400 Sail, more or less, all riding in the Harbour of *Sluce*, among which they saw 19 Ships so Large, they had never seen so many the like before, whereof the Chief they knew to be the *Christopher*, a Ship of *England*: And having made this Discovery at their leisure, (for all *Flanders* was then free for *Englishmen*) they return'd to the King (who would needs for that time be Admiral of the Fleet himself) and gave him an Account of what they had learn'd. But by this time the Evening began to approach, and therefore the King commanded to cast Anchor, resolving to have the Day before him, and to begin the Fight next Morning.

[l] *Ashmole p. 651.*
[m] *B. A. Dom. Lit.*
[n] *Knighton p. 2577. n 50.*
[o] *Froiss. c.50.*
[p] *Adam Murimouth.*
* *Knighton p. 2577. n.50. & 60.*

On the next day, being a *Saturday*, and the [q] Feast of St. *John Baptist*, early in the Morning, the *French* Fleet came forth of the Haven in good Order about the space of a [r] Mile; approaching towards the *English*, in Three Squadrons. The *French* Writers indeed say, that Sr. *Peter Bahuchet* would by no means permit them to quit the Haven;

[q] *Knighton p. 2578. & Stow p.237.*
[r] *Adam Murimouth.*

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Haven; but this is no way agreeable to the Fame of that Admiral, the Harbour being a place too narrow for them to accept of a Battle in, (* althô it is ſtill accounted capable of 500 good Sail of Ships) nor were they very ſecure there any longer than they were Maſters of the Sea: For the Men of *Bruges*, King *Edward*'s Friends, were ranged in Warlike Order upon the Shoar to watch their Advantage: And we find that King *Edward* took a Compaſs about in his very Addreſs to the Fight, whereby they had their Liberty to come forth: So that their Opinion ſeems to me no better than a vain Pretence, thereby to palliate the Truth. About Nine of the Clock that Morning, the King of *England* who ſaw well what they did, and was prepared to Engage them, ſet forward towards his Enemies. He [f] had placed all his biggeſt Ships foremoſt, being well furniſhed with Archers, and other Souldiers; and always between two Sail of Archers, he Order'd One with Men of Arms: He had alſo ſet one Squadron to lie aloof, as well to keep the *French*, who elſe might encloſe his firſt Squadron, in ſuſpenſe, as to be ready to Aſſiſt them that were weary, when need ſhould ſo require. But ſince, as we intimated before, there were in the *Engliſh* Fleet a great Number of Counteſſes, Ladies, Knights-Wives, and other Gentlewomen, who were going thither to wait upon the Queen at *Gaunt*, and to viſit their Husbands and Friends in thoſe Parts, theſe Ladies the King comforted all he could, and cauſed them to be kept far off, with 300 Men of Arms, and 500 Archers for their Guard. And then he gave Order to hoiſe up the Sails, Deſigning to come with a Quarter Wind, to [t] get the Advantage of the Sun and Wind at his Back, and ſo at laſt they turn'd a little ſideways, having Wind at Will. When the *French* ſaw them do thus, they wonder'd what they meant, ſome ſaying; "They find we are too many for them, and ſo think it beſt to let us alone. But when they beheld the Banner Royal of *England*, and found that the King himſelf was there in Perſon, they then thought it worth their while to endeavour to take him, and ſo began to make up to the *Engliſh*. The *French* were all [u] Good and Expert Men of War, eſpecially upon the Sea, to which they had been long enured: For (whatever ſome Writers ſay, who in hopes to excuſe this loſs, aſſert, [x] how their Navy was filled with Peaſants, and Perſons of the Meaneſt Condition, as ſuch who would be contented with leſs Pay) their Admirals were certainly Men of Great Knowledge in Maritime Affairs, and as to the reſt we ſhall find by the manner of their Fight, that they wanted neither Courage nor Skill, but only Fortune. Before the two Fleets joyn'd, the Valiant [y] Admiral *Barbenoire* ſent forth four Gallies, which ſet upon a Good *Engliſh* Ship, called the Rich *Oliver*, and aſſailed her vigorouſly on all ſides, with Stones and other Shot from Engines: ſo that many of her Men were ſlain, and more wounded, and ſhe her ſelf in great Danger of being loſt; but at that Inſtant the *Engliſh* Navy came ſo near, that ſhe was Reſcued, and the Four Gallies Boarded and Won, before the *French* could come up to them. And now both the Fleets met fiercely together, the *French* joyning the Battle with many Trumpets, and other Inſtruments of Martial Muſick, and the *Engliſh* altogether giving a Mighty Shout, that ſounded horribly upon the Waters, the Shoar being not far off: And at the ſame Inſtant they ſent a Flight of Deadly Arrows from their Long Bows, which the *French* anſwer'd as liberally with their Croſs-bow Shot: But the *Engliſh* Arrows did the moſt Execution by far. Then the Men of Arms approached, and fought with Swords, Spears, and Axes, hand to hand: For on both ſides they had certain great Hooks faſten'd to Chains, called Grapling-Irons, to caſt from one Ship to another, which catching faſt on the Tackling or the Upper Deck, they were both held cloſe together. That day many Noble Deeds of Arms were done on both ſides, with aſſailing and defending, taking and Reſcuing again; but the firſt apparent Advantage, which the *Engliſh* by Obſtinate Valour obtain'd, was, that after a ſharp Conflict, the *Chriſtopher*, which the *French* had taken a Year before, and had now in their Forefront, was retaken by the *Engliſh*, before any other; for they knew the King was much diſpleas'd at the Loſs of that Good Ship: All the *French* within her were ſlain, except ſome Three or Four taken to Mercy; and now again, being furniſh'd with *Engliſhmen*, ſhe turns her Angry Foredeck againſt the *Genoueſe*. Then there was great Shouting, and Cries on both ſides, and the Battle began to be more hot than before; theſe Encouraged with their firſt Succeſs, and the Preſence of their King, thoſe in the Contemplation of their Numbers. This Fight was Mannaged with much Cruel Obſtinacy, for beſides the great Antipathy of both Nations, and the Mutual Provocations which highly incenſed them on both ſides, the Sea-fights are always more Dangerous and Terrible, than thoſe on the Land: No man there being able to flinch or fly, but to expect the Reward of his Valour, or the ſtroak of Fortune.

* *Engl. Atl. 4 Vol. p. 243.*

[f] *Froiſ. c. 50.*

[t] *Adam Murimouth.*

[u] *Froiſ. ibid. fol. 30.*

[x] *Du Cheſne l. 15. fol. 651.*

[y] *Fabian. p. 211.*

Moſt

Most certainly Sr. *Hugh Quuriel*, Sr. *Peter Bahuchet*, and Sr. *Nicolas Barbenoire* the *Genoan*, were most Valiant and able Captains. For they maintain'd the Fight from before ten of the Clock in the Morning, till seven in the Evening, for [z] Nine whole Hours: So that the *English* were very much put to it, for their Enemies were [a] Four to One, and all us'd to the Sea. There King *Edward* (who bare the Admirals Flag in his Ship that day) fought most Resolutely: For he was in the Flower of his Youth, being not full 28 Years Old, and in all the World either Heathen, or Christian, there was no King so Brave in those Days of that Age. With him in this Hazardous Enterprise were *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, with Sr. *John Beauchamp* his Brother (Earl *Thomas* being the Admiral, but for that Day the King taking the Place upon himself) *Henry Plantagenet* Earl of *Darby*, *Laurence Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Lord *Roger* [b] *Northwode* of his Retinue, *Hugh Audley* Earl of *Glouceſter*, *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, and his Valiant Brother, *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *William Felton*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, the Lord *John de la Warre*, the Lord [c] *Ralph Basset* of *Sapcote*, *Thomas* [d] *Lucy* Lord *Multon*, the Lord *Robert of Artois*, commonly called the Earl of *Richmond*, Sr. *Stephen de la Burkin*, Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders*, and *Nele Loring* a Valiant young Esquire of *England*, with other Barons, Knights, and Esquires, all who bare themselves that day with singular Courage; the first Squadron of the Enemies being entirely Beaten by fine Force, and the second very much shatter'd, the *French* of that Part leaping into the Sea to avoid the stinging Arrows, so that at last the Lord *Morley* coming in opportunely with part of the *Northern* Fleet, and some Succour from *Bruges*, the *English* obtain'd the Greatest Victory that ever was known on those Seas before. Only the Night coming on about 23, or 30 *French* Sail fled away; but one Great Ship, called the [e] *James* of *Dieppe*, intending to have carried away a Ship of *Sandwich*, belonging to the Prior of *Canterbury*, was stay'd from getting off by the Resistance and Noise of the Mariners; who being thereupon Assisted by the Earl of *Huntington*, defended themselves so stoutly, that they not only saved their own Vessel from the *French*, but also were occasion of Winning that: For after a whole Nights vigorous contending for the Mastery, the *French* by the next Morning being utterly overcome and taken, there were found in the Ship [f] 400 Bodies of Men slain.

The King about that time understanding of the [g] 30 Sail that had fled away, sent after them fourty Tall Ships, under the Command of Sr. *John Crab*; but we know nothing of the Success. The whole Number of the Enemies slain, came to 25000 at least, tho the best Account is [h] 30000, but however it is on all Hands confessed, that on both sides there fell no less than 30000, whereof at the most there were not above 4000 *English*, tho one says but [i] 400; among whom are said to be [k] Four Great Barons, Sr. *Thomas Monthermer*, called the Kings Nephew, who was Eldest Son to the Lord *Ralph Monthermer*, the Lord *Latimer*, Sr. *John Butler* and Sr. *Thomas Poynings*; of whom 'tis only certain, that *Monthermer* died at this time, for Sr. *Thomas Poyning's* Death happen'd in [l] *October*, a Year before this, according to the Records, and for the other Two we find them living after: Tho one Historian having first number'd them among the slain, all the rest blindly follow his Authority. Among those Ships that were taken by the *English* in the First Squadron, was the St. *George*, the St. *Edward*, and the *Black Cock*, all formerly belonging to *England*, beside the *Christopher*, together with which and the *James* of *Dieppe*, there was taken the St. *Denis* a mighty Ship of *France*, and others to the Number of 230 Sail; two [*] of the Admirals were slain in the Fight, only *Barbenoir* got away among those that fled. Indeed the *French* Writers tell us, that King *Edward* was wounded thrô the Thigh with a Spear, and that in Revenge he hang'd Admiral *Bahuchet* upon the Main-Yard of the Middle Mast of his Ship; as for the hanging of *Bahuchet*, it is either falsly reported, or unhandsomly at least, the reason of that Severity being suppressed: Which, if there was any, must have been in requital of the Barbarity and Rapes which he (to say no more) permitted to be done at *Southampton*: For as to what relates to the King's Wound, we shall find it so quickly healed, that neither the King himself mentions it in his Letters, nor did it any way hinder him in his Affairs, as it must needs have done, especially he going a Pilgrimage on Foot presently after, as we shall prove. Thô even they, who make him wounded, are fain *in decorum* to make him keep his Ship three days: But here I follow *Froisard*, as the most ancient, so by far the most probable Writer.

IV. The labour of this Honourable Day being over, King *Edward* [m] continued on Board

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[z] *Du Chesne l. 15. p. 651. b.*
[a] *Froiss. c. 50. f. 30. a.*
[b] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 70.*
[c] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 382.*
[d] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 564. & p. 569*
[e] *Adam Murimouth, &c.*
[f] *Adam Murimouth, &c.*
[g] *Knighton p. 2578. & Stow p. 237.*
[h] *Victorell. p. 883. Speed p. 573.*
[i] *Southwell.*
[k] *Stow p. 237. & Holinshead, Speed, &c.*
[l] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 134.*
[*] *Knighton p. 2578. n. 10.*
[m] *Froiss. c. 50. f. 30.*

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Board all night before *Sluce* with a triumphant Noise of Trumpets and Clarions. The next Morning came thither to visit Him, and to congratulate his Success several of the best Quality, and the Principal Burgesses of *Flanders*, that had heard of his Arrival: Of whom the King enquiring after *Jacob van Arteveld*, was informed by the Burgesses of *Bruges*, that he was gone at the Head of sixty thousand *Flemings* to assist the Earl of *Hainalt* against the Duke of *Normandy*, who lay then at the Siege of *Thine l' Evesque*. That Day being *Sunday* and the 25 of *June*, the King and all his Company, but those who were concern'd in the Navy, took Land, and having at the Town of *Sluce* heard Mass, and returned Thanks to God for the late Victory (which was his constant Custom to do) there he rested Himself and his People, both that and the next Day. For I find that upon his Dubbing Esquire *Nele Loring* a Knight, [n] for his remarkable Service in the late Naval Fight, he gave him by his Letters Patents a Donation of 20 *l. per annum*, for him and his Heirs Males for ever; the Letters bearing Date at *Sluce*, *Teste Rege*, 26° *Junii*, which was now on a *Monday*. On the *Tuesday*, or the 27 of *June*, his Majesty went [o] on Foot in a Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Ardenberg*, once a chief Town of *Flanders*; and wherein at that time was [p] one of the Finest Churches in the World, the Ruines whereof are yet to be seen; the Town it self standing but one league from *Sluce* toward the South-East, and something less from *Middleburg*. Here having heard Mass and Dined, he took Horse and rode to *Gaunt*, which was about four leagues further, the Carriages by little and little coming after; and here his Queen received him joyfully, presenting him with her Fourth Son *John*, of whom she had been lately Purified; to the Kings extream Satisfaction. But now to shew with what Pious Moderation, this Prince received so great a Victory, I shall here present the Reader with a Letter of his directed to the Bishops and Clergy of *England*, to exhort them to return both his and their Thanks to God Almighty, and to lend him their Prayers for his further Perseverance in Prosperity.

[n] *Esq; Ashmole p.* 700. *vid. Commun. Ter. Trin.* 15. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 3. *dorso.*

[o] *Froiss. ibid.*

[p] *Engl. Atlas 4 Vol. p.* 243.

[q] *Fox Acts and Monum. p.* 347.

"EDWARD, [q] by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and Lord "of *Ireland*, to his Arch-bishops, Bishops and other Prelates, *&c.* Greeting. We "thought good to intimate unto you for your Certification and Rejoycing, the boun- "tifull Benignity of Gods great Mercy so lately poured upon Us: It is not unknown "to you, (We suppose) nor to other our Leige Subjects, who also have been Par- "takers with Us in the same, with what boisterous Wars We have of late been tos- "sed and shaken, as in the swelling Ocean. But althô the rising Billows of the Sea "are wonderfull, yet more Wonderfull is the Lord above, who turning the Tempest "into a Calm, hath in so great Dangers so mercifully respected Us.

"For whereas of late upon urgent Reasons, We prepared to pass into *Flanders*, the "Lord *Philip* of *Valois*, our Bitter Enemy understanding our Purpose, laid against Us "a mighty Navy, intending thereby either to take our Person, or at least to hinder our "Voyage, which voyage if it had been accordingly hindred, all our great Enterprises, which "We have taken in hand, had been dashed, and We our Selves brought to great Con- "fusion: The God of Mercies beholding Us so distressed, and in such Peril and im- "minent Danger, hath gratiously and beyond Mans expectation, sent unto Us suffi- "cient Succour and strength of valiant Souldiers, and a prosperous Wind after our own "Desires: By means and help whereof, We set out of the Haven into the open Seas, "where We soon perceived our Enemies, well appointed and prepared to set upon Us "with a main Multitude. Against whom notwithstanding on *Midsummer-Day* last "past, our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* hath granted unto Us the victory, after a "sharp and terrible Conflict. In which Battle a mighty Number of our Enemies were "destroyed, and almost all their whole Navy taken, with some Loss also on our Part, "but nothing like in Comparison to theirs. By reason whereof We doubt not, but "that the Passage by Sea shall hereafter prove more quiet and safe, both to Us and "our Subjects: And also many other Commodities shall ensue thereupon, as we have "good cause to hope.

"Wherefore We, devoutly considering the Divine Favours so gratiously bestowed "upon Us, do render our most humble Thanks and Praise to *Christ* our Lord and Sa- "viour: Beseeching him, that as he hath been, and always is most ready to prevent our "Necessities in his own good time, so he will please to continue his helping Hand ever "towards Us, and so direct Us here temporally, that We may reign and rejoice with "him eternally in Heaven.

"Moreover We require your Charitable Assistance, that you also Rising up toge- "ther with Us, unto the Praise of God alone (who hath so favourably begun to work "with us for our Good) do instantly in your Publique Prayers and Divine Service, as

"well

"well as in your Private Devotions, recommend Us to the Lord; since We are here "labouring in these foreign Countries, and not only studying to recover our Right "in *France*, but also highly to exalt the whole Catholick Church of *Christ*, and to "rule our People in Righteousness: And that You also call upon all your Clergy and "People (each one thrô his distinct Diocess) to do the same, altogether invocating "the Name of our Saviour on our Behalf, that of his Clemency he would please to "give unto Us, his Humble Servant, his Grace and a docible Heart, that We may so "judge and govern here upon Earth in Equity, doing what he hath commanded, that "at length We may happily attain to that which he hath promised, thrô our Lord and "Saviour *Jesus Christ*, *&c. An.* 1340. AN. DOM. 1340. An. Regni *Angliæ* XIV. *Franciæ* I.

V. This Letter was enclosed in another of the Kings, directed to his Son the Prince, who received them at *Waltham*: And then at last and not before, was the Fame of this Victory perfectly credited by the most Scrupulous. But thrô *France* the sad News of this their Loss flew more nimbly; thô as yet none durst undertake to be the hatefull messenger of such an unwelcom Relation to King *Philip*. Till at last his Lords prompted a pleasant Fellow, the Kings Jester, to do it; who is said to have revealed the whole Matter after this manner. [r] Running carelessly one time into King *Philips* Presence, he began to insult with much vehemence, and upbraid the *English* of flat Cowardise calling them Dastards and cowardly Poltrons, with many other Opprobrious Words to that effect: Which he repeated with great Bravery, till the King asked him the reason, why he so extreamly undervalued the *Englishmen*, "Why (said the "Fool) because the Cowardlike, Faint-hearted Rogues, had not the Courage to leap "into the Sea so gallantly, as our *Normans* and Gentlemen of *France* did. [r] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 134. *n.* 30. *Fox Acts and Mon. p.* 347. *Sr. Rich. Baker, &c.*

Certainly We are told by most Writers, that in this Fight the *English* Arrows fell so thick among the *French*, and did so sting, torment and fright them, that many Men, rather than endure them leapt desperately into the Sea: To which the Words of this Jester no doubt alluded. And without all question, the Guns which are used now adays, are neither so terrible in Battle, nor do such Execution, nor work such Confusion as Arrows can do: For Bullets being not seen, only hurt where they hit, but Arrows enrage the Horse and break the Array, and terrifie all that behold them in the Bodies of their Neighbours: Not to say that every Archer can shoot Thrice to a Gunners once, and that whole Squadrons of Bows may let fly at one time, when only one or two Files of Musqueteers can discharge at once; Also that whereas Guns are useless, when your Pikes joyn, because they only do execution point blank, the Arrows, which will kill at Random, may do good service even behind your Men of Arms: And it is notorious, that at the famous Battle of *Lepanto* the *Turkish* Bows did more mischief than the *Christian* Artillery. Besides it is not the least observable, that whereas the Weakest may use Guns, as well as the Strongest; in those Days your lusty and tall Yeomen were chosen for the Bow, whose [f] Hose being fastned with one Point, and their Jackets long and easie to shoot in, they had their Limbs at full liberty; so that they might easily draw Bows of great strength, and shoot Arrows of a Yard long beside the Head. But to proceed. [f] *Fabian p.* 392.

VI. About the same time that King *Edward* sent the forementiond Letters into *England*, he also directed others from [t] *Gaunt* to the Earl of *Hainalt*, and those who were besieged within the Castle of *Thine*, certifying them of his Arrival and Success. When the Earl heard this News, and that the *French* had received such a Blow at Sea, because he could not force the Duke of *Normandy* to a Battle, having at last brought off the Besieged in that manner as we related, he decamped, and giving his Souldiers leave to depart, return'd with all the Lords in his Company to *Valenciennes*, where he feasted them all most magnificently. There *Jacob van Arteveld* once or twice declared openly in the Market-place, in the Presence of the Earl of *Hainalt*, the Duke of *Brabant*, and all the Lords and Others, who were content to hear him, "What undoubted Right the King of *England* had to the Crown of *France*; and "of what great Puissance the Three Countries of *Flanders*, *Hainalt* and *Brabant* were "like to be, now that they were surely joyn'd in one indissolvible Bond of Allyance, "whereof King *Edward* was the Knot, Strength and Stay. And more he spake to this purpose, with so much Eloquence and Discretion, that all who heard him, highly applauded his smooth Language and weighty Reasons; Saying, that he was both a very good Orator, and a most sound and expert Politician, and therefore most meet and worthy to Govern all *Flanders*. After this the Lords of the Empire departed severally from *Valenciennes*, having first of all agreed to meet again within eight Days at *Gaunt*, to visit the King of *England*, which they did accordingly. He for his part received [t] *Froiss. c.* 50. *f.* 30.

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them gladly, and feasted them honourably, as also did the Queen in her Apartment: And here 'twas agreed between King *Edward* and the Lords of *Germany*, that a General Council should be held at *Villenort* about their present Affairs; for which a certain Day was appointed, and Notice given to all the Allies to meet accordingly.

Now the King of *England*, as he had formerly made a Promise to the *Flemings*, had brought over with him certain Bishops, and very many Priests and Deacons, [u] who being less scrupulous than the Priests of *Flanders* (notwithstanding the Popes Interdict) open'd the Churches there, and celebrated Divine Service without the least hesitation: Whereupon the Fears of the *Flemings* were abated, as such, whom the Pope himself, so much above all others, could not materially endammage.

[u] *Mezeray. 2 part 3 tom. 16 pag.*

The mean while the *French* King, having understood for certain of his great Loss at Sea, brake up and dislodged from before *Thine*, with his Son the Duke of *Normandy* (at the same time that the Earl of *Hainalt* departed on the other side) and drew towards *Arras*, the chief City of *Artois*, having dismist the greater Part of his Forces, till they might hear other news from him. But immediatly he sent the Lord *Godmar du Fay* with a good Number of Men of Arms to the City of *Tournay*, to look, that nothing was wanting there, for he had an Eye especially upon the *Flemings*. Wherefore he also sent the Lord of *Beaujeu* to *Mortagne*, to keep the Frontiers against *Hainalt*, and in like manner he provided for St. *Omers*, for *Aire*, for St. *Venant*, and all the Fortresses fronting on *Flanders*.

[x] *L. 1. c. 13. §. 9. p. 146.*

VII. It may be remembred, that we spake [x] a little before of King *Robert* of *Sicily*, of whom again we have something more to say, his Zeal for the House of *France* bringing him again in our Way. Now this *Robert* being the Son of *Charles* the Second, King of *Sicily* and *Naples*, was also nearly alli'd to King *Philip* of *France* [y] being his Uncle; for his Sister, the Lady [z] *Margaret*, being formerly given in Marriage to *Charles* Earl of *Valois*, was by him Mother to the said King *Philip*. This *Robert* at that time excelled all the Kings of Christendom in humane Learning, especially in the more recondite Parts thereof, but chiefly (as we have intimated before) he addicted himself to the Study of Astrology, which he did with so good success, that either from the Regular Conclusions of that Science (for certainly that Study cannot be called wholly trivial or vain, without as much Rashness as Ignorance) or by some Natural Impulse, or by Divine Direction and Inspiration, he drew this for an undoubted Maxim, "That it was given to King *Edward* of *England* to succeed "prosperously in all his Personal Undertakings: So that both before at *Vironfos* (as we have related) and now also again he warned the *French* King and his Council, that King *Philip* should by no means adventure a pitch'd Battle, where the King of *England* should be present in Person. And besides all this he had such a tender and friendly Regard to the fair Realm of *France*, that he us'd all the means possible to set the two Kings at Unity, and when at last he found his Endeavours prove unsuccessfull, was passionately concerned at the Destruction, which he foresaw was coming upon that Famous Kingdom. This Pious and Learned Prince was now with Pope [a] *Benedict* XII, and the College of Cardinals at *Avignion*, before whom with Tears he declared the great Miseries, that were like to fall upon *France*, by this War between the two Kings, most earnestly desiring them to use their utmost Endeavours to reduce them Both to some Friendly Terms of Agreement. The Pope and his Cardinals answer'd, "That for their Parts they both were, and always would be ready "with delight to promote so good a Work, and would willingly bestow their utmost "Labour therein; if by any means they might obtain a Hearing. Accordingly Letters were prepared and sent to the King of *England* by two Eminent Cardinals, *Pedro* of St. *Praxede*, and *Bertrand* of St. *Mary* in *Aquiro*, who had further Instructions to treat with him about a final Peace. But these Endeavours being as useless as many the like before, we shall say no more of them at this time.

[y] *Odoric. Raynald. ad an. 1339. §. 39.*

[z] *Mezeray 2 par. 3 tom. p. 31.*

[a] *Labbé Chron. Techn. ad hunc ann.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER the SEVENTEENTH.

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I. NOW the time being come, wherein the Great Council at *Villenort* was appointed to meet, there came thither accordingly King *Edward* with his *English* Nobles, as did also all his Friends and Allies in the Empire, and in *Flanders*; namely the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Gueldre*, the Earl of *Hainault*, and the Lord *John* his Uncle, the Marques of *Juliers* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, the Earl of *Mons*, the Marques of *Nuys*, the Marques of *Blankeberg*, the Lord of *Valkenberg*, the Earl of *Namur*, Sr. *William* of *Dunort*, and *Jacob van Arteveld*, with many other Great Personages, and three or four Burgesses from every good Town in *Flanders*. In this Parliament there was a perfect Union, Alliance, and Concord made between the Three Countries of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Hainault*, "that from thenceforward, each of them should be aiding and assisting to the other; and that if any one of them should either make War "against, or be warred upon by any other Prince, or State, then the other two should "take the Part of the Third: And that if any Quarrel happen between any two "of the foresaid Countries, then the Third should be taken as Umpire in the case; "and if so, they should not be able to adjust Matters fully, then the whole to be left "to the Decision of the King of *England*, to whom the last Appeal was to be made. And in Confirmation of this Triple League, there was a Law Ordained and Established to be common and current thrô the whole Three Countries, which was named the *Law* of the *Allies*.

Here also it was determin'd, that two Compleat Armies should be forthwith raised, the One consisting of the Men of *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, and other *Flemmings*, [a] with a certain Number of *English* Archers, [b] making up in all 55000 Men; which being commanded by the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* was to lay Siege to St. *Omers*: And the other consisting of King *Edward*'s own Forces, with the rest of his Allies, was to sit down before *Tournay* in like manner. The Lord *Robert* of *Artois* was soon ready for his Task, and went accordingly; thô not so soon, but that King *Philip* before his Arrival had sent thither the Duke of *Burgundy*, named [c] *Eudes* the IV, with many other Lords, Captains, and Men of Arms, to the Reinforcement of the Earl of *Armagnac*: Who Arrived there accordingly [d] with two and fourty Ships furnished with Souldiers and Provision of all Sorts. As for King *Edward*, it was resolved that he should set forward with his Forces by [e] *Magdalene-tide*, then next ensuing, and lay

[a] *Fabian p.* 212.
[b] *Du Chesne p.* 651.
[c] *Favine l.* 4. *c.* 3. *p.* 6.
[d] *Gaguin l.* 8. *p.* 137.
[e] 22 *Julii.*

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Siege to the City of *Tournay*: And that thither all the Lords of the League ſhould repair to him with their ſeveral Forces; except the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* aforeſaid, Sr. *Henry Eam* of *Flanders*, and the reſt, who were to lie before St. *Omers*. All theſe things being thus fully Eſtabliſhed, the Council brake up, and every one addreſs'd himſelf to the performance of this Agreement.

[f] *Froiſ. c. 53. fol. 30. b. & 31. a. & Du Cheſne.*

Now King [f] *Philip* of *France* had preſently ſecret Information of the greater part of the Reſolutions of this Council: Whereupon, beſides his foremention'd Proviſion for St. *Omers*, he ſent to *Tournay* the Chief of all his Men of War, as *Ralph* Earl of *Ewe*, and his Son the Young Earl of *Guiſnes*, *Gaſton Phœbus* Earl of *Foix*, and his Brethren; *Emery* Earl of *Narbon*, Sr. *Emery* of *Poictiers*, Sr. *Geoffry Charny*, a Valiant Young Lord, of whoſe Exploits this Hiſtory will not be ſilent; with theſe he ſent the two Marſhals, Sr. *Robert Bertrand*, and Sr. *Matthew de la Trie*, Sr. *Gerard de Montfaucon*, the Lord of *Caieux*, Seneſchal of *Poictieu*, the Lord of *Chaſtelan*, and Sr. *John Landas*, and many other Valiant Knights, and Eſquires, to the Number of [g] 4000 Men of Arms, and [h] 10000 Footmen; the City it ſelf affording no leſs than 15000 Fighting Men effective. Now therefore when this Great Recruit was come to *Tournay*, the Captain thereof the Lord *Godmar du Fay* was wonderfully ſatisfied, and ſo joyning all together, they immediately took all Care poſſible to ſupply and furniſh the Place with Proviſion of Salt, Wine, Fleſh, Fiſh, Wheat, Oats, Artillery, and what elſe might ſeem Neceſſary for the Maintenance of a Town Beſieged.

[g] *Fabian p. 212.*
[h] *Giovann. Villan. l. 11. c. 111. p. 769.*

II. Nor was King *Edward* himſelf unwilling that his Intentions ſhould be known in *France*: But according to the Law formerly Eſtabliſhed with his Allies in *Flanders*, beſides his Defiance made laſt Year, he ſends [i] before he goes to the Siege of *Tournay*, his Charter of Defiance to King *Philip*, the Tenour whereof from the [k] Original *French*, runs thus.

[i] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 135. & Edit. Francf. p. 149. n. 21.*
[k] *Adam Murimouth.*

"[l] *Edward* by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, and Lord of "*Ireland*, to the Right Noble and Puiſſant Lord *Philip* Earl of *Valois*. Sr. *Philip* of "*Valois*, We have long and often peaceably demanded of You by Our Embaſſadors in "the moſt Reaſonable manner we could deviſe, that You would reſtore unto Us Our "Lawfull Right and Inheritance of the Crown of *France*, which all this while You "have with great Injuſtice and Violence detained from Us: And whereas We well "perceive that You intend to perſevere in the ſame injurious Uſurpation, without re"turning any Satisfactory Anſwer to Our juſt Demands [We give You to underſtand "that] We are entred into the Land of *Flanders*, as Sovereign Lord thereof; and "are now paſſing thrô the Country. And We further ſignifie unto You, that by the "help of Our Saviour [m] *Jeſus Chriſt*, and Our Righteous Cauſe, with the Forces of "the ſaid Country, Our Subjects and Allies, We purpoſe to recover the Right, which "We have to that Inheritance, which You by Your injurious Violence detain from "Us. And therefore are We now approaching toward You, to make a quick deci"ſion of this Our Rightfull Challenge, if You alſo will do the like. And foraſmuch "as ſo great an Army, as We bring with Us on Our part, ſuppoſing You alſo on Your "Part to do the like, cannot remain long in the Field without great Deſtruction both "of the People and Country, which thing every Good Chriſtian ought to avoid (eſpe"cially Princes and others, who have the Government of the ſame) We are deſirous by "as ſhort diſpatch as may be to meet, and therefore to prevent the Mortality of *Chri"ſtians*, ſince the Quarrel apparently belongs to You and Me, let the Controverſie be"tween Us be fairly decided by Our own Perſons, Body to Body, to which thing We "offer Our Selves for the Reaſons aforeſaid; that the Great Nobility and Valour of "each other may be ſeen of all Men. But if in caſe You ſhall not vouchſafe this way, "then let Us end the Diſpute by the Battle of one Hundred of the moſt ſufficient Per"ſons of Your Party, and as many of Mine, which each of Us ſhall bring into the Field. "But if You will not admit either of the One, or of the Other way, then that You will "Aſſign unto Us a certain Day before the City of *Tournay*, which Day to be within "Ten days next after the Date of this Our Letter, wherein to Combat both of Us, "Power againſt Power: We offering unto Your Choice theſe above ſpecifi'd Condi"tions, as We would have all the World to know, not of any Malice, Preſumption, "or Pride in Our Selves, but for the Cauſes aforeſaid, and to the intent that the Will "of Our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, being declared between Us two, Peace and Unity might "grow more and more among *Chriſtians*, the Power of Gods Enemies may be abated, "and the Bounds of *Chriſtendom* be enlarged and enfranchiſed. Wherefore conſider "hereupon with Your Self, which of Our foreſaid Offers You will accept, and by the

[l] *Hæc verba videntur alludere ad illud* DIEU ET MON DROIT. *i.e.* God and my Right: *which words are ſtill under the Arms of the Kings of England, &c.*

"Bearer

"Bearer of these Our Letters send unto Us quick and speedy Answer. Given under Our Great Seal at *Chyn* upon the *Skell*, near *Tournay*, the [n] 17 Day of *Julii*, A. D. 1340. This Letter was some Days after thus Answer'd by King *Philip*. AN. DOM. 1340. AN. REGNI *Angliæ* XIV. *Franciæ* I.

"PHILIP by the Grace of God, King of *France*, to *Edward* King of *England*. "We have seen Your Letters brought to Our Court, and sent on Your Part to one *Philip* of *Valois*; wherein are contained certain Requests, which You make to the said "*Philip* of *Valois*. But because the said Letters came not unto Us, and the said Requests were not made unto Us, as by the Tenour of the said Letters it clearly appears, We do not return You any Answer to the Premises. Nevertheless, forasmuch as We understand by the said Letters, and otherwise, that You are entred into Our Realm of *France*, threatning great Damage to Us, and to Our Realm, more thrô Presumption, than Reason, and not considering the Duty, which a Liegeman oweth unto his Lord: For You have formerly entred Our Liege Homage, acknowledging Your self, as Reason is, a Liege-Man unto the King of *France*, and have promised unto Us such Obeisance, as is usually expected from Liegemen to their Lords; as more plainly appeareth by Your Letters Patents, which We have Sealed with Your Great Seal. And because You may know something of Our Intent, We give You to understand that it is Our purpose, when it shall seem good unto Us to drive You out of Our Realm to the Honour both of Us, and of Our Kingdom, and to the Profit and Commodity of Our People. And this to do, We have firm and assured Hope in *Jesus Christ*, from whom We derive all Our strength and Power. For by Your unreasonable Demand, proceeding more from Presumption than Reason, hath been hindred and laid aside the Holy Expedition beyond the Sea, whereby great Numbers of *Christian* People have perished, the Divine Service hath been diminished, and Holy Church less Reverenced. And as touching that which is noted, that You look to be Assisted by the *Flemmings*, We hope and believe surely, that the good People and Commons of that Country will so bear themselves towards Our Cosin the Earl of *Flanders*, their Lord, that it may not be to their dishonour, and that to Us, their Sovereign Lord, they will Respect their Faith and Loyalty. And as for what they have hitherto done otherwise than well, We are assured, that was occasion'd by the Evil Advice of such Persons, who neither had any Regard to the Publique Weal, nor to the Honour of their Country; but only to their own Private Advantage. Given in the Fields near adjoyning to the Priory of St. *Andrew les Aire*, under Our Privy Seal, in absence of Our Great Seal, 30 of *July*, in the Year of Grace 1340.

[n] *Sandford p.* 161. *Fox* 27 Julii. *Fab.* 15 Julii. *Alii diem non assignant.*

The *French* Writers say, that King *Philip* among other Matters return'd this Answer, "[o] that a Lord ought not to accept of a Defiance from his Vassal; and that he sent him this Condition by Word of Mouth, * that King *Edward* by that his Challenge hazarded nothing of his own, but only expos'd the Dominion of another, which was against all Reason; since the Stake ought to be equal on both sides: But if he would set his Kingdom of *England*, thô less considerable, against his of *France*, then he would accept the Challenge, and meet him in the field in single Combat, on Condition that the Conquerour might remain sole Master and Peaceable Lord of both the Realms: But this, they say, King *Edward* would not hearken to: For as he was Valiant to make the Challenge, so he was circumspect to weigh the Conditions. Yet I cannot admit of this Matter: For how know they, what King *Philip* sent by Word of Mouth? And how could King *Philip* imagine, that his Word should be taken in a Matter of such Consequence; when all Challenges ought to be confirmed by hand and Seal, unless made in the hearing of the Defendant? And how was not this an Answer to the Challenge of King *Edward*; when as King *Philip* in his Letter professes he would not Answer him, because he took not the Letter to be directed to him? Truth needs no such pitifull Salvo.

[o] *Mezeray* 2 *Par.* 3 *Tom. p.* 16. * *Du Chesne p.* 651. *D. & p.* 652. *A. S. Rich. Baker, &c.*

III. Toward the latter end of *July*, the Corn [p] being near ripe, King *Edward*, as We said before, began his March toward *Tournay*, which he intended to Besiege, with seven Earls of *England* in his Company, eight Prelates, Twenty eight Barons, 200 Knights, 4000 Men of Arms, and 9000 Archers on Horseback; besides Footmen: All these Forces were *English*, with whom were many Great Lords of the Empire, and their Troops; and the Imperial [q] Eagles were display'd among the *English Lions*, and the Crosses of St. *George*, in the Head of this Army, in token that King *Edward* was Vicegerent of the Sacred *Roman* Empire. Thus the King Marched from *Gaunt*, and passing the *Skell*, went and sat down before *Tournay*, at the Gate called St. *Martin*, where the Way being divided, leads both to *Lisle* and *Doway*. After the King, the Duke of *Brabant* came thither

[p] *Froiss. c.* 53.

[q] *Du Serres & Speed p.* 573.

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ther with more than 20000 Men in all; and he lodged at the Bridge of *Aire* by the River *Skell*, between the Abbey of St. *Nicolas* and the Gate *Valenciennois*. After him came the Earl of *Hainault* with a goodly Company of his Subjects of *Hainault*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; and his Place was between the King and the Duke of *Brabant*. Then came *Jacob van Arteveld* in the Head of 60000 *Flemmings* from *Gaunt*, *Ipres*, *Poperinghe*, *Caſſel*, *Bruges*, and other Good Towns of *Flanders*, and theſe were lodged on the other ſide at the Gate St. *Fountain*. And laſtly, the Duke of *Gueldre*, the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, the Marqueſs of *Blankeberg*, the Marqueſs of *Nuys*, the Earl of *Mons*, the Earl of *Savynes*, the Lord of *Valkenberg*, Sr. *Arnold* of *Baquehen*, and the other Lords of *Germany*, were lodged on the ſide that look'd toward *Hainault*. Thus was the ſtrong City of *Tournay* cloſely begirt on all ſides, ſo that none could go in or out without the Danger of the Beſiegers; and things were ſo well order'd, that on occaſion each Part of the Hoſt could joyn the other by the help of Bridges, which they had flung over the *Skell*, for their mutual Communication.

IV. All the time of this Siege, which laſted for about Nine Weeks, the King of *England* and his Allies had [r] good ſtore of all manner of Neceſſaries; for their Foragers brought in daily huge Booties from all Parts; and Proviſion came in from *Hainault* and *Flanders* at eaſie Rates. One Morning the young Earl of *Hainault*, who could never forget the Injuries lately done by the *Frenchmen* in his Country, took along with him the Lord [s] *Walter Manny*, and the Lord *Reginald Cobham* with 500 Spears, and leaving the Siege, rode forth by *Lille*, which he left on his Right Hand, and burnt the Good Town of *Seclin*, and many little Villages thereabouts, their Van-currours running up as far as the Suburbs of *Lens* in *Artois*. Then theſe Lords went another way, and rode to the Town of *Orchies*, which was taken and burnt, for it was not greatly fortifi'd; many other petty Towns they burnt alſo, and overran the whole Country; after which they return'd to the Army before *Tournay*, with much Pillage and Booty.

[r] *Froiſ. c.54.*

[s] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.136.n.20.*

The *Flemmings* that lay at the Siege, were ever the moſt Obſtinate of all others in moleſting the Beſieged, as well thrô the Encouragement of their Leader *Jacob van Arteveld*, as becauſe the hope of Gaining their Cautionary Towns of *Lille*, *Bethun*, and *Doway*, depended chiefly upon the Succeſs againſt *Tournay* at this time. One Aſſault among the reſt endured with great Pertinacy on both ſides, for one whole day without any Intermiſſion; during which ſpace many notable Adventures happen'd, for the Chief of the Captains, and Men of Arms in *Tournay* came to that part; the Fury of the Beſiegers flaming there moſt terribly. For they came by Water in Ships, and other Veſſels brought thither for that purpoſe, intending to break down the Barriers and the Poſtern of the great Arch. But it was ſo reſolutely defended, that the *Flemmings* wan nothing for all their Labour; but after all, having loſt a Veſſel with ſixſcore Men in her (which were every Man drown'd) they were forced to give over the Aſſault, being all Weary and ſoundly Beaten. Many Adventures happen'd in the time of this Siege, all which cannot be here enumerated, but ſome Particulars muſt not be omitted in ſo general and full an Hiſtory, as this is. On Land they had high Stages and Belfroys of Timber, in manner of Batteries, from whence the Archers would ſhoot upon the Defendants, while others fought at the Walls and Barriers: But *Tournay* was ſufficiently provided, and that King *Edward* knew well, and therefore reſolv'd to reduce them by Famine. When the Captains within ſaw his Deſign, they thruſt out of the Town all manner of poor People, Men, Women, and Children that were not fit for War; to make their Proviſion hold out the longer, being to ſerve fewer Mouths. They were put forth thus inhumanely in the open day expos'd to the Enemies Diſcretion, which was a moſt pitifull Object to behold: But the Noble Duke of *Brabant* gave them all leave to paſs thrô his Hoſt, allowing them moreover a ſafe Conduct, to carry them to *Arras*, where at that time the *French* King lay. It was thought that ſecretly the Duke of *Brabant* favour'd the *French*, either for fear of what might follow, or out of Natural Inclination, which ſurmounted his Private Quarrel againſt King *Philip*, or [t] thrô Bribes, or out of Envy to King *Edward*s Good Fortune, or out of meer Inconſtancy: But however this Action he did not at this time without the Conſent of the King of *England*.

[t] *Villani & Mezeray 2 Par. 3 Tom. p.17.*

[u] *Froiſ. c.56. Du Cheſne p. 652. B.*

V. King *Philip* had now in Order to Raiſe this Siege, amaſſed together a Mighty Army, the Chief Leaders whereof were *John* King of *Bohemia* and Earl of *Luxemburgh*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Bar*, the Biſhop of *Metz*, the Biſhop of *Liege*, and the Biſhop of *Verdun* upon the *Meuſe*, the Earl of *Monbiliard*, the Lord *John* of *Chalons*, the Earl of *Geneva*, the Earl of *Savoy*, and the Lord *Lewis* his Brother: All theſe came to ſerve the *French* King with their ſeveral Troops. Thither alſo came *John de Dreux*

Dreux Duke of *Bretagne*, the Dukes of *Burbon* and *Athens*, the Earls of *Alenſon*, *Foreſtes*, and *Armagnac*, *Lewis de Creſſy* Earl of *Flanders*, *Guy Caſtillion* Earl of *Blois*, with his Eldeſt Son the Lord *Charles* (who is to make a conſiderable Figure in this Hiſtory) the Earl of *Harcourt*, the Earl of *Dampmartin*, the Lord of *Coucy*, and many others of the Higheſt Quality. Thither alſo came [x] *Philip* the King of *Navarre* with a goodly Number of Men of War, raiſed in thoſe Countries, which he held of the *French* King, and for which he was obliged to ſerve him with ſuch and ſuch a Quota. Laſtly, there was King *David de Bruce* of *Scotland*, who led a handſome Number of Gallant *Scotch* Gentlemen, and other Troops, which he had hired with Money, deliver'd unto him by King *Philip* to maintain his Eſtate withall during his Exile from *Scotland*.

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[x] *Mezeray p. 21*

While the *French* King lay with this great Army at *Arras* in *Artois*, the poor People that had been excluded out of *Tournay*, came thither, and by their heavy Complaints mov'd the hearts of all Men to pity, giving alſo [y] adviſe to King *Philip* of the great Neceſſity of the Beſieged: In whoſe name they deſired ſpeedy Succour, for elſe they were in danger to be loſt, the *Engliſh* aſſailed them ſo mightily, and their ſtock of Proviſion was ſo extreamly waſted. Hereupon King *Philip* ſent thither the Duke of *Athens*, the Viſcount of *Thoüars*, the Viſcount of *Andelot*, and other Lords to the number of 15, with a Detachment of 12000 [z] Men of War. Theſe marched directly to Mount *Caſſel*, but they found it already taken up by a Body of *Flemings*: So that being diſappointed of that Convenient Poſt, and knowing themſelves unable to make their way by Force, upon Conſultation had, they wheel'd off from *Caſſel*, and having done what harm they could in the Enemies Land, return'd to the *French* King, who was ſtill at *Arras*. They found him then in Conſultation, whether he had beſt in Perſon attempt to raiſe the Siege from before *Tournay*, or go into *Flanders*, and there make War upon the Towns, that held with the King of *England*. But it was reſolved by a Council of War, that it would be moſt for his Honour, for him to endeavour Perſonally to raiſe the Siege, and this being fully concluded on, King *Philip* immediatly began his March toward *Tournay*, with a mighty Power of his Allies, and Men of War drain'd from ſeveral [a] Garriſons, the like whereof for Number had [b] never been ſeen in thoſe Days; among whom were [c] Four Kings, Four Dukes and Fourteen Earls, beſides Viſcounts, Lords, Knights and Eſquires. With this Army he went from *Arras*, till he came to a [d] little River below *Lille*, about 3 leagues from *Tournay*: Where he found the Water ſo deep, and the Ground ſo uncertain, great Mariſhes lying all about, that there was no way to paſs but one, which could admit of not more than two or three Horſemen on a Breaſt: Wherefore not knowing how ſoon an Enemy might appear, King *Philip* durſt not adventure to paſs the River, but lay that night at a place called *Pont a* [e] *Bouvines*. The next Day the Army lay ſtill in the ſame place, as yet uncertain what courſe to take: and while certain Horſemen were ſent out to ſeek for a more convenient Paſſage, Others adviſed to fling ſeveral Bridges over the River, but that was found impracticable. Thoſe who had been ſent out to ſearch, return'd to the King telling him, that his only beſt way would be by the Bridge of *Creſſin*; and this way was reſolv'd on: but however he tarried a while where he was before, to conſider more maturely of the ſafeſt and moſt honourable Management of his Affairs.

[y] *Du Cheſne p. 652. b.*

[z] *Fabian p. 214*

[a] *Mezeray p. 17*
[b] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 135. n. 10.*
[c] *Fabian ibid.*
[d] *Froiſ. c. 57.*

[e] *Fabian p. 215.*

VI. Now when it was nois'd abroad, that King *Philip* lay encamped with ſo great an Army between the Bridges of *Creſſin* and *Bouvines*, with intent to give the King of *England* Battle before *Tournay*; every Man of Honour, that either expected Glory or Prey, drew to one King or the other, as their Duty, or Affection and Intereſt led them. * Among the reſt there were in the Caſtle of *Bouchain* in *Oſtervandt* three valiant Captains, all Brethren and *Germans*, that held for the Earl of *Hainalt*, and conſequently for the King of *England*. When theſe Knights heard for certain, how the two Kings were ſo near encamped, that in all likelihood they would not part without Battle, then Two of them deſired the Third to ſtay behind for defence of the Fortreſs, while they went to the Camp before *Tournay* to King *Edwards* Service. The Matter was ſoon agreed on, and the two Knights whoſe Names were *Courrat*, departed from *Bouchain*, and rode forth till they came to *Eſcaupont* beſide *Valenciennes*, deſigning to paſs the River *Skell* at *Condet*. When they were now between *Eſcaupont* and *Freſnes*, they heard a great Tumult and Noiſe of Men, and ſaw ſome flying in great fear to themward: Wherefore the two Brethren asked the foremoſt of them, "What might be the matter that they fled in ſuch Confuſion? "In the "Name of God, Sirs (ſaid they) the Garriſon of *Mortaign* yonder hath iſſued out "upon

* *Froiſ. c. 57. Du Cheſne p. 652. D.*

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"upon us, and having already done much miſchief, and ſlain and taken many People, "they are now returning with a great Booty to their Fortreſs. Then the Brethren asked, if they could ſhew them where theſe *Frenchmen* were, and they ſaid Yes. So the Knights purſued after them by direction of theſe poor Countrymen, being themſelves *27 Spears in all, and they overtook the *Frenchmen* hard by *Noſtre Dame Aux-Bois*. The *French* conſiſted of an 120, who were driving before them an 100 head of great Cattle, and certain Priſoners, Men of the Country: Their Captain being a valiant Knight of *Burgundy*, named Sr. *John de Frolois*, who belonged to the Lord of *Beaujeu*, at that time Governour of *Mortaign*. As ſoon as the *Germans* ſaw theſe Men, thy cri'd their accuſtomed Cries, and rode in fiercely among them with great Courage: The Knight of *Burgundy* ſet himſelf valiantly to receive them, and ſome few of his Men with him; but the greater Part fled down right, they were ſo ſurpriſed with this unexpected Onſet. Wherefore Sr. *John de Frolois*, after a ſhort Reſiſtance was taken Priſoner, and all his Men either taken or cut in pieces; for even thoſe that fled were ſo eagerly purſued, either by the *Germans*, or thoſe of the Country, that not one eſcaped. Thus all the Priſoners were deliver'd, and all the Prey recover'd and rendred back to the Owners: And the two valiant Brethren came before *Tournay*, where they were Welcome to their Friends.

* *Froiſ. & Du Cheſne ibid.*

In this ſame ſeaſon, while the *French* King lay encamped at the Bridge of *Bouvines*, *William* Lord of *Bailleul* in *Hainalt*, and the Lord *Vauflart de la Croix*, (the ſame h *German* Knight, who left the Earl of *Salisbury* when he was taken Priſoner, for fear of the Men of *Lille*, whom he had exaſperated by his Hoſtilities) theſe two encouraged a Party of *Hainalders* to venture along with them, to go and rouſe the *French* Army; for they ſaid, they knew all the Avenues of the Country, and that they would bring them to ſuch a place where they ſhould not be much overnumbred. So very early one Morning they left the Camp, to the number of about Sixſcore Knights and Eſquires, and rode directly toward the Bridge of *Creſſin*, the Lord *William Bailleul* being appointed their Chief, to whoſe Banner upon Occaſion they were all to repair. Now that ſame Morning it chanced, that a certain Number of the Biſhop of *Liege's* Men had rode forth from the *French* Camp, under the Conduct of Sr. *Robert Bailleul*, who was Brother to this Lord *William Bailleul*, but held to the Contrary Party. The *Leigeois* had already paſſed the Bridge of *Creſſin*, and were ſeeking Forage for their Horſes, and ſome further Adventure if they might: But what of themſelves they could not find, Fortune offer'd into their Hands, preſenting them with a Succeſs, which they could not wiſh for. For it being a very miſty Morning, the *Hainalders* paſſed beyond them, and went over the Bridge on the other ſide, neither Party having yet the leaſt knowledge of other; a man being hardly able to ſee the length of a Spear before him. When the *Hainalders* were all over, 'twas reſolv'd, that the Lord *William Bailleul* ſhould tarry there with his Banner and fourty Spears on the Bridge to ſecure the Retreat of the reſt; who were to adventure farther under the Conduct of Sr. *Vauflart de la Croix*, Sr. *Ralph de Monceaux*, and Sr. *John Verchin*. Theſe conſiſting of Fourſcore Spears, rode ſo far, that they daſh'd in upon the Troops of the King of *Bohemia* and the Biſhop of *Leige*, who were encamped neareſt to that Bridge; juſt at which time the Lord of *Rademach*, who had kept Watch the latter part of that Night, was going off from Duty, for it was about ſeven of the Clock. Theſe *Hainalders* made a great Confuſion and did ſome Miſchief, but the Army began to ſtir preſently, and to draw that way in good Order; whereupon they retired again toward the Bridge with the *Luxemburgers* and *Liegeois* at their Heels. Then was the Lord *William Bailleul* adviſed to repaſs the Bridge, and expect his Men on the other ſide, becauſe they were ſo cloſely purſued, that there would be much confuſion if the Bridge was not clear at their Return. Sr. *William* leaving them ſpace accordingly, the *Hainalders* repaſſed after him, thô not without ſome difficulty, their Captains being fain to place the beſt Men in the Reer, who were yet much preſt upon by the *French*. The Lord *Vauflart de la Croix* particularly, ſtaid ſo long behind in hopes to bring off his Men, that being intercepted, he ſaw plainly there was no poſſibility for him to recover the Bridge. Wherefore with much ado getting out of the preaſs he took a way well known to him, down among the Marches; where he thought to lie hid among the Reeds and Ruſhes, till night, and ſo to eſcape: The reſt of his Friends fighting ſtill at the Bridge with no great Advantage. At which time Sr. *Robert Bailleul*, who held on the *French* Part, being allarum'd with the noiſe of the Scuffle, came thither on the *Hainalders* Backs with his Banner before him, when the *Hainalders* ſaw the Banner of Murrians, they verily took it for the Lord *William's*, who

h *Froiſ. & Du Cheſne ibid. vid. c.* 15. § 7. *p.* 168.

who was of their Party, and so flock'd unto it: For there was but a small difference between the two Brethrens Banners; for the Arms of the Murrians are three Bars Counter-bars, a Chevron Gules, only in the Chevron of Sr. *Robert* there was a Croslet Or, which being but small, was not taken heed of by the *Hainalders*. But some applying themselves to Sr. *William's*, and some to Sr. *Roberts* Banner, being broken and divided by this Mistake, they were all routed, taken or slain, none knowing whither to turn in so strange a Confusion. Sr. *John Verchin* was slain, with Sr. *Walter du Pont de l' Arche*, Sr. *William Piereport* and many Others: Sr. *John de*[1] *Solre*, Sr. *Daniel Bloss*, Sr. *Ralph Monceaux*, Sr. *Lewis Lamplugh* and Others were taken; the Lord *William Bailleul* himself with much difficulty escaped, and hardly five or six more of all his Men. But as for poor Sr. *Vauflart de la Croix*, who lay in the Marish grounds in great fear, wishing that the Mist would not break up all that day, his evil Destiny betray'd him; for by the end of that Skirmish the Day being clear again, he was espied by some of those who rode by that way; and these presently made such a Shouting and Outcry upon him, that he was fain to come forth and yield himself their Prisoner. They that took him carried him into the Camp, and deliver'd him to their Master Sr. *Robert Bailleul*, who was very much concern'd for him, as one that knew the danger he was in, and that if the *French* King should hear of his Taking, he hated him so mortally, that it was impossible to preserve him. Wherefore Sr. *Robert* did what he could to stop the Report, and advis'd him to disguise his Name; but alas! 'twas too late; for King *Philip* having already heard, that Sr. *Vauflart de la Croix*, who had done so much Mischief to the Men of *Lille*, was a Prisoner in his Camp, sent his Officers for him, and forthwith order'd him to be carried under a Guard to *Lille*, giving the Inhabitants leave to do with him as they thought best. No Prayers, nor Promises of Gold or Silver could mollifie the minds of those Men, when they saw him in their Power; but immediatly they put him to a cruel Death, though he offer'd an incredible Ransom: so justly did he formerly fear to fall into their Hands, when the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Earl of *Suffolks* Son were taken; but yet what so wisely he before avoided, being urged by his unhappy Destiny, he now fell into unawares.

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[1] *Salra* Latin.

King *Philip* was wonderfully pleas'd with this Adventure of Sr. *Robert Bailleuls*, and no doubt gave him some good Tokens of his Favour: For small successes are a Refreshment to a Man after great and continued Losses; and besides he was glad that by the death of an Enemy, he had so highly gratified his good Subjects of *Lille*, as if he had given them large Franchises.

But the Earl of *Hainalt* was so extreamly[k] incens'd at this Matter, that immediatly he[l] sent to his Subjects of *Valenciennes*, that at such a time they should come and meet him before *Mortaigne*, appointing them to make their Assault between the Rivers of *Scarp* and *Skell*, and the Towns of St. *Amand* and *Condet*. Against the time limited He himself and the Lord *John* his Uncle, with the Seneschal of *Hainalt* and 600 Spears of *Hainalt* and *Almain*, departed from the Siege before *Tournay*, and went to *Mortaign* on the side of *Condet*, at which time also the Men of *Valenciennes* came on another Part in great Numbers, bringing with them several huge Engines for Battery. The Lord of *Beaujeu*, who was Captain there at that time, had all along expected a Siege, because the Fortress stood so near the River, and was so unwelcom a Neighbour to *Hainalt*: Wherefore on the Sides next the Land he had made strong Fortifications, and cut deep Trenches, and to secure himself on the River Side, he had caused twelve hundred Piles to be driven in, that no Vessels might pass that way. But for all these Preparations the Earl and his Men came thither on one part, and the Men of *Valenciennes* on another: And so the Assault began in Two places at once. But the Piles on one side hindred their Progress, and the Earl approaching the Barriers, found the Trenches on his side so deep and large, that he could not come near enough, and he wanted both Hands and Stuff, besides time, to fill them. Then he advis'd, and sent four hundred Men over the River *Scarp*, to that side where *Chasteau l' Abbaye* and *St. Amand* stood, commanding them to give an Assault at the Gate that looks toward *Mauld*. And now was *Mortaign* enclosed on three Parts; that being the weakest of the Three, which respected *Mauld*; but yet it prov'd strong enough: For thither came the Lord *Beaujeu* himself with the Flower of his Men to defend the Place. He for his part had in his hand a broad glittering Sword, sharp and well-steel'd, and above the blade near the hilt was fastned a sharp Hook of Steel, which Hook was made with such art, that it always took hold of what he strook, and he was so strong of Arm, that whomsoever he caught hold on, he either brought to him, or flung

[k] *Du Chesne p.* 653.
[l] *Froiss. c.* 59. *f.* 33.

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him with great force into the Water, as he did more than a dozen at that time: However here the Aſſault was well carried on, being much fiercer than in any other place. The Earl of *Hainalt* on the other hand was contriving, how by force or art to pull out the Piles, that were ſtuck in the River, for then they might come up in their Veſſels cloſe to the Walls. At laſt he order'd to make ready a Ship, wherein was to be placed a great Engine to draw out the Piles one by one: And while the Carpenters were about this work, that ſame Day the *Valenciennois* on their Side had reared a great Engine, wherewith they caſt huge Stones into the Fortreſs to the no ſmall trouble of the Beſieged. Thus the firſt day and night paſſed in Aſſaulting and Contriving how to carry the Place. The next morning the Aſſault was renewed and continued on all hands till the Evening: And on the third Day the Ship was ready with the new-deſign'd Engine to draw out the Piles. But when they went to uſe it at that kind of work, they found their Labour to be ſo great, and to require ſo many Hands, and that it was ſo long e're they could pluck out one, that they deſpair'd of pulling out 1200 in a Year almoſt, upon which accounts they were ſoon weary of that Trade, and the Earl wiſhing he had never begun it, commanded them to leave off. However ſtill the other Engine of *Valenciennes*, that caſt Stones into the Fortreſs, play'd on luſtily and with good Succeſs: But at that time there was within *Mortaign* a ſubtle Mathematician, an Engineer, who ſaw there was much miſchief like to be done, unleſs he could diſable that Engine alſo. Wherefore with great expedition he raiſed a certain Machin within the Caſtle, which was not very bigg indeed, but it was well fitted and trimmed at all points: And with this he caſt but three times; the firſt ſtone fell within 12 foot of the Engin, the ſecond fell nearer, but the third ſtrack it ſo full, that it brake the Shaft or chief beam of the Engin clear in ſunder, and ſo rendred it uſeleſs: Whereat the Beſieged made a merry ſhout; but the *Hainalders* were ſo diſcouraged, that the Earl diſmiſſed his Men of *Valenciennes*, and return'd with the reſt of his Troops to the Siege before *Tournay*.

[m] *Froiſ. c. 54.*

[n] *Ferrar. in tit. Fanum St. Amandi.*

About this time the [m] Garriſon of St. *Amand*, which held for the *French*, and was diſtant [n] two leagues *Northward* from *Valenciennes*, and three leagues *Southward* from *Tournay*, iſſued out of the Town and went to *Haynon* in *Hainalt*, where they deſtroy'd the Minſter, robb'd the Abby, violated the Nunns, burnt the Town, and carried away the Spoil to St. *Amand*. Another day this ſame Garriſon ſent out a Detachment, which paſſing the Wood of St. *Amand* came to the Abby of *Vicoign*, where they began to make a great Fire near the Gate, intending to burn it down; for they had no other way to get an Entrance. When the Abbot ſaw what danger his Houſe was in, he took horſe preſently and at a back door rode out, going thrô the Wood to *Valenciennes*, where making a relation of his Neceſſity, he deſired the Provoſt to lend him a certain number of Croſsbows towards the preſervation of his Abby. His deſire was granted, and away he went with this Aſſiſtance, conducting them behind *Rames*, and ſo ſet them in the Wood toward the high-way that leads to *Porcelet*. From that ſtation they ſhot againſt the *Genoueſe* and *Frenchmen*, who were before the Gate of *Vicoign*: But when now they ſaw and felt the Shot from the Wood, they were ſo amaz'd that they return'd as faſt as they might, and ſo the Abby was ſaved from deſtruction.

[o] *Froiſ. c. 60.*

Now three days [o] after the Earl of *Hainalt* was return'd from before *Mortaign*, as we have ſhewn, Complaint was brought unto him to the Siege of *Tournay*, of theſe and other Outrages, committed by the Garriſon of St. *Amand* upon the foreſaid Places and others about the Frontiers of *Hainalt*. Hereupon he reſolv'd to ſeek ſome Reparation, and ſo went again from *Tournay* with 3000 Men and came before St. *Amand*; where he expected to find 12000 of his Subjects more, whom he had by Letters commanded the Provoſt of *Valenciennes* to ſend thither by ſuch a time to joyn him. On the ſide that looks towards *Mortaign*, the Town was not cloſed but onely with Pales; and therefore the Captain thereof, who was a good Knight of *Languedoc*, and Seneſchal of *Carcaſſon*, had before this, told the Monks and the Townſmen, "That the Place was not tenable againſt an Army; thô however he was reſolv'd to "hold out to the laſt, and by no means to yield or forſake the Place, which his Lord "the *French* King had once committed to his Truſt. He told them theſe words pro- "ceeded from no vain diffidence or Cowardiſe, but only being his real Opinion, he "gave them this Caution; that they might ſave their Goods, or what elſe they va- "lued in time: For he had nothing to take care of but his Honour, which he was re- "ſolved to maintain, whatever ſhould happen. The Townſmen would not believe theſe Words; only the Abbot and moſt of his Monks, as being more timorous and tenacious,

tenacious, follow'd his counsel, and remov'd all the Jewels and Plate belonging to their Abbey to *Mortagn*, where also they themselves tarried for their greater Security. Now the day before the Earls Arrival, the 12000 *Valenciennois*, whom he had sent for, came thither, and placing all their Crossbows at the Gate that looks toward the *Scarpe*, began the Assault immediatly: But however nothing was gain'd all that Day but dry blows; wherefore the Besieged insulted upon them, "Crying, Sirs, get you gone "home again while you are well, and drink your good heavy Ale; for you are not "nimble enough to get in here. Toward night the Assault ceased, the *Hainalders* being extream weary, but chiefly their Hearts failed them, because the Earl, their Lord was not yet come as he had appointed them: Wherefore they presently withdrew homeward again in great displeasure. Next morning betimes the Earl departed from before *Tournay* and came to St. *Amand*, on the side toward *Mortagn*, where presently giving a fierce Assault, he wan the Pales and the Outworks, and so approached the Gate: Where the Earl and his Uncle were so forward, that both of them had their Helmets cloven and their Heads so disorder'd with the blows, that they were forced to withdraw for that time. At last one of the Captains said to the Earl, "Sir, this way we "shall never prevail, the Passage is so narrow and so well defended. But Sir, if we can "get strong Rams of Timber, sharpned like Piles, and run them against the Abby Walls, "we shall not fail of making there several Breaches: And the Abby once entred "the Town is ours. The Motion took and Rams were made accordingly, to every of which 20 or 30 Persons were appointed, who all together ran them with great force against the Walls: so that within a while there were several considerable Breaches made. At one of these Passages stood ready a certain Monk named Don *Froisard*, who defended his Post with great Manhood, and fought so lustily, that he kill'd or disabled no less than 18 persons with his own Hands: So that no entrance could be had that way. But when he saw how the Enemy rushed in at other Places, he was obliged to quit his Station, and had such good Fortune, as at last to escape the Town, and to carry the first news of its Taking to *Mortagn*. The mean while the Earl and his Men enter'd the Town by these Breaches in the Abby; and passed a little River that ran thereby, in battle Array. There he found the valiant Seneschal of *Carcasson*, with his Men about him, ready to receive him under his Banner: *Which was Gules, a Chief Argent; Three Cheurons in the Chief, Bordur'd, Argent, Indented.* And here he fought couragiously a considerable time: But the *Hainalders* flow'd in so upon him, that at last he was slain under his Standard, with 200 of his faithfull Men about him. For the Earl upon his entrance into the Town, had given Command to put all to the Sword, because they had done so much mischief in his Territories: So that very few escaped Death, but such who had fled betimes to *Mortagn*; or lay hid in Cellars and other secret places. At night the Earl returned to the Army before *Tournay*; and the next day the Men of *Valenciennes* hearing what their Lord had done, came again and burnt the Town, Abby and Minster, and brake all the Bells, which were very choice ones.

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Another [p] time the Earl of *Hainalt* went forth with a Detachment of 600 Men of Arms, and having burnt many small Villages which now have no Name, passed the River *Scarpe* hard by *Haynon*, and went into *France* to a great and rich Abby and Town called *Marchiennes*, which was defended by Sr. *Emery* of *Vernaulx* and certain Crossbows from *Doway*. Here the Earl began a fierce Assault at the First Gate, which the Captain had well fortified with large and deep Ditches, and now with his *Frenchmen* and the Monks defended the Place nobly. But as the Earl was fighting here, another Party of *English* and *Hainalders* went in Boats and Barges to another Quarter, where finding a more easie Entrance, they got all into the Abby, having only lost one *German* Knight, named Sr. *Bacho de la Ware*, of the Lord of *Valkenbergs* Retinue, who was by ill fortune drowned. The mean while the Earl, his Uncle, and the Seneschal of *Hainault* prevail'd also, thô with more adoe at the great Gate, so that the Captain and all his Men were either slain or taken; the Monks for the most part being taken alive; but the Abby and Town were plunder'd and burnt to the ground: After which the Earl return'd again to *Tournay*.

[p] *Froiss. c.* 60. *fol.* 33. *b.*

Thus during the Siege, the *Englishmen* and their Allies rode forth to seek Adventures; insomuch that they destroy'd, as some say, [q] 300 Towns and Villages, slew more than a 1000 Men of Arms, and took many more Prisoners, besides much Booty.

[q] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 136 *n* 20. *& Hypod. p.* 115. *Fox p.* 348.

Thô some Reader may already be offended with this Prolixity, yet I must not omit one more memorable Adventure, which happen'd at the Bridge of *Cressin*; both

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because the Lord *Monmorency*, a most considerable Person on the *French* Part, was there taken, and also because the late Success of the Lord *Robert Bailleul's* at the same place, was now well requited by those of the *English* Party.

One day during this Siege before *Tournay*, [r] there was an Adventure undertaken by the Lord of *Ronderendence*, and Sr. *John* his Son, Sr. *Arnold Baquehen*, Sr. *Reginald Descouvenort*, Sr. *Rorant Dastô*, Sr. *Baldwin van Basten*, and *Candrelyer* his Brother, Sr. *Stauren van Leurne*, and an hardy Esquire, named *John Randeberg*, with many other Lords, Knights, and Esquires of the Dutchy of *Gueldre*, and the Marquisate of *Juliers*: Besides these there were certain Knights Batchelors, as Sr. *Floren van Beaurien*, Sr. *Latas de la Hay* Marshal of this Detachment, Sr. *John* of *Hainalt* the Bastard, Sr. *Oliver van Guistells*, Sr. *Robert Cleves*, and divers others of *Hainalt*, and the Neighbouring Countries, to the Number of 340 Men of Arms: All who rode forth one Morning early toward the Bridge of *Cressin*, which they passed without any Encounter. Being got over, they consulted what course to take, and it was resolv'd that the *Frenchmens* Quarters were to be beaten up: So the Lord of *Ronderendence*, Sr. *Henry van Keukren*, Sr. *Tilman Soussy*, Sr. *Oliver van Guistells*, Sr. *John* the Bastard of *Hainalt*, Sr. *Robert Cleves*, and *Jaquelet* of *Thyaulx* with his Brother, were appointed with 40 Spears only to go and perform that Exploit: And the other Knights and Esquires to the Number of 300 Spears, were to stay at the Bridge foot to make good their Retreat. Those that were appointed to that purpose, went forward accordingly, and strack suddenly into the Skirts of the Host, overthrowing Tents and Pavilions, and killing and wounding the *Frenchmen*.

[r] *Froiss. c.* 61.

That Night two great Barons of *France*, to wit, the Lord of *Monmorency*, and the Lord of *Salieu* had kept the Watch on that part of the Camp, which lay neareſt to the Bridge; who hearing the noise, came presently with their Banners before them to the Scuffle. Upon sight of them the Lords of *Almain* wisely drew off, and made back toward the Bridge: But the *French* follow'd them so closely at the heels, that the Lord *Oliver van Guistells*, who being purblind could not keep his course right, was taken Prisoner, and with him the two Brethren, *Jaquelet* and *Mondrope* of *Thyaulx*. And yet those in the Reer of the *Almains* could plainly hear the Language of the *Frenchmen*, calling after them, and saying, "Gentlemen, you must not think to escape thus. Whereupon one said to the Lord *Ronderendence*, "Sir, have a Care what you do; for I fear "the *French* will gain the Bridge before us. Well, said he, thô they know one way, "I know another; and therewithall he struck off on the Right hand, and took a by way, which brought him and his Company to the River: But by the late descent of Waters, the River was now so deep and environ'd with Marshes, that it was too Hazardous to attempt to pass over that way: Wherefore after a while they were fain to return toward the Bridge again. This mean while the *Frenchmen* had rode a full Gallop toward the Bridge, not caring to follow them in their by-way, as knowing they could find no Passage, but rather resolving to take the Bridge before their Return, and so to intercept them. But when now they came near and saw that great Company which were left to make good the others Retreat, at the foot of the Bridge, they were abashed, and said to one another, "We here pursue others too indiscreetly, since We thus may "lose more than We can possibly Win. Upon which consideration divers of them return'd back again, and particularly the Lord of *Salieu* with all his Men, and his Banner before him.

But for all this the Lord *Charles* of *Monmorency* rode still with his Banner and Retinue forward; saying, he would by no means retire, till he had tasted what kind of Men they were. So there began a fierce Rencounter between the *French* and the *Almains*; and many were overthrown on both sides: But as the Skirmish grew warm, and was yet doubtfull, there came on at the *Frenchmens* backs the other *Almains*, that had return'd from the River with the Lord *Ronderendence*, when they saw they could not get over because of the Marishes: So that now the *Frenchmen* were enclosed among their Enemies.

The Lord *Reginald Descouvenort* knew the Lord *Monmorency* by his Banner, under which he beheld him fighting valiantly; wherefore he came up suddenly on his Right side, and with his Left hand catch'd fast hold of his Horses Bridle, and so drew him after him out of the Preass: Yet all the while the Lord *Monmorency* strack at him many Weighty blows, some whereof he defended, and some he was fain to receive, being well Arm'd at all Points: But at last, he made shift to take him Prisoner with his own hands, for the Lord *Monmorency* had his Horse no longer in his own Government. Besides him the *Almains* took at this time no less than fourscore

Knights

Knights and Esquires; and after a full Victory return'd in safety to the Camp before *Tournay*. AN. DOM. 1340.

VII. Now during these two Sieges held by King *Edward* and his Forces at one time before *Tournay*, and St. *Omers*, a Parliament by Commission from the King, was held at *Westminster* [r] on the *Wednesday* next after the Translation of St. *Thomas* the Martyr; The Reasons of their meeting being declared to be, 1. To consult what further course was best for the King and his Allies to take with *France*. 2. To provide for the Common Peace, and how to keep good Order at home. 3. To take Care for the Defence of the *Northern* Parts. 4. For the Dominion at Sea. 5. How to Answer the King the Subsidy last granted him. An. Regni *Angliæ* XIV. *Franciæ* I.

[r] *M.S. Record. Parl. p. 36. & St Rob. Cotton p. 27. &c.*

The next day was openly declared in Parliament the great Victory, which the King had lately obtain'd at Sea: And that to go on so, as to perfect these happy beginnings, he must be further enabled with supplies of Money: The answer to which was respited till *Saturday* then next ensuing. At which time the Lords and Commons granted unto his Majesty, as in the last Preceding Parliament, the Ninth of their Corn, Wooll, and Lambs, and many Carefull Proviso's were made for the Answering the same.

On this *Saturday* came in the Earl of *Arundel*, and Sr. *William Trussel*, who were sent from the King with Credential Letters, under the Privy Seal, directed to the Lords and Commons, purporting his great Victory, and no less necessity of speedy Returns of Money. By which Letters, among other things, it appears, that the King got the said Victory on St. *John*'s Day, in the Water of *Swine*, in the Port there. That the Kings Allies had carried him about *Tournay* with 100 Men; and that Sr. *Robert* of *Artois* had carried him at St. *Omers* with 5 Men. The said Letters, which are at large in the Records, conclude with the fear of much Damage, but especially loss of Honour to the King, without a speedy and undelayed Assistance, requiring their further Credit in the Bearers, for what they should say.

After this, certain Bishops and Knights, as *John Stratford* Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Ralph Stratford* Bishop of *London*, *Ralph de Shrewsbury* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Simon Montagu* [t] Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*, Bishop of *Ely*, *Robert Wyvill*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, with the Abbots of *Waltham* of the Holy Cross, and of *Westminster*, Sr. *Ralph Shirley*, and other Knights there named, freely undertook at their own Credit, to spare the King 20000 Sacks of Wooll, every Sack to be sold five Marks under the Price rated at *Nottingham*: So as for every Sack of the best sort, the King should be answer'd six pounds, for others five pounds, and for the worst of all four Marks; besides his Custom of 40 shillings for every Sack, and of all this, present Return to be made to the King. And it was order'd, that the Subsidy of the next Year should be employ'd for the Payment of these Woolls, and this to be confirmed by the Kings Letters Patents.

[t] *Godwin Catal. Bps. p. 268.*

Provision is order'd to be made for the King, two Parts at *Sandwich*, and the Third at *Southampton*, of Wheat two Thousand Quarters, of Beans and Pease five Hundred Quarters; of Bacon, eight Hundred Flitches, fourty Weighs of Cheese, and an Hundred Tunns of Wine: *Ambrose de Newburgh* being appointed Purveyor General for *Sandwich*, and Sr. *John Hothersall* at *Southampton*; and 4400 *l.* were Assign'd out of the Aid of *Essex* and *Oxford*, to the Kings *Butler*.

Such Parsons of Churches, as pay their Tenths, shall be excus'd now from paying their Ninths.

The Sheriff of *Southampton* is appointed to Repair to the Constable of *Carisbrook* Castle in the Isle of *Wight*, and there together with him to Muster the Islanders, and to choose a Keeper of the Isle, till further Order: Others being nominated to make the like Enquiry on this side *Trent*.

A Writ of Warrant was now directed to the Sheriff of *York*, to deliver up the Body of [u] *John Randal* Earl of *Murray*, to the Bishop of *Durham*, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, and the Lord *Ralph Nevill*: They to do with him according to their Commission.

[u] *Hector p. 322 n. 75.*

Order'd, that Priors--Aliens, and others, who have their Possessions in Farm of the King, shall pay no Ninths; as neither such Hospitals, as have not heretofore been Taxed.

A Writ to gather no Ninths of any Religious Person, who pays his Desme, and was not summon'd to the Parliament, untill *Michaelmas* next.

It was further Order'd; that every Sheriff by Writ should cause certain Merchants of every City and Town within their Bailywick, to appear before the Kings Council at such a Day: and that Proclamation be made, that no Person Presume to buy any Wooll, till the

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the King be ſerved; whereunto thoſe of the Cuſtom-houſe to have a ſtrict Regard. It was alſo Enacted, that the 20000 Wooll-Sacks granted to the King, ſhall be taken in whoſe hands ſoever they ſhall be found; or Agreement to be made therefore of the two Payments of the Ninths.

The Merchants of *Barton* and *Yarmouth*, upon Security of the Ninths of ſeveral Counties mention'd in the Records, Engage to pay to ſeveral of the Kings Creditors beyond the Seas, the Summe of 28555.---15 s.---2 d. and that certain of the Kings Jewels lying in Pawn therefore, ſhould be redeemed. Sr. *William de la Pole* undertakes for his Complement of Wooll, or in Conſideration of the firſt Ninth in *Suffolk*, to pay to the King before *Michaelmas* Three Hundred Marks beyond the Seas.

Now of theſe Merchants that appeared before the Council, *Henry Goldbeater*, *Thomas Grey*, *William Lancaſter*, and *John Lodington* take 1500 Sacks of Wooll within the County of *York*, they to pay to the King for every Sack 4 Pounds ten Shillings, beſides the Cuſtom of 40 s. within three Weeks. So *Bardolph Barton*, Merchant of *Hull*, and *Thomas Thirwit* Merchant of *Beverley*, take a 1000 Sacks, half from *Nottingham*, and half from *Darby*, the firſt 500 at four Pounds thirteen Shillings and four pence *per* Sack, beſides the uſual Cuſtom of 40 s. and the latter 500, at three Pounds three Shillings and four pence, in like manner. So alſo *Thomas Loveſhead*, *William Malleſtroit*, and *William Bambridge*, Merchants of *York* take 400 Sacks out of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, at 4 Marks *per* Sack, beſides the Cuſtom. *Walter Prieſt* of *Melton-Moubray*, and *Hugh Cogſhall* Merchants of *Barton* upon *Humber*, agree for 500 Sacks of *Leiceſter*, for 8 Marks *per* Sack, and an 100 of *Rutland* for 4 *l.* 10 s. *per* Sack, beſides the Cuſtom. *Thomas Collis*, *Richard Weſton*, and *Adam Hone*, and *John Retoun* have 400 Sacks of *Shropſhire*, for ſix Pounds ſix and eight pence the Sack, and 400 out of *Staffordſhire*, for Twenty Shillings leſs by the Sack, beſides the Cuſtom. Then New Writs were ſent to the Sheriffs, to ſummon in more Merchants before the Council, becauſe they had ſtill more Sacks to diſpoſe of.

Now alſo 500 Sacks of the Woolls of *Glouceſter* were Aſſign'd to Queen *Philippa* toward the Payment of her Debts: Which was a Matter not the leaſt acceptable to the King, who always lov'd her to an High Degree; as indeed ſhe well merited. Then follow the Remembrances for the King to keep promiſe; as to keep the Sea, to purvey for the Navy, and to defend the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Garnſey*. Sr. *Anthony Bath* was Order'd to ſee to the delivery of the Kings Jewells: And *Conrade Clipping*, and *Godrick de Renley* are Aſſign'd for the Cuſtoms of *England*. Then there is the Copy of a Letter ſent from the Lords of the Parliament to the King, by Sr. *William Truſſel*, containing the Grant of the Ninths, and their Policy in making preſent ſhift for ready Money by Woolls: In the Poſtſcript they direct him to buy at *Sluce*, and other Ports of *Zealand*, becauſe the greateſt ſtore of Woolls had been convey'd away by ſtealth: To which there is another ſecret Letter adjoyned, ſent (as it ſeems) from ſome of the Council, to the ſame Effect.

And here's the Subſtance of this Parliament, and the Summe of all the Aid, that came to the King, during the Siege of *Tournay*, thô it both fell ſhort, and came alſo too late, and as is highly probable, not till after the Treaty.

But We are alſo to remember, that in this Parliament King *Edward Bailiol* was appointed to ſerve at *Carlile* with 40 Men of Arms, being ſtill allowed, 300 *l. per annum*, together with the Mannor of *Hexliſham*, as in the laſt × Parliament. And the Earl of *Angos*, and the Lord *Piercy* were Order'd to ſet forth the Arrays of *Yorkſhire*, *Nottingham*, and *Darby*, to *Newcaſtle* upon the *Tine*, and ſo to the Marches: For about this time *Scotland* began to Raiſe up her Head again, of whoſe Affairs it will not be amiſs in this place to take ſome Proſpect.

× *L.* 1. *c.* 16. §. 1. *p.* 180.

VIII. About the time that King *Edward* Commenced his *French* Wars, the Lord *Andrew Murray* Viceroy of *Scotland*, Departed this Life, and was buried at *Roſmarkie*, being greatly deſired by the *Scots* for his ſucceſsfull Valour: After his Death the Young Lord *Robert Stuart* was continued Viceroy, till the Return of King *David* out of *France*. This Lord *Robert* took up, during his Viceroyſhip, the moſt Succeſsfull Arms againſt *England*, that ever had been ſince the Death of King *Robert* his Uncle: But in Proceſs of time, when he came to be King himſelf; he firſt wholly caſt off the *Engliſh* Yoke, and maintain'd that Kingdom in Proſperity and Honour, during his whole Reign, as in part we ſhall ſhew hereafter. But the uncertain and contradictory Reports, with the falſe Computations of the *Scotch* Writers, make it as impoſſible to give a ſuccinct and exact Account of every Action, as it is indeed unneceſſary. Let this ſuffice,

ſ *Buchan. p.* 297. *l.* 9. & *Holinſhead* Scotl. *p.* 238. & *Hector Boeth. p.* 322.

that

that *Scotland* being now left more at Liberty by King *Edward*'s Abſence, while he was buſied in the *French* Wars, did by Degrees recover many Great and Important Places, which before ſhe had loſt; thô as yet ſhe was unable to do any Notable Exploit upon the Borders of *England*. And firſt, by the High Valour of Sr. *William Douglas*, all *Tividale* was clean Recover'd out of the *Engliſh* mens Hands; for which piece of Service he was afterwards Rewarded with that Country. He alſo overthrew the Lord *John Striveling* at *Cragings*, Wan the Caſtle of *Hermitage*, baffled Sr. *Laurence Vaux*, and took Sr. *William Abernethie* Priſoner; and then by the Lord *Robert Stuart* was ſent into *France* to King *David*, to Requeſt his Counſel and Aſſiſtance in the War; becauſe a Tempeſt was expected from *England*. The mean while the Lord *Robert* Beſieges *Perth*, alias St. *Johnſton*, which was by the *Engliſh* Valiantly maintain'd againſt him for the ſpace of Ten Weeks: When the Lord *Douglas* on a ſudden Arrived from *France*, bringing with him into the *Tay* 5 Ships well furniſhed with Men, Arms, and Ammunition, the Captains whereof were two Knights, belonging to *Galliard* Caſtle in *France*, upon the *Seyne*, which was allotted for King *Davids* Reſidence, alſo two Valiant Eſquires, named *Giles de la Hoy*, and *John de Breis*, with a Pirate of great Renown, whoſe Name was *Hugh Handpile*, ſo that now the Captain of *Perth*, Sr. *Thomas Vghtred*, not being able to hold out any longer, after he had [z] deſtroy'd the beſt Ship, that *Hugh Handpile* had, and perform'd all that could be expected, was at laſt enforced to yield up the Town, thô not without [a] Honourable Conditions.

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[z] *Holinſhead p.* 239.

[a] *Hector p.*322.

Now beſide the foremention'd Captains, who were on the *Brucean* Side, *Patrick* Earl of *Dumbar*, *Kenneth* Earl of *Southerland*, Sr. *Robert Huſſey*, Sr. *Simon Fraſier* and Sr. *Alexander Ramſey* (who were diſpos'd about in Garriſons of thoſe parts of *Scotland*, which the *Engliſh* had not won) during the ſpace of ſeven Years made continual War upon the *Engliſh* with various Succeſs, ſometimes looſing and ſometimes winning, as well by Open Force as by Surpriſe: Till at laſt King *Bailiol* being wholly tired out by theſe their importune Hoſtilities, retired into *England*, as we ſhew'd before: Thô others ſay, he was brought hither by King *Edward*, either for his own further Security, or hoping by his Removal to keep the *Scots* more quiet; or for ſuſpicion of his Loyalty. But now while King *Edward* lay at the Siege of *Tournay*, the *French* King ſent new Supplies of Men and Money into *Scotland*, requeſting withall the Lord *Robert Stuart*, to make ſtrong War upon *England*, that by ſuch a Diverſion King *Edward* might be forced to quit the Siege. The *Scots* taking heart upon this Reinforcement, not only wan many Fortreſſes in *Scotland*, but alſo adventur'd in ſeveral Bodies to enter *England*, where they deſtroy'd the Country almoſt as far as *Durham*, returning all ſafe again; ſaving [b] that the Earls of *March* and *Southerland* being encountred by the Lord *Thomas Grey* of *Werke*, Sr. *Robert Manners*, and *John Copland*, a valiant Eſquire of *Northumberland*, were utterly diſcomfited. In ſhort the *Scots* did ſo well uſe this Opportunity of King *Edwards* Abſence, that there was by this time ſcarce any Place of Moment left to the *Engliſh* in all *Scotland*, except [c] *Barwick*, *Striveling*, *Roxborough* and *Edinborough*. Which laſt Caſtle ſtands on a Rock, on an Hill ſo high, that a Man who is no way reſiſted, can yet hardly paſs up to the Top without Reſting; ſo that it is in a manner impregnable. The Captain of this Piece at that time was Sr. *Richard Limeſi*, who had ſo valiantly kept the Caſtle of *Thine l' Eveſque* againſt the Duke of *Normandy*, as we ſhew'd [d] before, and was thereupon Commiſſion'd by King *Edward* to undertake the Defence of this Place. But althô the Strength of the Hold and the Reſolution of the Captain were ſo notorious, the Lord *William Douglas* invented a ſubtle Device, wherewith to recover the Caſtle, and which he diſcover'd only to three of his chief Companions and Friends, Sr. *Alexander Ramſey*, Sir *Simon Fraſier*, and Earl *Patrick* of *Dunbar*. The *Stratagem* however is told two ways, and the leſs probable, by the [e] *Scotch* Writers themſelves, which is this: The Lord *Douglas* having acquaintance with one *Walter Towers*, a Merchant, called him into the *Fryth*, directing him to counterfeit himſelf an *Engliſh* Merchant, and to offer the Garriſon Wines to ſell. This *Towers* according to his Inſtructions provided two Veſſels of rich Wine and other Preſents for the Captain, deſiring his leave to ſell off the reſt of his Goods in thoſe Parts without any impediment or moleſtation: That in conſideration of this Favour, if the Garriſon wanted any thing which he had, upon knowledge, he would gratifie them therewith at reaſonable Rates. The Captain bidding him bring a certain quantity of Wine and Sea-biſket, promiſes Admiſſion at any time: He forſooth pretending to be afraid of the *Scots*, appointed to be there very early the next Morning. That night *Douglas* and 12 of the moſt choſen and valiant Men with him, diſguiſed themſelves with Seamens Habit

[b] *Holinſhead Scotl. p.*238.

[c] *Froiſ. c.*55. *f.* 31. *b. &c.*

[d] *Vid. l.*1. *c.*15. §. 10. *p.* 174.

[e] *Hector p.* 322. *n.* 20. *& Buchan. l.*9. *p.* 298.

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bit over their Armour, and having planted their Fellows in the neareſt place they could, with Order not to ſtirr till the Signal given, go along with the foreſaid Proviſion to the Caſtle. Sr. *William Douglas* and Sr. *Simon Fraſier* went firſt with the Cart, the other Eleven were commanded to follow at ſome diſtance. Being upon Call let in at the outer Gate of the Barriers, which was before the Caſtle Gate, as they eſpi'd the Keys of the Caſtle hanging on the Porters arm, they ſuddenly ſlew him, ſo that he died without one Word ſpeaking. Then in great ſilence they open the Caſtle Gate, and thence gave the ſignal to their Fellows by the ſound of an Horn, the mean while they caſt all their Carriages between the Doors, that they might not be cloſed before their Fellows ſhould come up. This is *Buchanan's* Relation, thô in ſome reſpects, I know not upon what Authority, different from *Hector's* who went before him: Wherefore I rather follow *Froiſard*, an Author of credit infinitely beyond them both, who thus tells the whole Matter. [f] That Sr. *William Douglas* with his Companions aforeſaid, took to them two hundred hardy Wild *Scots*, and went on board a Ship wherein was Proviſion of Corn, Oats and Fuell, and ſo they came peaceably into the Harbour of the *Fryth* or *Forth*, not far from the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*: That in the Night they armed themſelves and all their Company, diſguiſing ten or twelve of their Choice Men, and ſuch as they had moſt confidence in, with ragged Habits over their Armour, and Hats like Country Clowns, the reſt of their Men they beſtowed in an Ambuſh among the ruines of an Old Abby near the foot of the Hill. This done, they that were dreſs'd like Clowns, being yet well arm'd beneath their Rags, drave up the Hill about break of day twelve Galloways laden with the foreſaid Proviſion: Being little more than half way onward, Sr. *William Douglas* who could ſpeak *Engliſh* perfectly, without any mixture of the *Scotch* Dialect (as his Father the Lord *James* could do before him) and Sr. *Simon Fraſier*, diſguiſed as they were, went a little before and called to the Porter, ſaying, "Sir in great fear we have brought hither Corn, Oats and "Fuel, which, if you have any need thereof, we will ſell you good cheap. Why? "Marry ſaid the Porter, and we have great need thereof: But it is ſo very early that "I dare not wake the Captain nor his Steward: However let them come in; for I "ſhall open the outer Gate, where you ſhall be ſafe till the Steward riſes. Upon this the Gate being open'd, they all entred within the Barriers, Sr. *William Douglas* firſt, who heedfully caſting his eye about, eſpied the great Keys of the Caſtle hanging upon the Porters Arm. The two laſt Horſes being laden with Coals, were ſo order'd (be like their Hamſtrings ſuddenly cut) that they fell down juſt at the entrance of the firſt Gate; ſo that without much time and labour it could not be cloſed again. At that inſtant while the Porter, as he thought no harm, was careleſly looking to the unlading, *Douglas* from behind gave him ſo ſure a ſtroak, that without word ſpeaking he fell down dead. Then they took the great Keys and opened the Caſtle Gate, laying all the Sacks there upon the Groundſell, that it ſhould not by any ſtrength be cloſed againſt them; but the outer Gate they cleared, for their Men to come in with more eaſe. This done Sr. *William* ſounded an Horn, and all caſt away their torn Coats, and drawing their Swords ſtood cloſe together in ſhining Armour at the entrance of the Gate. Upon the Signal given, thoſe that lay in Ambuſh mounted the Hill with all expedition, being aſſured of Succeſs. The Watchman alſo of the Caſtle, being allarm'd with the noiſe of the Horn, look'd out and ſaw Men with their Weapons in their hands aſcending the Hill and running toward the Caſtle. Then he blew his Horn aloud, and cri'd out "Treaſon, treaſon, Riſe, riſe, to Arms, to Arms "quickly: For yonder come Men of War upon us. At this Alarm the Garriſon began to riſe and run to Arms in all haſt, they that firſt could, haſting down to the Caſtle Gates. But Sr. *William Douglas* and his twelve Companions ſo ſtoutly defended the Paſſage, by the help of thoſe Encumbrances, that lay on the Threſhold, that the Gate could not be cloſed again till the coming up of the *Scots* Ambuſh. Notwithſtanding they within endeavour'd to defend the Caſtle to the utmoſt, and hurt and ſlew ſeveral of the *Scots*, but at laſt by the obſtinate Valour of *Douglas* and his Men, joyned to the great Surpriſe the *Engliſh* were in and their Unpreparedneſs, many alſo giving all for loſt without Trial, the Caſtle was carried, all that oppoſed being maſter'd and ſlain, except the Maſter Sr. *Richard Limeſi* and ſix *Engliſh* Eſquires, who were taken Priſoners. The *Scots* tarried there all that Day to ſettle the Orders of the Caſtle, over which they made Sr. *Simon Veſcy* Captain, with a ſufficient Garriſon under him: The News of this Loſs with the Manner thereof, was brought to King *Edward* while he lay before *Tournay*.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 55.

During this Siege before *Tournay*, *Jacob van Arteveld* had a Son born in *Gaunt*, to

[g] *Froiſ c.* 379. *fol.* 257.

to whom Queen *Philippa* of *England*, who lay then in that City, was pleaſed to be Godmother, and gave him the Name of *Philip*: Which *Philip van Arteveld* in proceſs of time, became a famous Captain of the Rebellious *Gantois* againſt the Earl their Lord, as may be ſeen in *Froiſard*, and thoſe who write of the Wars of *Flanders* in that Age. AN. DOM. 1340. An. Regni *Angliæ* XIV. *Franciæ* I.

IX. Now it is to be remembred, that before we began to treat of the Siege of *Tournay*, we ſpake of another [h] Army of *Flemings*, which was appointed to ſit down in like manner before St. *Omers*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, commonly called the Earl of *Richmond*, and Sr. *Henry Eam* of *Flanders*: They were in all, what with thoſe from *Ipres*, from *Poperinghe*, from *Meſſene*, from *Caſſel* and *Winoxbergen* or *Bergues* St. *Vinoc*, 40000, or as others ſay 55000 Men. All who lay in the Vale of *Caſſel* in Tents and Pavilions to counter-garriſon the *French*, that were in St. *Omers*, *Aire*, St. *Venant* and other Fortreſſes thereabouts. In St. *Omers* eſpecially there was the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Kalingen*, the Lord *Montagne*, the Lord *Rochefort*, the Vicount of *Thoüars*, and divers other Knights of *Auvergne* and *Limoſin*. And in *Aire* alſo and St. *Venant*, there were divers good Captains with ſufficient numbers of Men of War; who upon occaſion would frequently iſſue out and skirmiſh with the *Flemings*, when they found them divided.

[h] *Vid. l.* 1. *c.* 17. §. 1. *p.* 187.

One Day it fell out [i] that 6000 *Flemings*, whoſe Quarters were not aſſigned near the chief Commanders, of their own heads would needs go to the Suburbs of St. *Omers*; where they beat down divers Houſes and robbed them. When this matter was known in the Town, ſeveral of the Captains within armed themſelves, and privily iſſued out at another Gate with 6 Banners, two hundred Men of Arms and 600 Footmen. Who by an unknown way came ſuddenly upon the backs of the *Flemings*, at ſuch time as they were all ſcatter'd abroad, being wholly buſied in Robbing and Plundering the Town of *Arques* by St. *Omers*. The *French* came upon them in good Order of Battle, crying out couragiouſly, "*Cleremont*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*! Whereat the *Flemings* being confounded, and having no time to rally, were beaten down by heaps. The Chace of them laſted for about two Leagues: So that in all there were ſlain above three Thouſand, four Hundred taken Priſoners, and led to St. *Omers*; and thoſe few, that by good Fortune and fleeteſt Horſes eſcaped, return'd to the Camp, where they made moſt heavy Complaint of their evil Adventure. When the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, and Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders* heard of this Miſchance, they ſaid, "They were even ſerv'd well enough, for offering againſt the known "Rules of Martial Diſcipline, to go forth without Command, and without a good "Leader.

[i] *Froiſ. c.* 62.

That very Night, while all the Army was at reſt in the Camp, about Twelve of the Clock there fell upon the *Flemiſh* Hoſt a [k] *Panick* Terror and a general Conſternation without any viſible Cauſe: inſomuch that they all aroſe immediatly in great Fear, as it were with one conſent, and made ſuch haſt, as if they thought they ſhould never diſlodge: Wherefore they beat and cut down their Tents and Pavilions, and ſpeedily truſſed up their Carriages and ſo fled away, none waiting for another, but every one taking his readieſt way home without Order or Diſcretion. Surely had the *French* Garriſons thereabout known of this Affair, there had not one of them eſcaped away alive. But the Enemy could little imagin what their very Captains wondred at: For they at the beginning of this ſtrange Hurly-burly roſe haſtily, and made great Fires, and took Torches and mounted their Horſes, and came cheerfully before the *Flemings*, and call'd out to them ſaying, "Sirs what ails you? Do you want any thing? Doth any one "purſue you? Are you not ſecure of our Conduct? Come back again in the Name of "God; 'tis a great Shame to fly when no man purſues you. Many ſuch expoſtulations their Leaders had with them, but all in vain; for whatever they could ſay or do, every Man took the next way to his own Houſe. Wherefore the Lords and Captains alſo, when they ſaw there was no Redreſs, truſſed up their Harneſs and Baggage in Waggons, and returned to King *Edward* before *Tournay*, telling him of this ſtrange Adventure. The Accident made every Man wonder; ſome ſaid, they were mechanick and mean Spirits; others, that they were Sots and overcome with idle Dreams and Fancies: But the Truth is, they neither [l] lov'd their Chief Leader, the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, nor were they willing at firſt to paſs out of their own Towns; but only to lie at home on the Defenſive Part; to which ill Humour their late Loſs adding a terror, which was heightned in their Fancies by the darkneſs and horrors of the Night, they might be eaſily diſpos'd to receive theſe Impreſſions.

[k] *Vid. Peter de Loier's Treatiſe of Spectres. c.* 6. *p.* 56. *b.* & 57. *a.* & *c.* 11. *p.* 110. *&c.*

[l] *Holinſhead p.* 911.

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Others relate this Matter otherwise; * namely, that a juſt Battle was fought between the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Earl of *Armagnac* on the one Part, and the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, and his *Flemings* on the other: Wherein the *Flemings* were at laſt worſted, and the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* after a ſtout Reſiſtance routed, with the Loſs of four Thouſand Men. But 'tis no way probable, that that Duke and Earl, who might hardly be ſuppos'd ſufficient to defend St. *Omers*, ſhould preſume to be able to give Battle to an Army of 55000 Men, under ſo good Leaders; at leaſt, unleſs at the ſame time, Detachments from all the *French* Garriſons thereabouts ſhould joyn them. And then 'tis ſo unlikely, that only 4000 of the *Flemings* were ſlain; that 'twould be a Miracle if ſo many eſcaped. But Indiſcreet and Partial Men, hoping to advance the Honour of their Country, fall upon ſenſeleſs and improbable Narrations, which others as careleſly Embrace upon their Authority: When as not only *Froiſard*, who lived in thoſe Days, and was both a Competent and Diligent Writer, but Reaſon alſo atteſts to the Truth of that other Account, which we have given: Nor is it a jot leſs Honourable for the ſaid Duke and Earl, with 800 Men to have ſlain 4000 of the *Flemings*, as we have witneſſed for them. But Our Sr. *Richard Baker*, after his uſual inconſiderate way, [m] ſays, that the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Earl of *Armagnac* routed King *Edward*'s Army, which conſiſted of 55000 Men before *Tournay*, and that two days after King *Edward* for vexation ſent his Chartel of Defiance to King *Philip*: When as 'tis ſo unfit a time for the Captain of a Routed Army to ſend a Challenge to a Prince, who is Victor, that 'tis Nonſenſe to imagine it: And theſe two Lords were by Teſtimony of all the *French* Writers in the Garriſon of St. *Omers*, and not at *Tournay*: And King *Edward* never had the leaſt ſign of Battle offer'd him all the Siege; and his Army conſiſted not of 55000, but of 120000, and the Challenge of King *Edward*, which he ſays, followed upon this Rout, preceded the very Siege, and this Rout too, as appears by the Date of King *Edward*'s Letters, which bears the 17 of *July*; when *Du Cheſne* acknowledges the Rout at St. *Omers* to have fell ſo late as on the 25 of the ſaid Month: Thô [n] *Giovanni Villani*, a Perſon of more Credit, ſays it was on the 28 of *July*. But I ſhall hereafter take little Notice of that Mans Writing, becauſe the Authorities I ſhall bring, and the Contexture of the Story it ſelf will confute him among the Learned, and to others I write not: Thô I know he took this Account from *Du Cheſne*, and other *French* Authors, but even them he has corrupted and miſtook, as any Man may obſerve.

* *Du Cheſne p.* 651. *&c.*

[m] *Sr. Rich. Baker p.* 130.

[n] *Villan. l.* 11. *c.*110. *p.*769.

X. Theſe are the various Adventures, which moſt deſerve Memory, during the Siege of *Tournay*, that is for the ſpace of Nine Weeks and upward; King *Edward* all the while expecting to win the Place by Famine; for he knew well, there was a great Number of Mouths within, and not much Victuals; the *Frenchmen* as he knew, preſuming that the King of *France* would not ſuffer the Siege to continue ſo long, without endeavouring a Reſcue. Wherefore the King of *England* being ſtrongly encamped, and always prepared to give or receive Battle, reſolved to win the City by Famine: For this Wiſe and Pious Prince knew it would be too expenſive of *Chriſtian* Blood, to attempt ſo ſtrong a Place by Storm. Some thought however, that they could not have held out ſo long, had not the Duke of *Brabant* ſecretly favour'd them, and allow'd certain Quantities of Proviſion to be convey'd into the City thrô his Quarters; nay, there are, who ſtick not to affirm, that he was [o] brib'd and corrupted by the King of *France's* Money, and that being therefore ſuſpected by King *Edward*, he moſt willingly admitted of a Treaty, when 'twas offer'd him.

[o] *Giovan. Villani l.* 11. *c.* 111. *p.*770. *&* *Mezeray* 2 *Part.* 3 *Tom. p.* 17.

But it may be theſe were only vain and undutifull Reflections, caſt out by the idle People of *Bruges* and *Louvain*, and other *Brabanders*; who were both ill-affected to the Cauſe, and alſo grew ſo uneaſie with this long Siege, that they were not aſham'd openly to ask leave of the Marſhal of the Hoſt, to return home into *Brabant*. When the Marſhal heard ſuch an unworthy Requeſt, he told them, "that for his part he was very "well content they ſhould go; but then they muſt leave their Horſes and their Ar"mour behind them, leaſt thoſe, who ſaw them going home, ſhould ſay, there went a "ſort of Souldiers, who had left their General at a Siege, becauſe there were no Car"pets and Perfumes in the Field: With which nipping Retort they were ſo confounded, that they never more open'd their Mouths to their Captains about that Affair. And beſide this backwardneſs of the *Brabanders*, thoſe Officers, whom King *Edward* had entruſted to Collect his Taxes, and other Moneys in *England* for his Uſe beyond Sea, were ſo negligent and ſlow, if not falſe in that buſineſs, that they mightily perplext their Maſter thereby; and made him borrow vaſt Summs upon Uſury, and to enter into many Diſadvantagious Engagements for the Payment of his *German* Auxiliaries, and other Neceſſities conſequent upon the Siege.

Nor

Nor was King *Philip* of *France* without his Difficulties: For beſides, that it tormented his very Soul to ſee his Good Towns Beſieged, and ſpoiled in a manner before his Eyes, his Lords not ſuffering him to hazard a Battle for Revenging thereof; he is ſaid to have loſt, what by Skirmiſhes, and divers Rencounters with the *Engliſh*, and what by ill-diet and Famine (which may be wonder'd at, he being in his own Country) eſpecially for want of Water, by the [p] evil Air, hot Weather, and other Inconveniences, more than [q] 20000 Men: Without any ſet Battle.

XI. King *Robert* of *Sicily* being ſtill in thoſe Parts, was wonderfully aſſiduous in his Negotiations for Peace: The Pope by his Cardinals back'd him very cloſe; and eſpecially by an [r] *Engliſhman*, one of his Chaplains, named *William Norwich* Dean of *Lincoln*, and Auditor of the Cauſes of the Holy Palace, whoſe Credence from the Pope contained theſe Heads.

1. That he ſhould adviſe the King not to be too much puff'd up with his Victories, nor in confidence thereof, to ſhew himſelf ſtrange or difficult in admitting of Peace; by two Inſtances, of One who being 17 times beaten in War, yet the 18 time obtain'd an entire and abſolute Victory: And of Another, who having gain'd two Notable Victories, was the third time utterly Defeated and overthrown.

2. Secondly, To adviſe him of the Perfidiouſneſs of the Nation ally'd unto him, as the *Flemings*, who ſince they had deceived their own Natural Lord, would in all probabilitie much more deceive him, whom but accidentally, and for the preſent, they had received for their Lord. And that the Duke of *Gueldre*, and the Marqueſs of *Juliers* were like to ſerve him, only as far as they might ſerve their own ends: And leaſt of all ſhould he truſt to the *Almaines*, who always uſe to be accounted unſtable; and his Grandfather, the Good King *Edward*, found by Experience their Inſtability, in the time of his utmoſt Exigence.

3. Thirdly, Of the Exceſſive Power of the King of *France*, who thô he ſhould loſe Ten Battles in his Kingdom, could eaſily recollect People in abundance to reſiſt any body in all probability: Which yet in the King of *England* (being in another Kingdom, and in the Hands of Strangers, and not attended with his own People) is accounted Difficult, nay Impoſſible. And this appears by the Example of a certain King of *England*, who formerly had more in Revenues within the Realm of *France*, then the King of *France* himſelf had in his own Kingdom, and yet was quite expelled by Degrees. "And eſpecially, ſince the ſaid King of *England*'s claim, as to the Realm of *France*, in "which he is reputed to have no Right, and as to certain Counties, in which by Pre"ſcription of an Hundred Years and more, the Kings of *France* have continually and qui"etly had Poſſeſſion, doth ſeem unjuſt: Wherefore it ſeems, that of Right he ought "to be content with the Dutchy of *Guien*, under that form, whereby the Lord *Edward* his "Grandfather held the ſame.

4. "Fourthly, To put him in mind of the Fear of God, which he always ought to bring "to Memory, by revolving in the Cloſet of his Breaſt, the Proceſſes and Cenſures made and "ſet forth againſt the *Bavarian*, which by the adhering to him, and aſſuming the Lieute"nantſhip of the Empire, he is known to have incurred: Upon which our foreſaid Lord "(the Pope) hath often writ to the ſame King, as well by Exhortation as Admonition, "and once intended Letters unto him, not as unto a Son, nor as one faithfull to the "Church; but as one that adhered to Rebells and Infidels. And eſpecially, becauſe "of the Incurſions of the Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Faith, who had begun on all Hands to "oppoſe *Chriſtianity*, as is particularly contained in the Letters of our ſaid Lord, he "ought to deſiſt from carrying on the ſaid War.

5. "Alſo in caſe that the King ſhould ſay, he not without Reaſon doubted, to put "himſelf unto the diſpoſe of our Lord (the Pope) eſpecially the Lords Cardinals be"ing his Aſſiſtants, the greater Part of whom, and in a manner all, are Natives of the "Kingdom of *France*, or there Beneficed, either in their own Perſons, or in the Per"ſons of their Nephews, and have Revenues as well in Temporals, as Spirituals, and "of whom a great part publiquely make againſt him as to the Affair now in Hand; "I ſhould in Anſwer thereto declare the Good Will which our Lord (the Pope) hath "particularly to the Perſon of the Lord, the King, and his Kingdom, and that in ſuch "Matters, not concerning the Church and its Patrimony, he is not wont to require "the Counſel of the Cardinals: And in this Affair, if it ſhould be refer'd to him, he "would not care to require Counſel of others. Beſides this, the Pope exhorted thoſe of the Privy Council to both Kings, to perſwade them unto Peace, particularly to the *Engliſh* Lords, among other things he wrote thus, "We deſire and require, and exhort "You all in the Lord, that having before Your eyes God alone, to whom all Hearts are "open,

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[p] *Froiſ. c.* 63. *fol.* 35.
[q] *Fox Monum. p.* 348. *b. n.* 60.
[r] *Odoric. Rainald. ad* An. 1340 §. 29.

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"open, and all desires are known, and from whom no secret is hid, as to such and such "hazardous Matters, concerning, as is premised, the state of all *Christendom*, what You "shall with Good and Right Consciences believe to be wholsome, profitable, and ex- "pedient to the said King, his Weal, Honour, and Profit, and also to *Christendom* a- "foresaid, You would endeavour to perswade and advise him. Dat. *Avin.* VII. Kal. *Septemb. An°. Pontificatûs nostri* VI. But all this had signified little to King *Edward* (who was sensible of the Loss he always suffer'd by these Treaties, which were then most vigorously offer'd, when some Great Advantage was in his Hands) had not there been a Lady of High Quality, and Wonderfull Vertue and Piety, whose Tears and Prayers could not be lost upon a Man, whose heart was acquainted with Pity.

This was the Lady [f] *Jane* of *Valois*, Countess Dowager of *Hainault*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, Sister-German to King *Philip*, and own Mother to *Philippa* Queen of *England*. Who since the Death of her Husband *William*, the Good, late Earl of *Hainault*, had withdrawn her self from the World, and entred the Abbey of *Fontaine au Tertre*, resolving there to spend the Residue of her Life in Works of Charity and Devotion. This Pious Lady (as the Greek Poets Report of *Jocasta*, when *Polynices* and *Eteocles* were prepared for Battle, and as our [t] *English* Poets Relate of the Mother of *Belinus* and *Brennus*, two *Brittish* Princes, when they were ready by unbrotherly War to decide the Right of a Kingdom) went assiduously with great Zeal and Diligence between the two Kings, humbly kneeling to the King of *France* her Brother, whose Haughty and Resolute Temper she well knew, and sweetly, like a Vertuous Mother intermixing with her Son-in-Law King *Edward*, Commands and Prayers, and moving Tears, and convincing Arguments; at the same time labouring with the Duke of *Brabant*, whose Son was to have Married one of her Daughters, but for a Trick of King *Philips*; and also with her Son-in-Law the Marquess of *Juliers*, and with her late Husbands Brother the Lord *John* of *Hainalt*, to joyn with her to move King *Edward* to accept of a Truce, thô never so short. At last by the Aid and Counsel of the Lord *Lewis D' Augemont*, who was equally acceptable to both Parties, she so far prevail'd, that both the Kings agreed to send to a certain Place 4 or 5 Commissioners a piece, to propose and consider of some Moderate and Equal Way to decide the Matter: For which Treaty a Truce was to be had for three Days; the said Persons, the Commissioners from both Parties, to Meet and Treat each day about the Premises, in a little Church or Chappel, standing in the Fields of *Spetelin*.

[f] *Froiss. c.63.*

[t] Warner's *Albion's England l.3. c.16. p.73.*

On *Saturday* the 23d. of *September* there came accordingly to the Place appointed, on the *French* Part, the Venerable Old Prince, *John* King of *Bohemia*, and Earl of *Luxemburgh*, *Adolph* Bishop of *Liege*, *Reginald* Duke of *Lorrain*, *Amè* Earl of *Savoy*, and *John* Earl of *Armagnac*; on the *English* Part, came *John* Duke of *Brabant*, *Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Reginald* Duke of *Gueldre*, *William* Marquess of *Juliers*, and Earl of *Cambridge*, and Sr. *John* of *Hainalt* Lord *Beaumont*. All these at their first Meeting in the Chappel aforesaid, began [u] with many Mutual Salutations, and endearing Caresses, as if they had been sworn Friends all their Lives: Thence they fell upon the Mater in Hand, and began to Propound and to Weigh divers Offers and Concessions, and all the while the Incomparable Lady *Jane* of *Valois* was by, earnestly entreating them for Godsake to lay aside all Prejudice, and only to consider the Publique Good, and the Weal of *Christendom*, and be ready to accept of what should seem just and indifferent. But for the first Day there was little or no Advancement made: However they brake up with a Mutual Promise to Meet again at such an Hour the next Morning, and in Conformity to the Day, to dispose themselves towards the Entertainment of Unity and Peace: Accordingly they Met, and did at last unanimously Agree on certain Articles and Methods; but not being able to draw them up at that time, and to Compleat the whole Affair, as it ought to be, they deferred the Consummation of all till the last Day. So being all Met again the Third Day, they fully Agreed to hold inviolably a Truce for them and their Allies, till the Feast of St. *John Baptist* following, during which Term [x] certain Commissioners on both sides were to be sent to *Arras*, whither also the Bishop of *Rome* was to send certain Cardinals, all these being to consult together about a Full Ratification of a Final Peace between the two Kings: The Form of the Truce was this.

[u] *Froiss. c.63.*

[x] *Froiss. c.63. fol. 35.*

[y] *Knighton p. 2578. n.44. Atouz ceux que ceſtez preſentez lettrez verront oue oieront*, Jean *par la Grace, &c.*

"*John*, by the Grace of God, King of *Bohemia*, and Earl of *Luxemburgh*, *Adolph* "Bishop of *Liege*, *Reginald* Duke of *Lorrain*, *Amè* Earl of *Savoy*, and *John* Earl of "*Armagnac*, to all who shall see or hear these present Letters, Greeting. Be it known unto "all, that a Truce is given and confirmed between the High and Mighty Princes, the "Kings of *France* and of *England*, for Them and for all their Friends, by the Assent of "the

" the High and Mighty Lords, the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Gueldre*, the Mar-
" quess of *Juliers*, and Sr. *John* of *Hainalt* Lord of *Beaumont*, on the one Party, and
" of Us and of every of Us above-written on the other Party, By vertue of Power
" delegated to Us, and to those abovenamed from the said Kings: So that we have
" drawn up Affiances with our own Hands, between the said Kings, their Friends and
" Allies, whosoever they be, to endure to both Parties, from this time untill the Na-
" tivity of St. *John Baptist* next ensuing, and all that Day till the next Morning at
" Sun-rise, in manner and form following, that is to say.

1. " That [a] during the said Truce, no evil Will or Mistrust of either Party of it self
" shall be prejudicial to the said Truce and Respit.

[a] *Knighton p. ibid. & Fox Acts and Mon. p. 348 Du Chesne. p. 653. c.*

2. *Item*, That during the said Truce, either of the said Princes, their Helpers, Co-
" adjutors and Allies whosoever, shall remain in such Possession and Seisin, as they have
" at this Time, of all Goods, Lands and Possessions, which they hold and have con-
" quer'd, howsoever.

3. " *Item*, It is accorded that during the said Truce, the said Princes, their Aiders,
" Coadjutors and Allies, may safely go from one Country to another, and all Mer-
" chants with all their Merchandise, and all manner of their Subjects, with their Goods
" and Purveyances, as well by Land as by Sea and by Water, freely, as they were
" wont in the times of the Ancestors of the said Kings, only paying therefore the Cu-
" stomes anciently used: Except such banish'd Men, or any of them as have been ba-
" nished out of the said Realms for other Causes, than the Wars between the said Prin-
" ces. But that the Barons of *Gascoign*, and of the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and other Per-
" sons of *Gascoign* and of the Dutchy, that are banished, may be compriſed in this
" Truce, so as freely to come and go from one Country to another, during the said
" Truce.

4. " *Item*, It is accorded, that the said two Kings shall not procure, nor cause to
" be procured, either by Themselves or by any Other, that any new Practice or Grie-
" vance be made by the Bishop of *Rome*, or Others belonging to Holy Church whatso-
" ever, upon or against either of the said Kings, their Coadjutors or Allies, or upon
" their Lands or Subjects, by Occasion of the said War, or any other Cause, nor for
" Services, which the said Allies or Coadjutors have done to the said Kings, or either
" of Them. And that if our Holy Father the Pope, or any Other, will do against
" the Premises, the two Kings shall hinder him or them to their Power, without any
" fraud, during the said Truce.

5. " *Item*, That the Truce be immediatly proclaim'd in both the Hosts, that all
" who know and hear it, may be obliged to keep and observe it.

6. " *Item*, It is agreed, that within 20 Days, to begin from this day, either
" of the Kings shall cause to be proclaim'd in *Gascoign* and the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*,
" in the Lands which they hold, the Articles of this Truce, that they may be known and
" understood.

7. " *Item*, It is agreed, that if by either of the said Kings, their Subjects, Coadju-
" tors or Allies, any Siege be laid in *Gascoign*, in the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, or in the
" Isles of the Sea, in *Garnsey* or *Jersey*, the same Sieges shall be raised, as soon as
" this Truce shall come to their Cognizance. And that [a] Fourteen Persons, to wit,
" Seven for each of the Kings shall enter every Town, Castle and Fortress, where the
" Sieges shall be, and shall view their Store of Provision both of Men and Victuals,
" to the intent, that on the Day when the Truce shall end, the said Towns, Castles,
" and Fortresses shall remain, and be furnished with the like Number of Men, and the
" like Quantity of Victuals, as at first they were found to be by the foresaid fourteen
" Persons.

[a] This is omitted in *Fox*, who also varies not a little from the Original *French*, both here and elsewhere, &c.

8. " *Item*, It is accorded, that the Banished and Fugitives of the Country of
" *Flanders*, that have been on the Part of the King of *France*, [b] shall not return du-
" ring the Truce, and if they do, they shall forfeit all the Goods they have in *Flanders*.

[b] Here the old *French* a little imperfect.

9. " *Item*, It is accorded, that during the said Truce, all Prisoners taken in this War,
" shall be released from their Prisons, upon their Faith and Oath to return thither a-
" gain, if they shall not be ransomed within the term of the said Truce; so as if the
" said Prisoners shall deny in their due times to return themselves back to Prison, the
" said Truce failing, that then upon the failure of every Prisoner, his Lord shall con-
" strain him to come and make restitution of his Person: So that the Levies which
" were made before this Truce in time of War, whether they be Goods Spiritual or o-
" therwise, shall remain without making Restitution during the Truce.

10. " *Item*, It is agreed, that a Truce be forthwith taken between the *English* and
" the

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"the *Scots*, their Aiders and Allies, untill the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt* aforeſaid: "And that certain Perſons ſhall be deputed by the ſaid Parties to be at a certain Day "on the Marches of *England* and *Scotland*, to vouch and ſtand to the ſaid Truce: "[c] But if the *Scots*, or any other of the Allies on either Side, ſhall refuſe to admit of this "Truce, let them be at their own Choice; however *France*, *Picardy*, *Burgundy*, *Bre-* "*tagn* and *Normandy*, ſhall be bound to this Peace without any Exception: So that "during the Truce however, the *Scots* ſhall obtain no manner of Aid or Reinforcement "from the *French*.

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 63. *fol.* 35.

11. "*Item*, It is accorded, that this Truce ſhall be proclaimed in *England* and *Scot-* "*land*, within 26 Days after the Date of theſe Letters.

12. "*Item*, it is accorded, that within this Truce ſhall be included and compriſed "the *Spaniard*, the *Catalaunian*, the *Genoueſe*, the *Provincial*, the Biſhop and Chapter of "*Cambray*, and the Caſtles in *Cambreſis*, as alſo the Lord of *Albret*, the Vicount of *Fron-* "*ſac*, *Gaſton* Lord of *Lille*, the Lord of *Tricouleon*, Sr. *John Vernon*, and the Lord of "*Roye*: In Witneſs whereof We the foreſaid *John* King of *Bohemia*, *&c.* on the one Party and on the other, have Sealed this Inſtrument of Truce and Peace, and deliver'd the ſame accordingly in the Church of *Spetelin* on *Monday* the 25 of *September*, in the Year of Grace MCCCXL.

B. A. Dom. Lit.

[d] Beſides there was at this time Conſideration taken of the *Flemings*, the Summ of Mony, wherein they ſtood bound to the Pope and the *French* King, being now releaſed unto them: And as by King *Philips* means they had before been Excommunicated, ſo now at his Requeſt the Interdict was repealed, and they again received into the Boſom of the Church; *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, being thereupon reſtored to his Country.

[d] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 912.

[e] It was moreover at this Treaty reſolv'd, that either Party ſhould ſend four or five Perſons, as their Commiſſioners to meet at *Arras*, whither alſo the Biſhop of *Rome* was to ſend 2 more, who all together were to conſult in order to a full Confirmation of the Peace between the Two Kings.

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 63. *fol.* 35.

XII. The Contents of this Truce were immediately proclaimed in both Armies, whereof the *Brabanders* eſpecially were wonderfull glad: For they came at firſt but with an ill Will to the War, and were now quite tired out with the length of the Siege: So that the very next Morning with the light, ye might have ſeen Tents taken down, Carts and Waggons lading, and People removing with all ſpeed imaginable.

The *Brabanders* therefore went away firſt, as being more eagerly bent upon home, the King of *England*, thô much againſt his Will departed alſo; but he was ſo earneſtly parſwaded to the Truce, both by his real and falſe Friends, and alſo by the neceſſity of his Affairs, that he could not but comply: And the King of *France* had ſo much of the bad Air and hot Weather already, that he was glad to make haſt away from that unfortunate Place.

Thus was the ſtrong City of *Tournay* wonderfully preſerved from utter Ruine, without Battle given, only by the power of a Ladies Tongue, and by the Providence of the Divine Goodneſs; which even yet ſeem'd deſirous to give further Warning to King *Philip*, and as it were to offer him one more Opportunity for Deliberation: Before it would reſign his Kingdom up to thoſe Deſtructions, for which already it was marked out. Yet notwithſtanding [f] the City had been ſo reduc'd, that their whole Proviſion of Victuals could not, as was ſaid, have held out above three or four Days longer.

[f] *Froiſ. ibid.*

So in *France* it was reckon'd, that King *Philip* had the chief Honour of this Expedition, becauſe he had, as he deſign'd, ſaved *Tournay* from ruine, and obliged her Enemies to forſake the Siege and to depart the Country. On the other Hand, the Lords of *England* ſaid, how they had the Honour only, becauſe they had tarried ſo long in the Realm of *France* without Battle, having for more than nine Weeks beſieged one of the beſt Towns thereof, waſting and deſtroying about in the Country all the while at their pleaſure; and that the *French* King had not once offer'd to relieve the Place at the time prefix'd in his Letters; but had in the end, without giving Battle, as he ought to have done, firſt himſelf ſought, and after agreed to a Truce with them, who had done him all this Diſpleaſure.

[g] *Froiſ. ibid.*

King *Edward* [g] went from *Tournay* directly for *Gaunt*, where he found his Vertuous and Beautifull Queen in good Health; with whom about two Months after he went privately for *England*, as we ſhall ſhew in due place, all his Men being Order'd to follow, except thoſe Lords, who were to be at the Parliament at *Arras*. King *Philip* for his Part diſmiſt the Main of his Army, and himſelf went firſt to *Lille*; whither the Burgeſſes of *Tournay* came to wait upon him: He received them very Graciouſly, and ſhewed

shewed them much favour upon the account of their Hazard for his Sake, restoring unto them at this time all their former Privileges, and adding to them several New ones to their great Satisfaction; for a while before he had upon some Displeasure taken away their Charter, and set over them the Lord *Godmar du Fay* and other Captains successively to be their Governours. But now for their late approved Loyalty and Valour they had their old Form of Government restored, and leave to choose a new Provost and Jurats according to their Ancient Customs. All which being done and ratified, the King went from *Lille* to *Paris*.

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XIII. While King *Edward* tarried yet at *Gaunt*, he [h] wrote unto the Pope a Letter, wherein thanking him for his diligence in Labouring after a Peace between the two Realms, which he himself also mightily desired, that thereby he might be at liberty to prosecute the Holy War against the common Enemies of *Christendom*; and declaring, how at the importunate Instances of some, he had accordingly condescended to a Truce, even then when he had almost reduced *Tournay* to the last Extremity; he shews, that upon sight of his Holinesses Letters he had prolonged the Term of the Truce, that thereby he might give his Holiness fuller Information of his own Intentions, and also of the Equity of his Cause; requiring thereupon his Advice, which he should be ready to embrace: Also that he had sent his Envoys to the Apostolick See, to return Thanks to his Holiness for his Diligence in obtaining the Liberty of *Nicolas de Flisco*, desiring God Almighty to preserve his Holiness in the Government of his Holy Church many and happy Days. *Datum apud Gandavum* 19no *Novembris, Anno Regni nostri* Franciæ *Primo, Regni verò nostri* Angliæ *Quartodecimo*. At which time also he sent unto his Holiness the following Justification of Himself and his Cause, [i] "These are the things in effect, which are reported unto You, Most Holy "Father our Lord, by Us, *William* of *Norwich* Dean of *Lincoln*, *John Hufford* Arch-"deacon of *Ely*, and *John Thoresby* Canon of *Southwell*, on the Behalf of our Lord, "the Illustrious King of *England*: Most Holy Father and Lord, that your Holiness "may be more fully informed of the sincere and just intention of our said Lord the "King, which is ever prone and ready to accept of a Reasonable Peace, something "in Fact is to be opened. The Lord *Philip*, who now bears himself as King of *France*, "from the time that he first occupied the Realm of *France*, verily believing, nor "without Reason, that our said Lord the King directed the Eyes of his mind toward "the Kingdom of *France*, or at least would afterwards look that Way, was pleased, "what in the Parts of *Scotland*, by really Adhering to the *Scots*, and what in the Dut-"chy of *Guienne*, by there Usurping many Places, so continually and strongly to divert "him, that he should have no leisure to intend to the Recovery of his Rights in "*France*. And because he being under Age, and having no skill in the matter of his "Right, nor Experience as to what he was to do, especially because of the foresaid "Snares, as is premised, prepared for him, had not untill of late any way open of du-"ly prosecuting his Rights, as to his said Kingdom of *France*: Our said Lord the "King, desiring Peace and Quiet, offer'd unto the said Lord *Philip* the Methods here "under-named, only for the Recovery of the Dutchy aforesaid, and that he would "absolutely refrain from Assisting the *Scots*: *Viz. First*, the Marriage of his Eldest Son for a Daughter of the Lord *Philip*, to be Coupled with him in Matrimony without any Dowry: *Secondly*, the Marriage of his own Sister, now Lady of *Gueldre*, for a Son of the said Lord *Philip* with a great and excessive Dowry: *Thirdly*, the Marriage of his own Brother, the Earl of *Cornwall*, for some one Kinswoman of his: *Fourthly*, to redeem the Seisure of his Lands, he offer'd unto him a Summ of Mony to be adjusted at the Discretion of the said Lord *Philip*: *Fifthly*, because the said Lord *Philip* pretended, that he would cross the Seas to the Aid of the Holy Land, our said Lord the King, out of the great Zeal which he always had and hath to undertake this Holy Expedition, offer'd to be ready to undertake the said Expedition with him, and to grant a reasonable and final Truce to the *Scots*, on that Condition, that the said Lord *Philip* would faithfully promise him after their Return, to do him full Justice as to the Dutchy. But he, despising and rejecting Conditions so reasonable, nay more than reasonable, answer'd, That he would do nothing, untill he had given unto all the *Scots*, as well those that were Living, as unto the Heirs of the Dead, full Satisfaction for all Places which in his time he had by force taken in *Scotland*. And when the Messengers of our said Lord the King answer'd, that as to that Point they were not empower'd, nor did they believe, how their said Lord the King would do it; the Lord *Philip* answered in these Words, "It will never be well, untill there be one King of "both the Realms of *France* and *England*. This the Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* declared

[h] *Odoric. Raynald. An.* 1340. §. 33. *ad* §. 37.

[i] *Extat apud Benedict. Tom.* 2. *Epistol.* 114. *in Bib.* Vatican. *& Odoric. Raynald. ibid.*

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clared publiquely, before a great Number of Prelates, Earls, Barons and Others.

"Our Lord the King hearing theſe things, being then come to Years of Diſcretion, "cauſed a Parliament to be called; wherein by the Advice and Conſent of all the Pre- "lates, Earls, Barons, and other Nobles, and of the Commons there preſent, and eſpe- "cially of the ſaid Lord of *Canterbury*, particularly inſiſting thereupon, it was Ordain- "ed, that ſince by the way of Humility he could not obtain Peace; and by the Sen- "tence and Deciſion of the Doctors and Advocates, as well of the Court of *Rome*, "as of the Students of *Paris* and *Oxford*, and others, and alſo of all the more Expert "and Famous Prelates of *England*, with whom he had cauſed his Right to be carefully "diſcuſſed, the ſaid Kingdom of *France*, by the Death of his Uncle, the Lord *Charles* "laſt King of *France*, of Famous Memory, was Lawfully by Right of Succeſſion de- "volved unto him, as the next Heir Male: He ſhould take Care effectually to proſe- "cute even by a ſtrong Hand his foreſaid Right. And that this he might do more ſe- "curely and ſecretly, there were ſworn there-to the Lords, *Canterbury*, *Lincoln*, *Lon- "don*, *Salisbury*, *Litchfield*, and many other Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other No- "bles, Peers of the Realm, upon the Croſs of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* "aforeſaid.

"Alſo among other things it was Ordained, that the Alliances ſhould be made in "*Almaine*, which are now made, and that the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, taking unto "him certain Noblemen of *England*, ſhould be conſtituted Agent for the perfecting thoſe "Alliances aforeſaid: Who by Ordinance of the ſaid Parliament, and by the Command "of our ſaid Lord the King, being ſo obliged, accepted the ſame Office of Agent, and "brought it to effect. Which done, our ſaid Lord the King, in purſuance of the Coun- "ſel aforeſaid, paſſed the Sea, and waſted certain Parts of the Realm of *France* with an "Army of his own, and of certain his Allies. Afterwards the Winter Seaſon approach- "ing, our ſaid Lord the King being Returned into *England*, heard that there was a great "Fleet of Ships prepared on the Sea, for a ſudden Invaſion of him and his. Who by the "Counſel of his Friends, his then-Aſſiſtants, and principally of the foreſaid Lord *Canterbury*, "ſpeedily prepared himſelf to ſcour the Seas, and expos'd himſelf to go over without Pro- "viſion of Money, or Horſes, chiefly upon Confidence of the ſaid Lord *Canterbury*, who had "promiſed within certain and few days to ſend him Money enough: And paſſing the Seas, he "found his Enemies upon the Sea, near the Haven, where he deſigned to Land, and obtain'd "that Victory which God gave him.

"Who afterwards taking Land on Confidence of the foreſaid promiſe, with a Mighty "Multitude of Armed Men Beſieged the City of *Tournay*, and there having ſat a great "while deſtitute of all Aid of Money, althô at the Importunate Inſtance of many, yet in "very deed being forced by the only failure of Money, he conſented to take a Truce, as be- "ing in the greateſt Danger and utmoſt point of Neceſſity, ſince as he ſaid, he had not "all the time of the Siege received one Penny out of *England*; and further, unfolding "his Opinion againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, he ſaid theſe Words; "I verily believe that "the Archbiſhop would, that for want of Money, I had been ruin'd and ſlain: And "further he hath privately ſaid to me, ſuch things of my Wife; and on the other "Hand hath ſaid to my Wife ſuch things of me, for which if he had been credited, he "had provoked Us to ſuch Mutual Diſcord, that there would have been a perpetual "Diviſion between Us. Truly, Holy Father, our Lord the King hath often remem- "bred all thoſe things, touching the Lord Archbiſhop, to me *William Norwich*, as well "apart, as before others of his Council, and ſtrictly enjoyn'd me upon Oath, that I "ſhould fully and faithfully Report them to your Holineſs. Thoſe things, moſt Holy "Father, namely, that our Lord the King, conſented to a Truce for want of Money, and "what Relates to the Lord Archbiſhop, if it pleaſe You may be kept ſecret: All the reſt "may be made Publick.

At the ſame time theſe Negotiators declared King *Edward*'s Reſolutions in theſe Words; "Moſt Holy Father and Lord; that He may particularly and nakedly open "his Mind to your Clemency, he ſignifies unto your Holineſs, that he Challenges, and "intends to Challenge the whole Realm of *France*, as Lawfully due, and devolved un- "to him by Hereditary Right: But for the Reverence of You, and of the Apoſtolick "See, and to avoid the Perils, which in all probability will happen by continuance of "the Wars, he is ready to Treat of Peace, and to conſent to a Good Peace; but ſo, "as that in the Treaty of Peace to be made, conſideration be had, as to the Right pro- "portionable unto him in the ſaid Kingdom; and not only as to the Dutchy, becauſe "with the whole Dutchy alone, althô free from all Service and Subjection of any One, "he intends not to be contented.

"And

"And moreover, because your Holiness being Highly sollicitous for the Reforma- "tion of Peace, have offer'd your self by your Letters, to Labour in your own Per- "son at the Apostolick Seat, if the Deputies of the Parties be therefore sent to your "Court; or by others, as it may be Honestly and Profitably done; our Lord the King, "out of his great Confidence, and Devout Reverence, consents, that this may be in "your Holinesses choice. AN. DOM. 1340. An. Regni *Angliæ* XIV. *Franciæ* I.

These were King *Edward*'s peremptory Demands; so that there appear'd no way of a Final Agreement. Nay, it was to be expected, that King *Philip* upon hearing thereof would be inflam'd the more: Wherefore the Pope advis'd him to be more moderate in his Demands; for the King of *France* was so far from granting thus much, that in his [k] Letters to the Pope, he only gave him Liberty to declare a Restitution of those Lands of *Aquitain*, which had been Won by his Father *Charles* of *Valois*, in the time of *Charles* IV. (When King *Edward* II. refus'd to give him Homage; from the withholding of which we have seen the first Causes of Dissention, between the two Kings, to have flow'd) or of what had been forceably taken by King *Philip* himself in this last War. Thus were both the Kings disposed in their Minds: So that little Good was to be expected from any Treaty.

[k] *Extant apud Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc annum* §. 38.

And now came the time, wherein by the Articles of the Truce, the Parliament was appointed to be at *Arras*, the Chief City of *Artois*, lying upon the River of *Scarpe*: When there came thither from the Pope ([l] who in this Cause was not to be look'd on as a Judge, but only as an indifferent Friend to the Common Peace) the Cardinal of *Naples*, and the Cardinal of *Cleremont*, commonly so called, thô they had only been Bishops of those Titles, before they were made Cardinals. These Legates going first to *Paris*, where they confer'd with the King, came now to *Arras* together with the *French* Commissioners, who were *Charles de Valois* Earl of *Alancon*, King *Philips* own Brother, *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Guy Castilion* Earl of *Blois*, the Archbishop of *Senes*, the Bishop of *Beauvais*, and the Bishop of *Auxerre*: They were met by seven of King *Edward*'s Delegates, who were Dr. *Henry Burwash* Bishop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Richard Bury* Bishop of *Durham*, *Henry Plantagenet* Earl of *Darby*, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *Robert* of *Artois* Earl of *Richmond*, Sr. *John* of *Hainault* Lord of *Beaumont*, and Sr. *Henry Eam* of *Flanders*. All these held a Treaty together for 15 days; but yet they perform'd but little, as to a Final Composition; for the *English* Demands were too High, and the *French* Concessions too low, they yielding to offer nothing but the [m] Earldom of *Ponthieu*, which was his Mothers Dowry. However they now made shift to prolong the Truce, then in being, for two Years more; and farther than this, the Cardinals could not perswade them. Wherefore thus much being done, and duly Ratified, the Council brake up, and the Cardinals at the Lord *John* of *Hainalts* desire, passed homeward thrô that Country, where by him and the Earl they were Feasted Nobly.

[l] *Gaguin. p.* 139.

[m] *Froiss. c.* 63. *ibid.*

Now according to the Ninth Article of the foremention'd Truce, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and [n] *Robert Hufford le Fitz*, Eldest Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, were released from their Imprisonment, a Ransome being appointed, which they were to pay before the end of the said Truce, or else render up their Bodies to Prison. But here Authors make no small confusion, some alledging, that the Earl of *Salisbury* was deliver'd in Exchange for the Earl of *Murray*, a *Scot*, which could not be till the latter end of the next Year, as we shall shew in due place: Others, confessing, that he was now deliver'd, do add, that immediately thereupon he went with many other *English* Knights to the Siege of *Algezira* in *Spain*, to help the Good King *Alphonso* against the *Moors*: And this is the saying of [o] *Leland* himself. But surely this followed the Siege of *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, and not of *Tournay* in *Flanders*: For as yet *Alphonso* had not Won the great Battle of *Tartessos*, of which by and by; and yet this Battle preceded the Siege of *Algezira*. However this is certain, * that the Earl of *Salisbury* was present at the next Parliament which sat in *April* following: Thô many such Matters having been so confusedly related by Authors, much Difficulty hath arose to Us in this Our Undertaking. Upon which Account the Intelligent Reader will pardon these Digressions, which seem necessary for the clearing of the Truth.

[n] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.* 48. *b. Walsing. hist. p.* 135. *n.* 10.

[o] *Leland. Collect. 1 Vol. p.* 805. *Dugd. 1 Vol. p.* 646.

* *Sr Rob. Cottons M.S. p.* 44. §. 43. *Godwins Catal. Bps. p.* 136. *&c.*

XIV. Soon after the Prolongation of the Truce, the Famous Dr. *Henry Burwash* Bishop of *Lincoln*, [p] Departed this Life about the Festival of *Christmas*, at the City of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, in the Service of the King his Master, to whom he was very Necessary. Of him [q] *Walsingham* Reports a divertive Story, which since [r] Sr. *William Dugdale* ventures to relate, I shall not scruple neither. He is said to have made a new Park at *Tynghurst*, wherein he enclosed much ground that belong'd to divers of his

[p] *Godw. Catal. Bps. Linc. p.* 304 *Stow p.* 238.

[q] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 150.

[r] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.* 35.

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his poor Tenants, who therefore purſued him with many a bitter Curſe: Now ſoon after his Death (ſay they) he appear'd unto a certain Perſon (who had been one of his Eſquires) in the Habit of a Keeper, with a Bowe, a Quiver of Arrows, his Horn by his ſide, and *his cloathing was all in Green*, to whom he ſaid, "Thou know'ſt, how "I've offended God, and injur'd the Poor, by encloſing this Park: Wherefore I am "enjoyned Penance to be the Keeper thereof, till theſe encloſures be laid open again. "Go therefore to my Brethren, the Canons of *Lincoln*, and entreat them from me, "to make Reſtitution to the Poor, of what I ſo unjuſtly took from them. The Canons upon this Meſſage ſent one of their Company named *William Batchelor*, to ſee the Dead Biſhops Will performed: Who accordingly cauſed the Banks and Pales to be thrown down, and the Ditches fill'd up again, and having ſo done, return'd by St. *Albans*, where he Related the whole Matter to *Michael* the Abbot of that Place. I ſhould not care to tell ſuch idle Stories, but that there may be Readers alſo of that Size, who will take pleaſure in ſuch Entertainment: But much leſs do I concern my ſelf in ſeriouſly confuting them. And yet I will not let this go thus, becauſe *Walſingham* (who was a Monk, and therefore thrô Prejudice or Ignorance, might either deceive, or be deceived) has noted him for a Covetous worldly wretch. For his Quality, he was Younger [f] Brother to the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh* the Elder, and [t] Nephew to the Great Sr. *Bartholomew Badleſmere*, Baron of *Leeds*: For his Natural Abilities he was a Perſon of Good Learning, but of exceeding Great Skill in Politicks, as may be gather'd from his Prudent Menagement of Embaſſies, and other Publique Affairs. And as for his Charity (which is a Vertue directly Oppoſite to Avarice) We find, [u] that together with a Brother of his Sr. *Robert Burwaſh*, he was a Founder of a Grammar School in *Lincoln*, to which he left Maintenance for five poor Prieſts, and as many poor Scholars for ever. He had his Education at [x] *Oxford*, and had been [y] twice Lord Treaſurer of *England*, and for a while Lord Chancellour; till of his own Accord he Reſign'd that Place, becauſe of his Publique Employments, in which at laſt he Deceaſed at *Gaunt*; but was brought over Sea, and [z] Buried in *Lincoln*, at the *Eaſt*-end of his Cathedral toward the *North*: At whoſe Feet there lies his Brother Sr. *Robert*, who was a Great Souldier in his time, and alſo a Son of Sr. *Robert*'s, Named, *Bartholomew*.

[f] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 35.
[t] *Godw. Catal. Bps. p.* 303.
[u] *Godwin ibid. p.* 304.
[x] *Godw. p.* 303.
[y] *Philipot's Catal. Chancel. &c.*
[z] *Godw. p.* 304.

There died alſo this Year two Famous Old Barons of *England*, the [a] One was *Hugh Courtney* Senior, Earl of *Devonſhire*, of almoſt 90 Years of Age; who left behind him his Son and Heir of the ſame Name, then about Thirty three Years Old. The Other was the * Lord *Henry* Vicount *Beaumont*, Earl of *Buquhan* in *Scotland*: He left behind him *John* his Son and Heir, then Twenty two Years of Age, and a young Daughter, Named *Elizabeth*, afterwards Married to Sr. *Nicolas Audley*, Son and Heir to the Lord *James Audley* of *Heley*. Beſides theſe two, there Died about the ſame Time at *Gaunt*, in the Kings Service, the Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, Sr. *Geoffry Scroop*: He had been very Loyal to King *Edward* the Second, as appeared by the joynt Teſtimonies of the Prelates, Earls, and Barons in [b] Parliament; whereupon he Obtain'd much Grace with King *Edward* the Third, whom he alſo Served till his Death with Indefatigable Induſtry, Admirable Diſcretion, and Untainted Loyalty: In Conſideration whereof among other Princely Favours beſtow'd on him, we find, that the King Advanced him to the Degree of a [c] Knight Banneret, with a Gift of two Hundred Marks *per annum* for his better Support, and that but this very Year he [d] gave unto him the Great Houſe call'd the *Erbar*, by the Church of St. *Mary Bothaw*, near *Dowgate*-Street in *London*. He left behind him together with a Good Name, and a Plentifull Eſtate, *Henry* his Son and Heir, at that Time Twenty five Years of Age, who prov'd a Valiant and Noble Knight in his Days, and *John* a Younger Son, who many Years after Married *Elizabeth* one of the Daughters and Coheirs of *David Strabolgi*, Son to *David* Earl of *Athol*, ſlain in *Scotland* five Years before.

[a] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 639.
* *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 52.
[b] *Pat.* 1. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 22.
[c] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 658.
[d] *Stow's Survey Lond. p.* 249.

We ſhall conclude this Chapter with a ſhort Relation of a moſt ſignal Victory obtain'd this Year on the 30 of *October* over the *Saracens*, *Moors* and *Africans* in *Spain*. In the foregoing Year [e] *Alphonſo* XI. King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, being hardly put to it by the Barbarians, begg'd aid of the Pope and all the Great Princes of *Chriſtendom*. From *France* and *England* went but few or none, becauſe of the Wars then hot between the two Realms: But from other Parts many gallant Knights and Gentlemen went againſt thoſe Enemies of God, being eſpecially encouraged thereto by the Pope's Bulls, wherein he granted large Indulgences to thoſe, who undertook this Expedition. *Alphonſo* therefore being now reinforced with a ſmall, but well-compacted Army, and joyned

[e] *Ciacon. & Victorell. de PP. Roman. p.* 884. *& p.* 887.

joyned with his Neighbour *Alphonso* the *Brave*, King of *Portugall*, gave Battle to the *Moors* in the Plains of *Tarteſſos*, vulgarly called *Tariffa*, from a Town of that Name in the *Bætic* Province, which enclines to the River called *Rio Salado*, near the *Herculean* Sea. The Forces of *Alphonso* were 35000 Foot and 14000 Horſe; but the Army of *Allibohacen* King of *Morocco*, with thoſe of *Granada*, under their *Miramolin*, and three other Kings of the *Moors*, conſiſted of 600000 Foot and 80000 Horſe. And yet thrô the Divine Aſſiſtance the *Chriſtians* wan the Day, and with the Loſs of no more than [g] 20 Men, ſlew in the Fight and in the Chace above [h] 200000 of the Infidels, beſides an incredible number of Priſoners taken: Thô Others reckon no leſs than 450000 to have fallen that Day; among whom were two of the Sons of *Allibohacen*. In Memory of which Miraculous Victory the ſaid 30 of *October* hath ever ſince been kept as an high Feſtival in *Spain*, being dedicated to the Honour of the Holy Croſs, which was at this time ſo ſucceſsfully advanced againſt the Enemies of *Chriſtendom*. King *Alphonso* after this Exploit, having firſt and chiefly return'd his Thanks to Almighty God, now alſo in token of his Gratitude to the Pope, ſends him for a Preſent to *Avignon*, out of the Spoils he had taken, an 100 gallant Horſes of *Barbary* in rich Trappings, with an 100 *Saracen* Slaves to lead them, an 100 *Moriſco* Cimitars, and an 100 Shields of Tann'd Leather plated: Alſo 24 Military Enſignes, and the Horſe and Standard of King *Allibohacen*, which he uſed in this War; together with many rich Veſſels of Gold, and Silver, and Jewels of great Price, beſides his own Horſe, on which he fought, and his own Royal Standard, which he follow'd in that Battle. [i] *John Martin Don Leyva* and *Pedro Didaci de Corduba* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, who brought all theſe Preſents, were received with extraordinary Pomp by the Cardinals and other Prelates, at their entrance into *Avignon*. And the next day his Holineſs [k] himſelf celebrated Maſs, and after that made a notable Sermon, wherein with great Eloquence he magnifi'd the Kings Victory, and exhorted all preſent to praiſe God therefore, and to pray for the Kings Health and Perſeverance in Proſperity. And to enable him the better to maintain his Wars againſt the *Moors*, he then granted unto him the Thirds of the Tithes of all his Subjects; which the Kings of *Spain* enjoy to this Day. From this happy Succeſs of the two *Alphonso's*, Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, againſt *Jutzeph* King of *Granada*, and *Allibohacen* King of *Morocco*, the Pope took an Occaſion to exhort our King *Edward* of *England* to diſpoſe himſelf towards a [l] Peace with his Rival of *France*, that they might both unite their Forces againſt the general Enemies of *Chriſtendom*. Theſe Letters bear Date from *Avignon*, the xv of the Kalends of *January*, *i.e.* 18 of *December* in the Cloſe of this Year, being the VI of his Pontificate. The Copy of which Letter is to be ſeen in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Odoricus Raynaldus* at this Year 1340. King *Alphonso* preſently after this Victory lays Siege to the great Town of *Algezira*, belonging to the *Moors*, and lying upon the Streights of *Morocco*, on the Frontiers of *Granada*: Which after a long Siege was enforced at laſt thrô Famine to yield to the *Chriſtians*. Thô ſtill the *Saracens* held Footing in that Kingdom, till having loſt the City of *Granada* to *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* Kings of *Spain*, they were at laſt finally expelled that Kingdom by *Philip* III.

Becauſe we may not diſturb the intended Order of our Diſcourſe, which follows in the next Chapter, we take leave in this place to tell the Reader, that the Fruitfull Young Queen of *England*, whom we ſhall ſhortly bring home with the King her Husband, was ſoon [m] after in the Tower of *London* deliver'd of a Fair Daughter, named *Blanch*, who to temper King *Edwards* Felicities, unfortunately died before ſhe was weaned, and lies buried at *Weſtminſter*.

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[f] *Joſ. Teixera de Orig. Reg. Port.*
[g] *Joh. Mariana l. 16 c. 7.*
[h] *Vaſæus Hiſt. Hiſp. Genebr. l. 4 Chronog. vid. Odoric. Raynal. ad hunc annum §. 40. uſque ad §. 56.*

[i] *Ita Literæ Pontif. gratulatoriæ ad Alphonſum nominant.*
[k] *Victorell. ib.*

[l] *Odoric. Raynald. ad ann. 1340. §. 55.*

[m] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 135.*

CHAPTER the EIGHTEENTH.

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I. WE said before, that upon the Truce taken before *Tournay*, King *Edward* went to *Gaunt*, and how thence he returned into *England*: But now we are to take up that Thread again, and so to proceed in a further Discourse of his Affairs. While [a] he lay at *Gaunt*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, being now by vertue of the Truce restored to his Country, came thither to visit him: And for several Days he made great Cheer to him and his Queen, caressing and entertaining them with magnificent Feasts and Banquets. But King *Edward* took small Delight in such matters now; his Mind ran upon the Mony, which he dayly expected from *England* to pay off his Debts contracted beyond Sea; which having long look'd for in vain, pretending [b] that he would ride abroad for his Pleasure, he went suddenly into *Zealand*, where he took Ship privately, with only his Queen, and Eight more Persons of Quality in his Company, designing for *England*. But upon the Sea he met with a Storm, which for three days together tossed him too and fro with great fury, to the utter hazard of his Person. It is said, [c] that the Tempest was rais'd by certain Necromancers of *France*, who purpos'd thereby to destroy him; or at least to cool his Courage from passing the Seas any more. Whatever was the Occasion, this is certain, that as if King *Edward* had been only destin'd for the Kingdom of *France*, which he so greatly desired, it seem'd fatal for him always in his Passage thither to have calm Seas and Wind at will; but in his Return all things contrary; so that often he endur'd many great Losses and Shipwrecks. And this was his Fate, while his Fortune stood fair, but when he began to decline, he found the Wind so contrary to him, that by no means he could once set his Foot more in *France*. However now at last, this storm being happily abated, on the third Night being [d] St. *Andrews*, he arrived safe at shoar, and landed at the Tower of *London* about the Cock-crow. The Lords that came with him and the Queen, were the Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Nicolas Cantilupe*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *John Darcy*, the Lord *Guy Beauchamp*, Eldest Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, with the Lord *John Beauchamp* his Uncle, and two Chaplains, which were also his Secretaries, Dr. *William Killesby*, and Dr. *William Weston*, with their Servants only. Upon the King's entring the Tower, he found there no Guard ready, but only his Children and three Servants waiting on them. Wherefore in great Anger he sent for the Lord *Nicolas de la Beche*, Constable of the Tower, and committed him to Prison in the said place: As also he served at the same time *Andrew Aubry* Lord Mayor of *London*, the Lord *Thomas Wake*, Sr. *John St. Paul* Keeper of the great Seal, Sr. *John Stonore* Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, *Michael Wath*, *Henry Stratford*, and *Robert Chickwell* Clerks of the Chancery, and *Philip Thorp* Clerk of the Exchequer: All whom he sent for and imprison'd, as he had done also to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, if he could have got him. After this in several Parts of the Kingdom he caused to be taken and clapt up in divers Prisons, Sr. *John Poltney* Alderman of *London*, Sr. *William de la Pole* Baron of his Exchequer, Sr. *William Shareshull*, one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, Sr. *Richard Willoughby* Deputy Lord Chief Justice, Sr. *John Shardelow*, and Sr. *Thomas Ferrers*: Thô within a while after the Lord *Wake* was deliver'd with Honour, having no Fault fix'd upon him. The City of *London* during the Imprisonment of their Mayor was at the Kings Command govern'd by a Bayliff, as will appear hereafter. As for Dr. [f] *Robert Stratford* Bishop of *Chichester*, who was then Lord Chancellour of *England*, and *Robert Northborough* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, then Lord Treasurer, he immediately discharged them of their Offices, threatning to send them into *Flanders*, there to lie as Pledges for Money, which he owed; or if they refus'd to go, to lay them in prison in the Tower. But upon the

[a] *Holingshead Engl. Chron. p. 912. b.*

[b] *Stow p. 237.*

[c] *Grafton p. 247. & Fabian p. 216.*

[d] 30 Novem.

[e] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 127.*

[f] *Philipot's Catal. Chancell. & Treas. p. 34.*

Bishop

Biſhop of *Chicheſter's* Remonſtrance to him, [g] that he would then be in danger to incurr the Penalty of Pope *Clements* Canon, *De non incarcerandis Epiſcopis*, he relented and let them go free, thô deprived of their Offices; Sr. *Robert* [h] *Bourchier* ſucceeding in the Place of Lord Chancellour, and Sr. *Richard Saddington* in that of Treaſurer, and Dr. *Killesby* in the Place of Privy Seal, Sr. *John St. Paul*, the late Keeper being alſo diſcharged. All the Sheriffs alſo of Shires, and other Publique Officers were at this time removed, and new ones put in their Places: And certain Juſtices were appointed to enquire into the Faults of Collectors, and other Officers concerned in the Gathering the Taxes; ſo that few or none eſcaped unpuniſhed; ſo ſtrictly theſe New Juſtices proceeded in their Commiſſions. As for the [i] Lord *John Molins*, a Great and Noble Baron of the Realm, the incenſed Prince in the heat of his Diſpleaſure flang his Body into Priſon, and ſeiſed all his Lands into his own Hands, which thereupon were committed to the cuſtody of Sr. *John Eldred*; his Offence having been judged no leſs than Rebellion: Thô ſix years after the King being appeas'd, he was again received into Favour, and reſtoration of all his Lands made unto him. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had ſurely felt as hard Meaſure as any of them, if not worſe: But by meer chance he was then gone from *Lambeth*; and when he underſtood what indignation he had incurr'd, wiſely kept aloof, till the Storm was over. As we ſhall ſhew at large hereafter.

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[g] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 912.
[h] *Philipot's ibid. p.* 34. & 38.
[i] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 146. *b.*

Certainly [k] at this time the Kings Mind was beyond Meaſure exaſperated againſt thoſe, whom he had intruſted to levy Monies here in *England*, and to ſend it over to him into *Flanders*: Becauſe thrô their Neglect, when he was juſt upon the point of obtaining *Tournay*, he was forced to accept of a Diſhonourable Truce, as Himſelf complains in his Letters, which we ſhall ſee by and by. And truly 'twas a great Pity, if thrô the Avarice, Fraud or Treaſon of his Officers at home, theſe things happen'd thus: For he was thereby enforced as it were, to conſent to loſe the faireſt Opportunity, and to let a certain Victory ſlip thrô his Fingers, even then, when his Friends were yet uncorrupted and in Preſence. And verily I doubt not but this was an Occaſion, which made the Emperour, and the Lords of *Germany* for the moſt part, to fall off from him ſhortly after: Becauſe they ſaw his Money come in ſo ſlowly at this great Exigence. Wherefore not unreaſonably doth honeſt *Walſingham* [l] bemoan, "That "ſo Worthy a Prince ſhould from his own Subjects find ſuch unworthy Dealing; "For (as he truly adds) if in very deed they had ſcann'd, and exactly weigh'd with "themſelves the Acts of all the *Engliſh* Kings, from the Firſt Monarch to that Day, "they would not have found that ever this Iſland brought forth a Prince of ſuch "Mature Vertue at ſo unripe an Age; he not having compleated 28 Years.

[k] *Holinſhead ibid. p.* 913.
[l] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 135. *n.* 25.

II. Now that we may State the Archbiſhops Caſe Right, We are to take Notice, that as he was at firſt a great Promoter of the Wars with *France*, ſo lately [m] by the Perſwaſions and Threats of the Pope, he was brought over to be at leaſt cold in the Affair: Whereby he mightily incenſed the Minds of all Men againſt him, who abhorr'd this Weakneſs and Inconſtancy. Theſe things being known, while King *Edward* lay before *Tournay*, *Henry Burwaſh* then Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Sr. *Geoffry Scroop* Lord Chief Juſtice, who both, when living, ſecretly maligned the Archbiſhop, inflam'd the Kings Mind more vehemently againſt him, and laid to his Charge no leſs than flat Treaſon, and that he had Conſpired with the *French* King. Upon theſe Preſumptions, and urg'd by his Neceſſities, the King as we ſhew'd, came *Incognito* into *England*, and Landed about One in the Morning at the Tower of *London*, without the leaſt Rumour or Suſpicion any where gather'd of his Arrival. There a Council of thoſe about him being held, it was at laſt reſolv'd, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* Chancellour of *England*, and the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Treaſurer, with others abovenamed, being forthwith taken up by the Kings Guard and Officers into Cuſtody, ſhould be brought before the King, to render an Account of what they had done in his Abſence. In the Morning early certain of the Guard were at *Lambeth*; but the Archbiſhop by chance had gone thence the day before: Whereupon the Officers returning over the Water to *London*, took up the Biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Coventry*, with the reſt abovenamed, and brought them away to the Tower. This being noiſ'd abroad, the Archbiſhop hies him to *Canterbury*, but is follow'd by Sr. *Nicolas Cantilupe*, who being ſent by the King together with one *John Faringdon*, a Publique Notary, to Regiſter Notes of what ſhould be done with the Archbiſhop, in the Kings Name warn'd the ſaid Archbiſhop: "That whereas he had bound himſelf to Foreign "Merchants, under Penalty of forfeiting his Goods, to ſee ſuch Summs of Money paid, "as the King had borrow'd for the Maintenance of his Wars, and that the King being "diſap-

[m] *Antiq. Brit. p.* 223. *&c.*

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"diſappointed of thoſe Moneys, for the receiving whereof he had put his entire Con-
"fidence in him, had met with an Interruption in his Warlike Affairs; and the Kings
"Army with the Lords of the Realm there preſent, had been reduced to a want of
"things Neceſſary for War, He would now either preſently pay that Money to thoſe
"Creditors, who perpetually call'd upon the King and his Lords, or would go into
"*Flanders*, there to Anſwer the Creditors in Foreign Court, and deliver himſelf up in-
"to their Cuſtody, till the whole Summ, for which he had bound himſelf, ſhould be
"diſcharged. This Meſſage being thus deliver'd, the Knight in preſence of the No-
tary demanded an Anſwer: The Archbiſhop ſaid, "that he muſt deliberate in Matters
"of that Moment, before he could give in his Reply; whereupon the Knight with-
"drew. And now, when the Archbiſhop ſaw how he was not only in Danger of lo-
"ſing all his Fortunes, but alſo his Life and Good Name, he began roundly to deal
"with the King by his Letters, adviſing him to take unto him better Counſellors, to
"beware of Flatterers and Miſreporters of other Mens Lives and Actions, and being
"engaged in Wars abroad, not to diſturb the Peace at home. But when by theſe Let-
ters and other Suaſory means, he could not pacifie the King, he began from the Pulpit
to Preach unto the People, concerning his Integrity and Fidelity both to the King and
Kingdom. Inſomuch, that having call'd an Aſſembly of the Clergy and Layety to-
gether in the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*, he took his Text out of the [n] *A-
pocryphal* Scriptures, *Non pertimuit Principem & Potentiâ nemo vicit eum.* And here in
a long and various Diſcourſe he commended *Thomas Becket*, once Archbiſhop of *Can-
terbury*, who withdrew himſelf from Secular Affairs to the Government of his Church:
But he blamed himſelf, for that laying aſide the Care of his Flock, he had been wholly
taken up in Menaging the Kings Affairs. The Puniſhment whereof, he declared with
Tears, that for his Merits towards the King and Kingdom, being brought into Envy,
and Danger of Death, he now moſt juſtly ſuffer'd: But for the future he promiſed to
be more Diligent in the Government of his Province. Sermon being thus ended, he
publiſhed certain Articles of Excommunication (intending thereby to Guard himſelf from
the Kings Power) with the Dreadfull Ceremony of Bell, Book, and Candle, the Bells
Ringing Dolefully, and the Candles being ſuddenly Extinguiſhed with a Stench. In
theſe Articles all ſuch were Excommunicated as ſhould diſturb the Peace and Tran-
quillity of the King and Kingdom, all Layicks who ſhould lay Violent Hands on the
Perſons, Lands, Goods, or Houſes of Clergymen; all thoſe who ſhould violate the
Liberties of the Church; all who by any device ſhould leſſen the Privileges granted
to the Barons in *Magna Charta*; all who ſhould raiſe falſe Accuſations againſt any Per-
ſon; but eſpecially all thoſe, who ſhould bring an Archbiſhop, or any other Biſhop of
his Province into the Kings Hate or Anger, and him, or them, of Treaſon, or any other
Notorious and Capital Crime, falſly Accuſe. And having Publiſhed theſe Articles in his
Church, he commanded the Biſhop of *London*, and all the Suffragans of his Province to
Publiſh the ſame in their Churches and Dioceſes.

[n] *Eccleſiaſticus c. 48. v. 12.*

Preſently hereupon the King, that he might ſome way obviate theſe High Proceed-
ings of the Archbiſhop, wrote to the Biſhop of *London*, ſetting forth, "that at the per-
"ſwaſion of the Archbiſhop, he had undertaken ſo doubtfull and Difficult a War, to
"Recover his Right and Inheritance: But that He, who had been the Author of the
"War, having now conſpired with his Enemy the *French* King, had at laſt perſwaded
"him, that after the profuſion of ſuch vaſt Expences to no purpoſe, he would lay down
"the Claim of his Right, and disband his Army: That he had not, as he promiſed,
"purvey'd ſufficiently for his Army, nor ſatisfied his Foreign Creditors, of whom, up-
"on his Security, vaſt Summs of Money had been taken up for ſupport of his Wars,
"and who were continually importuning the King and his Lords: That at laſt he
"had demanded of him an Account, how he had Adminiſtred the Realm, which he cun-
"ningly under Pretence of Excommunications and Cenſures hath eluded.

After this *Ralph* Lord *Stafford* was by the King ſent unto the Archbiſhop, who ta-
king along with him *John Burton*, Advocate, and *John Faringdon* publique Notary,
warn'd him again in the Kings Name, "that without more delay he ſhould Repair to
"the King, there to Adviſe together with other Prelates and Lords about the War,
"and Matters Relating to *England* and *France* (the King [o] offering him a ſafe Con-
"duct to that purpoſe) to the end he might underſtand, what Defence he could make
"for that his Neglect: But him alſo the Wary Archbiſhop put off, ſaying only,
that he would conſider of it. A little after there came out of *Flanders* to *Canterbury*,
Meſſengers from the Duke of *Brabant*, who, when the Archbiſhop would not be ſeen
by them, declared the Cauſe of their coming in Writing fix'd up at Noon-day upon

[o] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 159. ex Walſingham.*

the

the High Croſs without the Gate of the Priory of *Canterbury*, "importing that *John* "Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was Cited and Warned into Court by the Duke of *Bra-* "*bant*; that ſo he might Lawfully anſwer in *Flanders* for the Debts of the King of "*England*, for which he ſtood Engaged; there to remain according to Oath in that "Part by him made, till his Lords Debts were fully cleared. In this hurry comes a Letter from the King to the Prior and Convent of *Canterbury*, being the ſame with thoſe Letters, which he had wrote to the Biſhop of *London*, with a Command to read it out Publiquely before the People and Clergy of *Canterbury*. The Prior and Convent having received it, inform the Archbiſhop thereof, and ſhew him the open Letter: He on *Aſhwedneſday* following, before all the People and Clergy, gets up into the Pulpit in *Canterbury* Church, and there in a Sermon ſpake Largely of his Loyalty and Integrity in Menaging the Kings Affairs: Then he commanded the Kings Letters, wherein the King had laid Heavy things to his Charge, to be Read Openly: Which done, he dexterouſly takes off each Crime and Accuſation in Order. After which, the Anſwer, that now he gave by Word of Mouth, being Digeſted into Writing, he Publiſhed over all his Province of *Canterbury*. All which Letters, becauſe of many Excellent Sayings therein, and for that they make much for the Clearing the Story, I have thought fit to ſet down at Large from *Stephen Byrchinton*, or *Brickington*, a *Benedictin* Monk of *Canterbury*, who flouriſhed in that Age, and others of good Authority. And firſt we ſhall produce the Archbiſhops Letter to his Majeſty, taken from the Original *Latine*; for Mr. *Fox* is not Exact in his Tranſlation.

AN. DOM. 1341. An. Regni *Angliæ* XV. *Franciæ* II.

III. "MOST Dear Lord, may it pleaſe Your Majeſty to conſider, that the moſt ſpe- "cial thing, which keepeth Kings and Princes in the moſt Flouriſhing Condition, is Wiſe "Counſel: And therefore ſays the Wiſe Man, *Where there are many Counſellors*, "that is Good Ones, *there is ſafety*. And it is written in the Book of Kings, that *So-* "*lomon*, the Wiſeſt of Kings, took unto him the moſt Ancient and Sageſt Perſons of "his Realm; by whoſe Advice, temper'd with his own Judgement, he continually pre- "ſerved the Land of *Iſrael* in Peace, and held all his Neighbour Kings round about "him, as his Tributaries and Vaſſals. Now when he was gone the way of all Fleſh, "his Son *Rehoboam* Reigned, who deſpiſing the Counſel of the Elders (who had ſtood "before his Father) adhered to the Young Men, who were willing to pleaſe him; whence "he juſtly loſt the whole Kingdom of *Iſrael*, except a Twelfth Part reſerved unto him of "the Lord. In like manner many Kings, as well of *Iſrael*, as of other Countries, be- "ing led by Evil Counſel, have been reduced to great extremities. And ſir, you well "remember (ſaving your Royal Pleaſure) that by the Siniſter Advice taken by Our "Late Lord the King, Your Father (whom God aſſoile!) againſt the Law of the "Land, and *Magna Charta*, of the Peers of the Realm, and others, ſome he impriſon'd, "ſome he put to Death, ſieſed on their Goods, and vexed others with Intolerable "Fines: And what happen'd thereby unto him, Your Majeſty well knows. After "his Days alſo, by means of Evil Counſellors, which were about Your Perſon, Your "Majeſty had almoſt loſt the Hearts of Your People, but from them (as it pleaſed "him) the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* hath delivered You. From that time by the Good Ad- "vice and Prudence of Your Prelates, Peers, and Counſellors of the Land, Your Af- "fairs are ſo well Menaged, that You now entirely Poſſeſs the Affections of Your Peo- "ple, and Your Subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal, have given unto Your Ma- "jeſty greater Aids, than to any of Your Progenitors. So that by the means of Good "counſell, the Votes of Your People, and the ſpecial Grace of Almighty God, You have "obtain'd many Glorious Victories over Your Enemies of *Scotland* and *France*, and are at "this Day Reputed the moſt Noble Prince in *Chriſtendom*.

P *Walſingh. hiſt.* p. 136. *Fox Acts and Mon.* p. 350.

"But now Your Majeſty, by the Perverſe Counſel of ſome Men, who are rather known "to Reſpect their own Profit and Advantage, than either Your Majeſties Honour, or "the Welfare of Your People, have cauſed Clergymen, and others of Your Subjects to "be ſiezed, and undue Proceſſes to be made againſt the Laws of the Land, which by "Oath made at Your Coronation, You are bound to obſerve, and alſo againſt *Magna* "*Charta*, which whoſoever ſhall preſume to infringe, are by the Prelates of *England* "and the Popes Bull, which we are known to have by Us, to be Excommunicate: "All which things, as they are to the great Peril and Danger of Your Soul, ſo alſo, "alas! are they to the great debaſing of Your Royal State and Dignity. And althô "thoſe who make themſelves, more than agrees with their Condition, Rulers of the "Land, and Your Counſellors, endeavour to perſwade You, that Your preſent Proceed- "ings will be acceptable to Your People; yet we moſt conſtantly averr, that after this "manner which You have begun, there will happen nothing leſs; and that Your Maje-

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"ſty will find at laſt. And We doubt not a little, that if You proceed as You have "begun, You will both loſe the Hearts of Your own People, and of Your Allies, and "alſo Your Juſt and Lawfull Right, and will Raiſe up ſuch Evil-will againſt Your Per- "ſon here at home, that You will not be able to Maintain Your War; whereby You "will give occaſion to Your Enemies of Riſing againſt You to deſtroy You; ſo that "You will be in Danger to loſe (which God forbid) both Your Good Name and "Kingdom.

"Wherefore, Sovereign Lord, I beſeech You, that for the Safeguard of Your Ho- "nour and Realm, and the Maintenance of Your Quarrel, You would Summon toge- "ther Your Lords, and the Wiſe Men of the Land, and that Your Affairs may ſuc- "ceed more Proſperouſly, take their Advice, without whoſe Counſel and Aid, You "can neither Conquer abroad, nor Rule happily at Home. And becauſe ſuch as are near "Your Majeſty, are not afraid to lay Treaſon and Falſhood to Our Charge, we hereby "denounce, that they ſhall be forthwith Excommunicate, and as Your Spiritual Father "We beſeech You ſo to Eſteem of them.

"And whereas it is laid to Us, that by Our Evil Adminiſtration of Affairs, You "both loſt the Town of *Tournay*, and much Honour alſo, may it pleaſe Your Majeſty "to call together Your Prelates, Peers, and Nobles of the Realm, in ſome convenient "place, where We may ſecurely confer with the Prelates, and make ſtrict Enquiry in- "to whoſe Hands from the beginning of Your Wars, the Woolls, Moneys, and what "elſe was granted to this Day, came, and how they were uſed, and by whoſe Default "the City of *Tournay* was not Won, but left in that Diſhonourable Manner; and that "ſo like a Good and Juſt Lord, You will after their Demerits puniſh the Culpable ac- "cording to Your own Laws. And as for Us, We ſhall ever be ready to ſubmit Our "Selves to the judgement of Our Peers, the State of Holy Church, of Us and of Our "Order (as We elſewhere have frequently Written) ſtill maintained. And for Gods "Sake, Sir, believe not either of Us, or of any other Your Liege Subjects, any thing "but Good, till the Truth be explored, nor be too forward to lend Your Ear to any "Man: For if Men ſhould be puniſhed without anſwer given, or the Truth known, "the Judgement would ſtill be the ſame both to the Guilty and to the Innocent.

"And Sir, may it pleaſe You to Conſider both maturely and ſeriouſly the Great Force "of Your Foreign Enemies both of *France* and *Scotland*: For if the Prelates, Lords, "and Wiſe Men of the Realm, ſhould all without any difference, with one conſent, "both Night and Day, joyn and combine wiſely together to Menage Your Weighty "and Arduous Affairs, to Maintain the War You have begun, and to preſerve Your Ho- "nour and Kingdom, 'twould all be little enough. Nor let it diſpleaſe Your Majeſty "(moſt Redoubted Lord) that ſo rudely and groſly We declare the Truth unto You: "For the Great Love and Affection, which We bear unto Your Perſon and Intereſt, "and ever by the Grace of God ſhall bear, (eſpecially becauſe We are, thô Unworthy, "the Primate of all *England*, and thereby Your Spiritual Father) doth move Us to ſay, "Command, and Provide for what may turn to the Benefit of Your Soul, and the Ad- "vantage of Your People. The Holy Spirit ſave and keep You, my Lord, both in "Soul and Body, and grant You the Grace both to hear and receive Good and whol- "ſome Advice, and moreover vouchſafe to give You Victory over all Your Ene- "mies. Dated at *Canterbury*, *January* the Firſt, in the ſeventh Year of Our Con- ſecration, by Your Majeſties Chaplain, *John Canterbury*.

IV. Beſides this the Archbiſhop for the further Declaration of his Innocence, and Main- tenance of his Authority, wrote to Sr. *Robert Bourchier* then Lord Chancellor of *England*, in theſe Words, "JOHN, by Divine Permiſſion Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate "of all *England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, Wiſheth a Will to Conſerve the "Liberties of Holy Church, and the Law of the Land entire. For the Wiſe Man ſaith, "that the Truth being foreknown and foreſeen, doth cauſe Us to avoid great Dan- "gers, that elſe would happen. Therefore We would have You underſtand, that the "Tenths of Holy Church laſt granted unto Our Lord the King for One Year by the "Clergy of Our Province of *Canterbury*, to be paid together with other Tythes then "behind, were granted on certain Conditions, and certain Articles granted by Our Lord "the King unto the ſaid Clergy, and confirmed by his Charter: And moreover, that "the ſaid Clergy for that time ſhould not be burthen'd with any other Portion or Con- "tribution, to be made or granted unto our Lord the King. After this alſo in the Par- "liament Conven'd at *Weſtminſter* on the *Wedneſday* next after *Midlent*, there were gran- "ted unto the King the Ninth Fleece, the Ninth Lamb, the Ninth Sheaf, but on cer- "tain Cautions and Conditions, namely, that no Prelates, or any of the ſaid Clergy, ſhould

"should be any way Obliged to the Contribution of this Ninth Part, but only those AN. DOM. "who held by Barony, and were bound to come to the Parliament: And that the 1341. "Prelates and Others of the Clergy, paying the said Ninth, should by no means be An. Regni "obliged to the Payment of the Tenth, granted as aforesaid. But yet certain Colle- *Angliæ* "ctors of the Ninth of our said Province, do endeavour by several Distresses to levy XV. "and raise the said Ninth of Prelates and Others of the Clergy, who pay the said *Franciæ* "Tenth, and hold nothing of the King by Barony, nor are bound to come to the Par- II. "liament. And on the other hand, they exact the said Tenth of those, who are ob- "liged to the Payment of the Ninth, by burthening Men of the Church, contrary to "God and Justice, and the Grant aforesaid. Wherefore we exhort and require you "in the Lord, that by no means You permit Religious Persons and Ecclesiasticks, to "be burthen'd and vexed, unless according to the Form and Grant aforesaid: Nor by "any means yield either Counsel or Assent in prejudice of the said Charter, or sub- "version of the Privileges and Liberties of the Church: But that if any Brief, Com- "mission or Precept, contrary to the Form of *Magna Charta*, or the Privileges and "Liberties aforesaid, have already been issued out of the Chancery, You cause them "within ten days after the Receipt of these Letters, as You are bound, to be revo- "ked and disanulled. It is really the Will of our Lord the King to cherish and main- "tain the said Charter, and the Privileges and Liberties of the Church, as we are assu- "red: And it is not his Will, nor ought to be, that the Clergy should by any means "be burthen'd and grieved, beyond their own free Grant: For this would not a little "tend to the prejudice and grievance of Holy Church, which we cannot endure: "But if You shall take no care to revoke and disanull the Premises, as is premised; "We shall not omit to take such Remedy, as Holy Church will allow. And what you shall "do in the Premises, as our Spiritual Son, Faithfull and acceptable to God, within eight "days after the time above limited, you shall take care to certifie unto us by your "Letters. The Holy Spirit, as you shall keep his Privileges uninvaded, vouchsafe to "save and keep your Body and Soul. Given at *Canterbury*, 28 day of *January* in the *Seventh* Year of our Consecration.

V. Beside this he also wrote a Remonstrance to the King and his Council in these Words, "To our Lord the King and his Council, and all and singular Persons of his "Council: We *John*, by Divine Permission Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all "*England*, and Legate of the Apostolick See, do shew, that whereas all those, who "seise on Clergymen, put them by force, or detain them in Prison, and do not permit "them to go, where they shall please, knowing them, publiquely and notoriously to "be reputed as such, and bearing themselves as Clergymen, who have not confessed "Crimes, nor have been convicted or indicted of Crimes, nor have been openly taken "in the Fact, are entangled in the Sentence given by the Canon, *&c.* And that Sen- "tence we have published in the Church of *Canterbury*, and have caused it to be pub- "lished by all our Brethren Suffragans of our Province of *Canterbury*. After the De- "nuntiation or Publication of which Sentence made, as is premised, there have been "taken, and in divers Castles and Places of *England*, imprisoned and forcibly detained, "*John de* St. *Paul*, *Michael de Wath*, *Robert Chickwell*, *John Thorp* and *Henry Strat-* "*ford*, to the prejudice of God and Holy Church, against the Laws and Privileges of "all Clergymen, and also to the endangering of the Souls of those who acted those "things, or gave their Counsel and Assent thereto. Wherefore we earnestly entreat our "Lord the King, who hath always taken care to maintain the Liberties of Holy "Church, and its Laws and Privileges entire, as our Lord God in all his Actions hath "heretofore happily attested, and made him Famous, that it would please His Majesty "without Delay, to command a Release or Delivery from prison of the said Clergy- "men, and of every of them, who are so detained against *Magna Charta*, and the Laws "and Customs of the Land. Moreover we desire and beseech in the Lord, all those "Counsellors, who presum'd to give the King Counsel to do such things, by no means "to hinder the Delivery of them, who are so detained: For we cannot dissemble, but "that otherways we must do in this Matter, according to our Duty. Also, that all "Lay Persons and Free-men, who were, against *Magna Charta*, and the Laws and Cu- "stoms of the Land, taken and yet detain'd in Prison, may be deliver'd, and that it "would please our Lord the King to reform and correct other the Premises, according "to a Form contained in a Bull of [q] *Innocent* the IV. Whereby all, who presume to "go against *Magna Charta*, or to violate it, do incurr the Sentence of Excommunicati- "on. Also, that not only his Ministers and Officers of different Stations, who passing "thrô the Land, enter the Houses, Granges and other Places of Archbishops, Bishops,

[q] *Anno Domini* 1243; *Papat. iniit. An.* 1254. *obiit.*

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"and other Religious and Eccleſiaſticall Perſons, without the Will of the Farmers or "Keepers, do take away Goods at pleaſure, and carry them away forceably, but alſo "thoſe, who command the Premiſes, or in their Names confirm and ratifie what is ſo "done, are involved in the foreſaid Sentence: Let therefore our Lord the King "vouchſafe to apply a fit Remedy: For we cannot diſſemble, but that we intend by "our Selves, and our Brerhren and Suffragans, to execute both our and their Du-"ty againſt ſuch, as the Care of our Paſtoral Office ſhall require: But it is not "our Intention, that our Lord the King, his Lady the Queen, or their Children "be involved or comprehended in the ſaid Sentences; as of Right they may be "excuſed.

VI. The ſaid Archbiſhop alſo ſent Letters to the Biſhop of *London*, the Tenour whereof followeth: "*John*, by Divine Permiſſion Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all "*England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick See, to his Reverend Brother, *Ralph* Biſhop of "*London*, Greeting. Holy Church which ought to be Free, is unduly oppreſſed with di-"vers Exactions and vexatious Burthens in theſe days: Her Goods (to which no Lay "Hand ought to extend) are ſeiſed on at will for Prey. The Clergy alſo of our Pro-"vince of *Canterbury* is vexed unjuſtly, and vilely trampled upon by reproachfull Con-"tempt; Juſtice (which principally ought to ſhine, and whereby Kings Reign, and "the People are eſtabliſhed in Peace) is not duly honoured: But many let looſe "the Reins to Injuries and unjuſt Oppreſſions without puniſhment; We therefore, ta-"king a Fatherly compaſſion at the groans of the Oppreſſed, and ſeriouſly conſide-"ring, that for this purpoſe the Divine Mercy hath exalted Us to this Apoſtolical Dig-"nity, not that We ſhould ſpend our Days in quiet and affluence of Delights, but "according to the Duty of our Place, being profitably inſtructed by the examples of "our Predeceſſors, that we ſhould ſet our ſelves againſt thoſe that come up againſt "us, as an impregnable Wall for the Houſe of the Lord; and by Gods Aſſiſtance reduce "the wandring into the way of Truth, have thought fit by publique Denuntiations to be "made in eminent Places by us, and others our Brethren and Suffragans, openly to in-"timate unto all men, certain Sentences of Excommunication, by Holy Fathers and "our Predeceſſors hitherto promulged againſt Delinquents in Caſes hereafter mention'd: "That thoſe who are wicked, may not be able under the vail of affected Ignorance any "way to excuſe themſelves, in pretence that the Truth was unworthily hid and not "manifeſted, as it ought to be: But rather that all may take better heed to themſelves "for the future. And yet it is not our Intention, that our Lord, the Illuſtrious King "of *England*, our Lady the Queen, or their Children, ſhould be involved or compre-"hended in the ſaid Sentences, or any of them or under the Denuntiation; as of right "they may in this part be excuſed. Commanding, *&c.* that you publiſh them, *&c.* Dated, *&c.* The Tenour of which Articles follow.

VII. "In the Name of God *Amen*. We *John* by Divine Permiſſion Archbiſhop, *&c.* "do denounce Publiquely and Solemnly in theſe Writings all thoſe to be (as by the Holy "Fathers they are) involved in the Sentence of Greater Excommunication, and to have "been and to be Excommunicate, and we ſequeſter them from the Pale of Holy Mother "Church, who do preſume to deprive Churches of their Right, or malitiouſly to infringe "or violate the Liberties or Free Cuſtoms of the ſame, and eſpecially thoſe, who vio-"late the Ancient Liberties or free Cuſtoms of our Church of *Canterbury*, or diminiſh them "in any thing, or knowingly contravene the Privileges granted thereto, or do ought a-"gainſt them, and alſo thoſe, who wickedly and injuriouſly preſume to diſturb the Peace and "Tranquillity of the King or Kingdom of *England*, or ſhall give Counſel, Aid or Favour "thereto, by the Authority, and in the Name of God the Father Almighty, and of his Son "*Jeſus Chriſt*, of his moſt bleſſed Mother the Virgin *Mary*, of bleſſed *Thomas* the glo-"rious Martyr, and of all the Saints.

"*Item*, That whereas in the great Charter of *Henry*, once King of *England*, it was "Granted and Ordained, that no Freeman of the Realm of *England* ſhould be taken "or impriſoned, or diſſeiſed of his Free-hold, or his Liberties, or his Free Cuſtoms, or "be Outlaw'd, or Baniſhed, or any other way moleſted; and that upon a Freeman the "Law ſhould not paſs, unleſs by the lawfull Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law "of *England*, and that the King would deny, or ſell, or delay, right and juſtice to no "Man: And that the City of *London* ſhould have all her Ancient Liberties and Free "Cuſtoms: And ſeveral other Liberties and free Cuſtoms are prudently in the ſaid "Charter granted to the Realm of *England*, to the Praiſe and Honour of God, the "Peace of the Catholick Church, and the Quiet of the Realm: And by the Arch-"biſhop and Biſhops of the ſaid Kingdom, thoſe have been excommunicated, anathe-

"matized,

" matized, and ſequeſtred from the Pale of Holy Mother Church; who after the Grant " of the ſaid Charter, and the Liberties and free Cuſtoms therein, and in the Charter " of the Foreſt, contained and granted to the Church of *England*, by any art or de- " viſe, ſhould violate, infringe, diminiſh or alter; privily or openly, by Deed, Word " or Counſel, in raſhly going againſt them, or any of them, in any Article: Many not- " withſtanding, not ignorant of the Premiſes, do now raſhly attempt to go againſt the " ſaid Charters, the Liberties and free Cuſtomes, in the ſaid Charters contained, and " mightily endeavour to infringe them: Now we, being deſirous to overthrow their " deteſtable deſigns, and to diſſipate their vailed and pretended Ignorance, by reducing " the Premiſes into the notice of all Men, do in general admoniſh all and ſingular, " who have done againſt the Premiſes in any manner of way, or, contrary to the ſaid " Charters, or either of them, have made Statutes, or have kept them when made, " have introduced Cuſtoms, or have kept them when introduced; alſo the Writers of " Statutes, and Counſellours and Executors, and thoſe who ſhall preſume to judge ac- " cording to them. That duly they amend themſelves, and by the appointment of " their Ordinaries make full ſatisfaction for their Offences within 15 Days to be rec- " kon'd from the time of this our Admonition: Whom upon their Non-obedience, " from that time we denounce publiquely and ſolemnly to have incurred the ſaid Sen- " tence of Greater Excommunication, confirmed of ſure knowledge by Pope Innocent " the IV.

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" *Item*, That all and ſingular, who from the Houſes, Manors, Granges or other Pla- " ces, to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, or other Eccleſiaſticall Perſons belonging, ſhall preſume " to take away, ſeiſe, conſume or touch any thing againſt the Will of the Owners, or " thoſe, who are deputed the Keepers of the ſaid thing, or cauſe the ſaid thing to be " taken, ſeiſed, conſumed or touched, and approve the taking away, the ſeiſing, con- " ſuming or touching of the ſaid thing, done by their Abettors, or in their Name, are " Violators of the ſaid Liberties and Privileges Eccleſiaſtick; and we publiquely and ſolemn- " ly in theſe Writings denounce them *ipſo facto* to incurr the Sentence of Greater Excom- " munication, which in the Council of *Oxford* was made againſt the Violators of the " Liberties of the Church.

" *Item*, Becauſe the Iniquity of the times renders the Clergy odious to the Laiety; " inſomuch that the Latter do ſeiſe on the Former, and detain them againſt their Wills, or " not permit them to go freely whither they pleaſe, we publiquely and ſolemnly denounce, " all and ſingular, as well Clergymen as Laymen, within our Province of *Canter-* " *bury*, who knowing them to be Clergymen, and publiquely and notoriouſly to be " held and reputed for Clergymen, and alſo to bear themſelves as ſo, having not " confeſſed any crime, nor being convicted or indicted, do in cuſtody or priſon put " and detain them againſt their Wills, raſhly in a Caſe not permitted by Law, or " the Cuſtom of the Realm of *England*, to the Scandal and manifeſt Injury of the Cler- " gy, to be involved in the Sentence of Greater Excommunication, in this part made " by the Canon.

" *Item*, Whereas all and ſingular, who in our Province of *Canterbury* do mali- " ciouſly from the falſe inſtigations of Hate, lay a Crime to the charge of any Per- " ſon or Perſons, who among good and grave Men were not before defamed of the ſaid " Crime, whereby on occaſion of the Charge they may any ways be grieved, are and " have been envolved in the Sentence of Greater Excommunication, juſtly made by " Holy Fathers in the Council of *Oxford* againſt Defamers of this kind, and thoſe who " knowingly offend againſt Archbiſhops, or their Spiritual Fathers, Ambaſſadors of " *Chriſt*, Pillars of the Church, do commit a ſin ſo much the greater, as is the Emi- " nence of the Perſon offended; We by the Authority wherewith we are inveſted, do " publiquely denounce all and ſingular, who in our Province of *Canterbury*, have falſly, " wickedly and malitiouſly already preſumed, or hereafter ſhall preſume, to lay to the " Charge of an Archbiſhop or Biſhop, or any other, the Crime of Treaſon or any o- " ther Crime, contrary to the Conſtitution aforeſaid, to be involved in the ſaid Sentence " of Greater Excommunication, in the ſaid Council diſcreetly made, and to be ſeque- " ſtred from the Pale of Holy Mother Church, *&c.*

Beſides all this the Archbiſhop ſent the Letters afore-mention'd to all his Brethren and Suffragans, that they alſo in their ſeveral Dioceſſes and Precincts, ſhould publiquely promulge the Sentences above-written: Whereupon the King hearing of theſe Letters of the Archbiſhop, and conſidering them together with others, which (as [r] was thought) ſome Courtiers had forged in his Name, to render him more obnoxious, that he might more plainly detect the Archbiſhops Falſhood, and eſtabliſh the Reputation of his own

[r] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 142. n. 4.*

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Juſtice, wrote this Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, and ſent a Copy thereof to the Prior and Chapter of *Canterbury*.

VIII. [f] "*EDWARD* by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and Lord "of *Ireland*, to the Reverend Father in God, *Ralph* Biſhop of *London*, Greeting. It is "manifeſt by old approved Hiſtories, but more clearly appears by what is dayly practi- "ſed, that many Men, abuſing the Favour of Princes, and the Honour conferr'd upon "them, and waxing inſolent thereby, do ſometimes by malitious and ſly Inſinuations "endeavour to deprave the laudable Undertakings of Kings. And that what we ſay, "may be rendred more manifeſt to all our Liege People, We ſuppoſe, that neither you "nor they have forgotten; how We being formerly exalted to the Regal Throne in "the years of our tender Youth, and deſiring at our firſt Undertaking that Royal "Charge, to be directed by wholſome Counſels, did call unto Us *John*, then Biſhop "of *Wincheſter*, and now Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, becauſe We ſuppoſed him to ex- "cell others in Loyalty and Diſcretion, and have made uſe both of his Spiritual Ad- "vice in Matters concerning the Health of our Soul, and alſo of his Temporal, in Af- "fairs relating to the Augmentation and Conſervation of our Kingdom. Nay he was "by Us received into ſuch Familiarity, and experienc'd ſo much of our Favour to- "wards him, that he was called Our Father, and next unto the King adored of all "Men.

[f] *Antiq. Brit. p.*224. *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 142. *Fox Acts and Monum. p.* 349.

"Now afterwards, when by Right of Succeſſion the Kingdom of *France* was devol- "ved unto Us, and by the Lord *Philip* of *Valois de facto* manifeſtly uſurped, the ſame "Archbiſhop by his Importunities perſwaded Us to make a League with the Lords of "*Almain*, [t] and others, againſt the ſaid *Philip*, and ſo to expoſe Our Selves and Ours "to the Expences of War; promiſing and affirming, that He would ſee Us abundant- "ly ſupplied out of the Profits of our Lands, and elſewhere; adding moreover, that "We ſhould only take Care to provide Men of Courage and Skill ſufficient for the "War, for he himſelf would effectually procure ſuch Summs of Money, as ſhould both "Anſwer our Neceſſities, and the Souldiers Pay. Whereupon having paſſed the Seas, "we ſet Our Hand to Great undertakings, and with marvellous Expence, as it behoved, "made Our Warlike Proviſions; and bound Our Selves in vaſt Summs of Money to our "Confederates, in confidence of the Foremention'd Aid promiſed unto Us. But, alas! "ſince We put Our Confidence in the Staff of a broken Reed, whereon, according to "the [u] Prophet, if a Man lean, it will go into his Hand and pierce it, being defrauded "of Our wiſh'd for Aid; of meer Neceſſity We were compelled under heavy Uſury, "to contract the Inſupportable Burthens of Debt, and ſo breaking off Our further Ex- "pedition for that time, were Obliged to deſiſt from Our Enterpriſes, ſo Valiantly "begun againſt Our Enemies, and to return into *England*: Where having made Re- "lation to the ſaid Archbiſhop of Our manifold Vexations and Misfortunes, and there- "upon calling a [x] Parliament, the Prelates, Barons, and other Liege Subjects of Our "Kingdom, gave Us the Ninth of their Corn, Lambs, and Wooll, beſides a Tenth "granted Us by the Clergy; which Subſidy, had it been faithfully collected and ob- "tained in due time, had not a little availed toward Our ſaid Warlike Expedition, the "Payment of Our Debts, and the confuſion of Our Enemies; nay, it might probably "have ſufficed to have anſwer'd all, as many then ſuppoſed. The ſaid Archbiſhop then "again promiſed Us, diligently to uſe his Endeavours, as well in the Collecting the "ſame, as alſo in procuring other things neceſſary for Us. Whereupon, giving credit "to his promiſes, and having Recruited Our Forces with a Navy collected for that pur- "poſe, We ſet Sail for *Flanders*, and upon the way buckled in a fierce Sea Fight with "Our Enemies, who had combin'd to the Deſtruction of Us and of Our *Engliſh* Nation: "But by the Mercifull Bounty of him, who Ruleth both the Winds and Seas, and not "by Our own Merits, We obtain'd over the Numerous Multitude of thoſe Enemies a "Glorious Victory and Triumph. Which done, paſſing forward with a Great Army "for the Recovery of Our Rights, We encamped near the moſt ſtrong City of *Tour- "nay*; in the Siege whereof being very much buſied, and even wearied with continual "Toyl and Charges, We ſilently waited in daily Expectation, hoping, that however by "means of the ſaid Archbiſhop, Our promiſed Aid would at laſt come to relieve Us in "Our ſo Many, and ſo Great Neceſſities. At length being fruſtrated of Our concei- "ved hope, thô by many Meſſengers, and divers Letters, We fully ſignified to the "ſaid Archbiſhop, and other Our Counſellors joyned in Commiſſion with him, Our Ne- "ceſſities, and the ſundry Inconveniences we were expoſed to, for want of the promi- "ſed Aid aforemention'd, as alſo the Great Advantage and Honour which We ſaw, "We might eaſily obtain by a ſeaſonable ſupply of the ſaid Moneys, We yet received "no

[t] *Et aliis, quod habet l. Antiqu.* Brit. *omittit Walſingh.*

[u] Iſai. 36. *v.* 6.

[x] *Vid. l.* 1. *c.* 16. §. 1. *p.* 177.

"no Advantagious Anſwer from them: Becauſe, minding their own buſineſs, and whol- AN. DOM.
"ly neglecting Ours, they palliated their own Idleneſs (not to ſay Fraud or Malice) with 1341.
"painted Gloſſings and frivolous Excuſes; like thoſe Mockers, who as [y] *Iſaiah* ſays, An. Regni
"deridingly Scoff and ſay, "*Precept upon Precept, Precept upon Precept; Line upon* *Angliæ*
"*Line, Line upon Line: Here a little, and there a little.* So that, alas! while a XV.
"near hope of Triumphing over Our Enemies, moſt graciouſly ſmil'd upon Us, We *Franciæ*
"were even then for want of Neceſſary Supplies conſtrained againſt Our Will to ſubmit II.
"to accept of a Truce, to the ſhamefull Hinderance of Our Expedition, and the no [y] *c.*28.*v.*10.*&* 13.
"ſmall Joy of Our Adverſaries. Returning thereupon into *Flanders*, both Empty of
"Money and Full of Debt, neither Our own Purſes, nor Our Friends, being ſufficient
"to diſcharge Our Neceſſities, and to pay off Our Foreign Auxiliaries, We were com-
"pelled to plunge Our Selves into the Devouring Gulf of Uſury, and to ſubmit Our
"Shoulders to the various Burthens of Inſupportable Debts. At laſt Our Faithfull
"Friends, Companions of Our Labours, and Partakers of Our Troubles, came unto
"Us, with whom We carefully conſulted for a deſired Remedy, whereby We might
"happily obtain ſome Fair Weather, after this ſo Great Storm of ill Fortune. Theſe
"All agreed, that the ſad protracting of Our Wars, and the manifold Inconveniences
"proceeding from Our Want of Supply, happen'd all thrô the Fault or Negligence
"(not to ſay Malice) of the ſaid Archbiſhop, to whoſe Diſcretion We had committed
"the Affairs of Our whole Kingdom; They the while much Admiring and Murmuring
"at Us, becauſe Our Royal Goodneſs had ſo long left unpuniſhed the Inſolence of the
"ſaid Archbiſhop, and other Our Officers: Saying, that if We would not apply a ſpeedy
"Remedy to theſe Evils, They muſt of Neceſſity withdraw from Our Service, and go
"back from their Alliance made with Us: And this certainly muſt needs redound to the
"Subverſion of Our Kingdom, Our own perpetual Infamy, and the Eternal Reproach
"of the *Engliſh* Nation; which God, Our moſt Mercifull Father, of his Infinite Good-
"neſs Graciouſly forbid to come to paſs in Our Days; as the Anchor of Our hope is im-
"moveably fixed on him.

"Whereupon intending the due Correction of Our Officers, ſome of them, whom for
"many Reaſons We ſuſpected Guilty of Male-Adminiſtration, Subverſion of Juſtice;
"Oppreſſion of Our Subjects, of Bribery, and other Heinous Offences, We have (as
"We might do) cauſed to be removed from their Offices: Others alſo of Inferior De-
"gree, being culpable in the Premiſes, We have committed to ſafe Cuſtody, leaſt ſhould
"they enjoy their wonted Liberty, the Execution of Juſtice might by their craftineſs
"be prevented, and the Inquiſition of the Truth cunningly eluded. Which Truth ſince
"We believed We ſhould obtain ſo much the more certainly and fully from the ſaid
"Archbiſhop, by how much it was expected, that nothing of what belonged to Our
"Information in this part, ſhould be hid from him, to whom for ſo long time We had
"thought fit to commit the Adminiſtration of Our whole Common-Weal, and Our
"Chiefeſt Concerns; We therefore by Our Truſty and Well-beloved *Nicolas Canti-*
"*lupe*, did ſend him Our Special Command, that forthwith he ſhould come to *London*
"to Our Preſence; becauſe We were minded to confer Perſonally with him. But He,
"as one always Inſolent in Proſperity, and Timerous in Adverſity, fearing now, where
"no Fear was, did untruly allege, that ſome Miſchief was intended and threatned unto
"him by ſome of Our Aſſiſtants, if at any time he ſhould once come forth of the
"Church of *Canterbury*: Whereas God and Our Conſcience are Witneſſes, no ſuch
"Matter ever enter'd into Our Mind, nor, as We believe, into the Heart of any of Our
"Servants. Yet We ſuppoſe, he glanced herein at Our Coſin the Earl of *Darby*, thô
"not only to him, but to all others, [z] as well of the Clergy as Laiety, by his Evil
"Demerits, he hath rendred himſelf Odious. But We, who deſire that all Our Sub-
"jects ſhould have free Acceſs to Our Perſon, eſpecially thoſe, who by Our Letters or
"Meſſengers are thereto required, to confute his Malicious Suggeſtion, ſent unto him
"Our Truſty and Well-beloved *Ralph Stafford* Steward of our Houſhold, to offer and give
"unto him ſafe Conduct; but notwithſtanding that We cauſed our Royal Letters Patents
"under Our Great Seal to be preſented unto him, again commanding him to make his
"Perſonal Appearance before Us, that We might be informed, how he had behaved
"himſelf in that Publique Station which he had long Menaged, as aforeſaid: Yet he ſet-
"ting at nought both Our Requeſts and Commands, anſwer'd with as Haughty an Air, as
"Impudent Mind, that he would neither appear before Us, nor confer with Us, unleſs in
"Our Full Parliament, which at this time upon Good Reaſons is no way Expedient to
"be call'd.

"Thus this Archbiſhop, whom Our Royal Bounty had exalted with Large Benefits,
"and

[z] The foregoing part of this Clauſe is omitted by *Antiq. Brit.* & *Walſingh.* only Mr. *Fox's* Copy hath it.

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"and Great Honours, and had admitted into Our Familiarity, nay, even to an Intimacy "of Friendſhip; upon whom, as on a moſt Dear Father, Our whole Breath and Life did "Repoſe; who alſo, while We did after his Will, put on the Pretended Countenance of a "Loving Father toward Us; even this Man is now cruelly turn'd to be an Heavy and "Unnatural Step-Father, and wholly forgetfull of the Benefits he has receiv'd, with "Arrogance and Pride purſues his Benefactor, and hath ſerved Us, as the Proverb is, "*a Mouſe in a Bag, a Serpent in your Lap, and Fire in your Boſom*, with an ill Re-"quital for Our Kindneſs. For thô, when We were firſt Exalted to the Throne of "Our Kingdom, deſcended unto Us by Right of Inheritance, the Divine Grace ſo work-"ing, it always was, and hath been Deteſtable unto Us to Abuſe the Greatneſs of Our "Power: Who rather affect to Rule Our Subjects with Clemency, Lenity, and Mo-"deration of Juſtice, that they might enjoy Peace, which is deſired of all Men: Yet "notwithſtanding, this Man hath gone about to defame Our Innocence, and the Fide-"lity and Diligence of Our Counſellors and Officers that purſue Juſtice, publiquely by "his Letters Patents, declaring in ſeveral Places, "that in theſe Latter Times by the "Kings Power, contrary to Juſtice, the Laiety is Oppreſſed, the Clergy confounded, "and [a] Holy Church burthen'd with divers Exactions, Taxes, and Talliages. And "becauſe he ſubtlely Uſurped the Name of a Good Paſtor, when indeed he was no-"thing leſs, but rather after the Common Opinion, and his own Confeſſion, as it is vul-"garly Reported, a very Hireling, he cloaked his Fox-Craft with a feigned Zeal for the "Liberties of the Church: Whoſe Troubles, if in Our Days it hath ſuſtained any, "are rather to be attributed to the Remiſneſs of the ſaid Archbiſhop, to his Evil Coun-"ſels and Crafty Devices. He alſo wickedly pretends to have certain Sentences of Ex-"communication, which were long ſince made in general againſt the Violators of the "Liberties of the Church, and *Magna Charta*; thereby to ſpoil the Good Opinion "had of the King, and to defame Our foreſaid Royal Miniſters, and Traiterouſly to "ſtir up Sedition amongſt the People committed to Our Charge; and finally, to with-"draw from Our Royal Majeſty the Hearts of Our Earls, Lords, and Barons of the "Realm. Theſe by his Letters he commanded to be Publiſhed in moſt Places of Great "Reſort; beſides, and contrary to, the accuſtomed means provided in a Provincial "Council.

[a] *L. Antiqu. Britan. habet* Eccleſia; *ſed Walſingham* Regnum, *præplacet* Eccleſia; *ex iis, quæ pluries repetuntur.*

"Wherefore We, deſirous, as We have Reaſon, to Reſpect the Integrity of Our "Fame, and to obviate the Malice of the ſaid Archbiſhop, as alſo carefully to decline "the ſnares he hath laid for Us and Ours, have thought good, beſide thoſe things a-"bove Rehearſed, to bring into Publique Notice ſome of his many Evil Actions. And "truly, when We were in Our Minority, by his Imprudent Counſel and Perſwaſion, "We made ſo many Prodigal Donations, unlawfull Alienations, and Exceſſive Lar-"geſſes, that Our Exchequer was wholly exhauſted thereby, and Our Revenues ex-"treamly diminiſhed: We have alſo found, that being corrupted with Bribes, he has "Releaſed to ſeveral Perſons vaſt Summs of Money owing to Us, and that without "any Reaſonable Cauſe, when neither Neceſſity, nor any Proſpect of Advantage ſo "required; and alſo, that he has apply'd to the uſe of himſelf and his Friends, and "other ill-deſerving Perſons, many of Our Rents and Revenues, which ought to have "been kept for Our own Uſe and Neceſſity. Moreover, being as well an Accepter "of Perſons, as of Bribes, contrary to Our Deſire, and his Oath of Fidelity made to "Us, he hath admitted to publique Offices in Our Dominions, Perſons altogether un-"worthy, neglecting and putting back thoſe that well deſerved: And many other "things out of a Refractory Mind, he hath raſhly preſum'd to do, to the Detriment "of Ouf State, the hurt of Our Royal Dignity, and the no ſmall Damage of the "People ſubjected unto Us, by abuſing the Authority and Charge committed un-"to him.

"Who, if he ſhall ſtill perſiſt in his proud Obſtinacy, and Stout and continued Re-"bellion, We ſhall hereafter in convenient Time and Place cauſe his Faults to be more "manifeſt; in the mean while, willing and commanding You, to Publiſh and cauſe to "be Publiſhed all and ſingular the Premiſes, openly and diſtinctly in places, where You "ſhall think it Expedient, and to ſet forth alſo, as it ſhall ſeem beſt to Your Godly "Wiſdom, Our Pious Reſolution for the ſuppreſſing all manner of Incommodities, "and furthering the Commodities and Advantages of Our Subjects; ſo behaving Your "Selves herein, that We may have cauſe to commend Your Care and Diligence. Witneſs "Our Self at *Weſtminſter* the Twelfth day of *February*, in the Year of Our Reign over "*England* the 15, and over *France* the 2d.

In Anſwer to this the Archbiſhop return'd the ſame Defence he had made in the Pulpit

"Pulpit at *Canterbury*, only *mutatis mutandis*; with this Preface directed to the "King, *viz.*

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IX. [b] "To his Dread Lord, EDWARD, by the Grace of God, of *France* and *England* "the moſt Illuſtrious King; *John* by Divine Permiſſion, his humble Miniſter of the "Church of *Canterbury*, once Temporally, but now more in the Lord, wiſheth Health "both of Soul and Body, and evermore to perſevere in Good, and Manfully to Reſiſt "envious and wicked Suggeſtions, which eaſily corrupt Good Manners.

[b] *Antiqu. Brit. p.* 227. *&c.*

"There are two Things, whereby the World is principally governed, the Holy Pon- "tifical Authority, and the Royal Power: Of which the Burthen incumbent upon Prieſts "is ſo much more weighty and ſublime, by how much at the Divine Scrutiny they are "to give an Account even concerning Kings themſelves. And therefore your Majeſty "ought to know, that You depend on their Judgment, not that they can be directed "by your Will. For who doubts, but that the Prieſts of *Chriſt* ought to be accoun- "ted both Fathers and Maſters of Kings and Princes, and of all the Faithfull? Is it "not look'd on as a ſign of a deplorable Madneſs, for a Son to endeavour to bring un- "der his Father, or a Scholar his Maſter? And that many Prelates have Excommuni- "cated, ſome of them Kings, others Emperours, the Canonical Authority of the Scri- "ptures teſtifies: And if you enquire for any thing particular of the Perſons of Prin- "ces, the bleſſed [c] *Innocent* ſmote the Emperour *Arcadius* with the edge of Excom- "munication; becauſe he conſented, that St. *John Chryſoſtom* ſhould be violently "expelled from his Seat. And the Holy *Ambroſe* Archbiſhop of *Milain*, for a fault, "which to other Prieſts ſeem'd not ſo very enormous, bound the Emperour *Theodoſi-* "*us* the Great, in the Bond of Excommunication; who afterward, having firſt given "convenient Satisfaction, obtain'd Abſolution: And in more convenient time and place "many more Examples of the like nature may be produced. Whatſoever Prieſts there- "fore offend by Error meerly humane, which doth no way treſpaſs upon the Faith of "Religion, it ſeems, that they neither can, nor ought to be puniſhed by the Secular Pow- "er. For it is the part of a good and religious Prince to reſtore broken and bruiſed "Churches, to build new ones, to honour, and with all reſpect imaginable to defend "the Prieſts of God; like unto *Conſtantine*, that pious Prince of moſt Happy Memo- "ry, who, when the Complaints of Clergymen were brought unto him, ſaid, "*You* "*can be judged of None* (that is, none of the Secular Judges) *who are reſerved to* "*the judgment of God alone*, according to the Aſſertion of the Apoſtle, ſaying, [d] *The* "*ſpiritual Man is judged of no man.* Let your Majeſty therefore conſider, what and "how great the Puniſhment of that Son ought to be, who uncovers the nakedneſs of "his Father, and wickedly defames his innocent Parent, to whom as is premiſed, he "ought to yield all reverence and honour. For the Pagan Princes after their manner, "yielded and do yield no ſmall Honour to the Prelates of their Temples and Idols, "whom they termed *Flamins*: How much more ought *Chriſtian* Princes, Worſhip- "pers of the True God, and of the *Chriſtian* Faith, to reverence the Miniſters and Pre- "lates of *Chriſt*? But alas, in a prepoſterous and unnatural way, the Honour, which "on Occaſion of the Dignity wherein we, thô unworthy preſide, ought unto us, as "unto your Father to be yielded, is turned into Reproach, the Reſpect into Reviling, "and Reverence into Contempt: While You ſent your Royal Letters Patents, ſealed "with your Royal Seal, or rather notorious Libels, ſpiteſully dictated and written by "our Enviers and Enemies, containing various crimes and many enormous Matters and "falſe-invented Reproaches againſt us, to our infamy, as plainly by the reading there- "of may appear; to all the Suffragans of our Province of *Canterbury*, Deans, Abbots, "Priors and their Chapters, and other Eccleſiaſticall Perſons, to be publiſhed to the "great Affront of us, I hope, and not of God himſelf: That ſo the Devotion of our "Flock toward us might wax cold, and their Obedience be turned into Contempt. "From which unexpected (not to ſay deteſtable) Deed it evidently appears to all that "behold it, how the Royal Power, (which proceedeth from the Lord, according to "the ſaying of the wiſe King *Solomon*, [e] *Hear, ô ye Kings and underſtand; Learn ô ye* "*Judges of the ends of the Earth: For Power is given unto you from the Lord, and* "*Soveraignty from the moſt High*) doth now preſume to judge even the Lord God "himſelf in the Perſons of his Miniſters and Prieſts; not only to the violation of the "Divine Law, but againſt the Ordinance of God, of humane Law and natural Rea- "ſon, and doth condemn its Spiritual Father, and the chief Peer of the Land, being "not called, not convicted, and by your Record, to uſe the vulgar word, unheard, "to the hazard of your Soul, to the exceeding prejudice of all us Peers, and of all "the People of the Land. Nor let any one maliciouſly accuſe us, that being con-

[c] *Innocent I. Papa Rom. floruit circa An. Chr.* 404.

[d] 1 Cor. c. 2. v. 15.

[e] Wiſd. *of Solomon c.* 6. *v.* 1. *&* 3.

"ſciou*s*

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"ſcious of our own Guilt we ſeek to hide our ſelves, leſt we ſhould be obliged to "bear the brunt of your Objections. For the moſt High knoweth, that we hearti- "ly deſire to ſee you, above all mortal Men; that all Flattery remov'd we may in- "timate unto your Highneſs the dangers both of You and of your Kingdom, and the "Affection and loving Hearts of your Subjects; and adviſe You, that your Actions (I "wiſh they were all Praiſe-worthy) might be as a Light to others, according to that of "the * Wiſe Man,

The World is by a King's Example ſway'd---

* Claudian. *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.*

"And alſo, that upon beholding our Face, You might call to mind thoſe Services, "which lately we have performed in your Employs, carefully and Faithfully, according "to the Conſcience of our Soul, ſo God help us in the laſt Trial, when all Men ſhall "[f] *ſtand before his Tribunal, to receive the things done in their Bodies, according to "that they have done, whether it be good or evil.* And eſpecially, that before You, "the Prelates, Barons and Peers of the Realm, we might ſet forth our Reputation "(which by your Letters and Libels aforeſaid is baſely torn and beſpatter'd) purged, "true and pure (as I call God to Witneſs it is) to Publique Knowledge. But upon "notice, that certain of your principal Counſellors near your Perſon, have given forth "menaces of Death againſt us; who are in this Land, not as *Joſeph* was in *Egypt*, but "like Tyrants now adays domineer in the Throne, after that of the Wiſe Man, [g] *Many "Tyrants have ſat on the Throne, and a Man unthought on hath wore the Diadem:* The "Sword being thus in the Hands of Madmen, not thrô any proud Arrogance or Diſ- "obedience, but by wiſely * *yielding to the Courſe of Fury*, we have hitherto defer'd "our Acceſs to You, that juſt Fear excuſing us, which might fall upon the moſt Re- "ſolute, being notwithſtanding ready to obey your Majeſty in all things the Honour "of God and of Holy Church, and of our own State and Order being always in all points "preſerved. But truly in the mean while, during the Power of theſe Tyrants, to the "rooting out whereof, let Him that ariſeth from on high vouchſafe to aſſiſt You, "that the word of the Wiſe Man may be fulfilled, [h] *For it was requiſite, that upon them "exerciſing Tyranny ſhould come Penury, which they could not avoid:* Leſt the clamour "of our Infamy ſhould grow higher, to the manifeſting of our Innocence, we anſwer "to the Articles contained in thoſe Letters, or infamous Libels, not ſophiſtically but "truly, in form following, *viz.*

f 2 Corin. c. 5. v. 10.

g Eccluſ. c. 11. v. 5.

* *Currenti cedendo Furori.*

h Wiſd. c. 16. v. 4.

The Archbiſhops Anſwer to the firſt Article.

"For the Beginning of your foreſaid Letters, or of the foreſaid infamous Libell, be- "ing full of Reproach, containeth; *That your Majeſty being formerly exalted to the "Royal Throne in the Years of your tender Youth, and deſiring at your firſt Undertа- "king that Princely Charge, to be directed by wholeſom Counſel, did make uſe of our "Spiritual Advice in matters concerning the Health of your Soul, and alſo of our Temporal, "in Affairs relating to the Augmentation and Conſervation of your Kingdom. And that "afterwards, when by Right of Succeſſion the Realm of* France *was devolved unto You, "and by the Lord* Philip *of* Valois de facto *manifeſtly uſurped, we perſwaded You by "our Importunities to make a League with the Lords of* Almain *and Others, for the Re- "covery of your Right, and that You ſhould only take care to provide Men of Courage "and Skill ſufficient for the War, becauſe we would effectually ſupply you with Monies "for the Neceſſities of You and Yours, and for Wages for the Army: And becauſe You "altogether wanted this due Aſſiſtance, you were fain to ſubmit to the heavy burthen of "Uſury.*

"To theſe things, moſt Excellent Prince, even thô we hold our Tongues, and "ſpeak not a word, the notoriety of the Fact knows how to give a fit Anſwer: For "in the beginning of your Reign, while we preſided over the Church of *Wincheſter*, "by whoſe Counſel your Majeſty was directed, is known to the whole Kingdom. For "He, who is ignorant of nothing, knows, that when the Queſtion about the Kingdom "of *France*, after the Death of King *Charles*, the Brother of your Serene Mother, [i] was "handled and diſcuſſed in the Parliament, then held at *Northampton*, and it was "thereupon ordained, that the Biſhops of *Worceſter* then (now of *Wincheſter*) and "of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, ſhould go into *France*, and in your Name claim that "Kingdom, and as much as in them lay, hinder the Coronation of the ſaid *Philip* of "*Valois*, who according to this Ordinance, taking then upon them the Legation enjoyned "them, went into *France*; which very Embaſſy gave the greateſt Occaſion of this "preſent War; we had at that time no concern in the Government of You, or of "your Youth, as others had, who directed You both in Spirituals and Temporals; be- "cauſe neither as then did we any ways intermeddle in the Kings Buſineſs, but re-

i *Vid. l.* 1: *c.* 2. §. 2. *p.* 28.

"mained

"mained at Court; for what cauſe, God knows, hated by all the Courtiers. But afterwards in times of Unity, ſince it pleaſed Your Majeſty, that We alſo, together "with others of Your Council, ſhould confer about Your Affairs, toward the Eſtabliſhing of Peace between the two Realms of *England*, and of *France*; conſidering the "Perils of Souls, Bodies, and Goods, that were impending from the Devouring Gulf of "War, We labour'd with all Our Power, and to that end frequently croſſing the Sea, "not without many Dangers, Toyls, and vaſt Expences, We together with other Prelates, and divers Peers of Your Realm have ſought the Perſonal Preſence of the ſaid "*Philip*, and have effectually offer'd him, We ſay, not Meaſure ſufficient enough, but "even running over, as before this it hath been known, for the obtaining of Peace. "But the ſaid *Philip*, like the Deaf Adder, ſtopping his Ears, and not willing to "hearken unto Us, there were ſent unto him on Your Part two Spiritual Ambaſſadors, to wit, the Biſhop of *Durham*, and of *Worceſter* then (now of *Wincheſter*) for "the obtaining of his Peace: And another time, the Lords *Henry* of bleſſed Memory, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and *William Mountagu*, and *William Clinton*, now Earls of "*Salisbury*, and of *Huntingdon*; who yet could neither obtain Peace, nor any delay "from War: But while the ſaid Ambaſſadors were yet in the Parts beyond Sea, the "the ſaid *Philip* of *Valois*, preſently ſent divers Commiſſions to all his Maritime Coaſts, "to kill and deſtroy the Men and Ships of *England*, whereſoever they could be found "at Sea, and with all Expedition ſent an Armed Band to Invade your Country of *Gaſcoign*. And ſo the War being begun by the ſaid *Philip*, and not by Us, according "to the deliberation of Your Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, Summon'd on that Occaſion, "and not on Our Account only, but on the Account of the great Cruelty and Obſtinacy of the Haughty Mind of the ſaid *Philip*, who Invaded the *Engliſh*, and refus'd "all manner of Agreement, and for the obtaining of Your Right in the Realm of "*France*, which was wickedly Uſurped by the ſaid *Philip*, it was Ordained and A"greed, that an Alliance ſhould be ſtruck up with the *Almains*, and others. But as "for the Wages in this part to be paid to Your Forces, in a certain Council then for "that end called at *Stamford*, there were certain Agreements made with certain Merchants of Your Land (We being preſent) the Form whereof may plainly appear in "Your Chancery: Which, if they had been obſerved, together with other Subſidies "given by the Clergy and People, to the Aid of Your War, and the great Cuſtoms of "Woolls, not only in our Opinion, but in the Judgement of all Your Counſellours, "would have ſufficed for this whole War. And Your Majeſty well knows that the "foreſaid Agreements were neither Violated, nor Changed by Us; and that the Subſidies by no means came to our Hands. If then any Misfortune happen'd for want of "Money, for which We are ſorry, this is to be wholly imputed to thoſe, who brake "the ſaid Agreements, and wickedly waſted and embeſel'd the ſaid Subſidies; and not "to Us, who bore the Burthen and Heat of the Day, and eſpecially for this Cauſe, "that after Your firſt Croſſing the Seas, We have made no long abode in this Kingdom. "But with the Reverend Fathers, the Lords Cardinals, and the Biſhop of *Durham*, "We went into *France* for the Reformation of the ſaid Peace, going and coming to "You, then reſiding in *Brabant*, frequently upon that Occaſion. And at laſt the ſaid "Affair of Peace being wholly laid aſide, as Deſperate; We ſtay'd with You in *Brabant* for a while, which was Chargeable enough to Us: And being made Partakers of "Your Neceſſities, together with Your Majeſty, and others, Prelates, and Barons of "Your Land, and for Your Majeſty deſpiſing all Danger, We enter'd ſeveral grievous "Obligations for the moſt heavy Debts, which You had contracted (I wiſh not to the "Prejudice of Your State) by paying much Uſury. And ſo, moſt Excellent Prince, "*You put not Your Confidence in the Staff of a broken Reed* (as You ſay in Your ſaid Letters) conſidering our Actions, but on a moſt firm Staff, and like unto that, where"with *Jacob* [k] went over *Jordan*, and returned Glorioufly with two Bands. For with "how much Glory, this Second time, Your Return hath been Crowned, the World "knows; and I wiſh it may be continued to the Glory of God, and Your Honour in "times to come.

[k] *Geneſ.* 32. v. 10.

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"A little after in the foreſaid Letters a more Wonderfull thing is laid to Our Charge, "*That breaking off Your further Expedition, for that time, You were obliged to deſiſt from* "*Your Enterpriſes, ſo Valiantly begun againſt Your Enemies, and to return into* England, "*where having called a Parliament, the Prelates, Barons, and other Liege Subjects of* "*Your Realm, gave as an Aid for Your War, the Ninth of their Corn, Lambs, and* "*Woolls, beſides a Tenth granted You by the Clergy. For the Collecting of which Aid,* "*and for the procuring of other things Neceſſary for You, We effectually promiſed to do*

To the 2d Article.

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"*Our Devoir. On Occaſion of which Our Promiſe, after a Glorious Victory at Sea, granted*
"*unto You by God, You encamped near the ſtrong City of* Tournay. *In the Siege where-*
"*of being for ſome time wearied with Expectation of receiving the forementiond Aid,*
"*You were thrô meer want compelled againſt Your Will to admit of a Truce.*

"Moſt Gracious Prince, (that We may ſpeak with due Reverence) Your Majeſty is "not ignorant, that the Aid of every Ninth, granted unto You (as is Premiſed) before "Your ſecond Voyage, was, by the Conſent of Your Majeſty, and of Your Council, "wholly Aſſign'd over for the firſt Year, to ſeveral of Your Creditors, as will plain-"ly appear by the Aſſignations themſelves: And that the ſaid Aſſignations ſhould "be firmly obſerved, You your ſelf, after Your ſecond Voyage, frequently enjoyned "by Letters.

"From all which it is Evident, that to the foreſaid Siege, of the beginning whereof we "were Ignorant, We could not ſend any thing, God is our Witneſs, nor did We pro-"miſe ſo to do: Nor could the ſlow Return of the ſaid Subſidy be imputed to Us, "the ſeveral Payments whereof were adjuſted in full Parliament, by certain Terms and "Proportions. And therefore on theſe and other Reaſons, We and other Your Coun-"ſellors fully weighing the Premiſes, told Your Majeſty, that without Your Perſonal "Preſence, We could not help You; ſo that Your ſaid Counſellors cannot be ſty-"led *Mockers*, ſaying, "*Precept upon Precept, &c.* But perfect Servants and Faith-"full to their Lord, not reporting, falſe, but true things, according to that of the Goſ-
[1] *Joh. c.8.v.32.* "pel, [1] *Ye ſhall know the Truth, and the Truth ſhall make you Free*; and ſo, God wil-"ling, it ſhall be done. Moreover, before your Return, there was but little or no-"thing of the foreſaid Subſidy paid, but all will come into the Hands of your Pre-"ſent Miniſters; I pray God, it may hereafter be well diſpoſed of to your Honour.

"Beſides this, Dread Lord, it is added in your ſaid Letters, *that upon your Return*
"*into* Flanders, *after the foreſaid Siege, there was nothing either in your own Purſes,*
"*or your Friends, whence You might diſcharge your Neceſſities, and pay off your Foreign*
"*Auxiliaries: Inſomuch that you were compell'd to plunge your ſelf into the Devour-*
"*ing Gulf of Uſury: And it was agreed by all your Faithfull Friends, Companions of*
"*your Labours, that all theſe manifold Inconveniences and Misfortunes happen'd thrô*
"*the Fault or Negligence, and (as is pretended) Malice of Us, and of other Your Offi-*
"*cers. Being therefore led by their Counſel (leſt otherwiſe they ſhould draw back from*
"*your Aſſiſtance) and deſirous to apply a ſpeedy Remedy, certain of your Officers You have*
"*removed, others You have cauſed to be detained in ſafe Cuſtody. And believing to be*
"*more fully acquainted with what had been done by their Information, You ſent unto Us*
"*by the Lord* Nicolas Cantilupe *firſt, and after by the Lord* Ralph Stafford *Steward of*
"*your Houſhold, commanding, that We ſhould take Care more ſpeedily to come to your*
"*Perſonal Preſence, offering Us, becauſe of many Fears by Us pretended, your Letters*
"*of ſafe and ſure Conduct: But it is pretended, that We, ſetting at nought your Re-*
"*queſts and Commands, anſwer'd with as Haughty an Air, as Impudent Mind; that We*
"*would neither appear before You, nor confer with You, unleſs in Full Parliament before*
"*the Lords and Peers of your Kingdom: Which Parliament (as the ſaid Letters Witneſs)*
"*for certain Reaſons was no way expedient to be called at that time.*

"Dread Lord, the plain Truth of the Premiſes being conſider'd, an anſwer thereto "is eaſily framed; for by right Judgement your Return into *Flanders*, could not be im-"puted to Us, when (as is Premiſed) We made no promiſe beforehand, and by Con-"ſequence Your Friends and Allies could not complain of any Fraud or negligence of "Ours: For the Moſt High knows, that then, and at all times, while We have been "in your Service, We have (as is Premiſed) Loyally and Induſtriouſly purſu'd your Af-"fairs and Commands: And according to the Vulgar ſaying,

[m] Lat. *Ultra poſſe viri, Non vult Deus ulla requiri.*

[m] *God doth expect from Man*
No more, than what he can.

"But whereas your Faithfull Friends and Companions of your Pilgrimage, would like-"wiſe have an apt Remedy applied to theſe Matters; 'tis to be believed, as the Words "Sound, how that by a juſt Proceſs foregoing, which ſhall not be Arbitrary, but Ma-"ture, the Culpable (they mean) ſhould be Lawfully puniſhed for their Faults. But "that Clergymen, who are exempt from the Judgement of the Secular Power, and "Lay Freemen, ſhould againſt their Wills be ſeiſed and detained contrary to the Laws "and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, and the Form of *Magna Charta*, what, and how great "is their ſin, who do this, cannot be unknown to your Royal Majeſty; ſince the Pe-

"rils

"rils of the Soul thereupon proceeding are not only expreſſed in the Holy Conſtitu- AN. DOM.
"tions, but are by Us and our Suffragans, divulged thrô all our Province of *Canterbury*, 1341.
"and publiſhed both to the Clergy and People. And certainly, moſt Serene Prince, An. Regni
"We much fear, that the Proceſſes done and had in your Land in theſe days (I would *Angliæ*
"they were Lawfull and Juſt!) may turn away from You (which God forbid!) the XV.
"Hearts of your People; unleſs a due Remedy be more ſpeedily apply'd. *Franciæ*

"But what thoſe things were, which your foreſaid Meſſengers on your Behalf de- II.
"clared, and as they pleaſed, enjoyned us cannot be ſecret or hid, as being publique-
"ly told before Notaries, and a multitude of Men. The firſt of whom, *viz.* the Lord
"*Nicolas Cantilupe*, bringing with him Royal Letters of Credence under the Privy
"Seal, and delivering his Credence, enjoyned and cited us; that within eight Days,
"then immediately following, upon the account of certain of your Majeſties Debts,
"for which we ſtood bound, we ſhould forthwith croſs the Seas into *Brabant*, there
"conſtantly to tarry till the ſaid Debts ſhould be fully ſatisfied. But the other Meſ-
"ſenger, namely the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, as if he had come from a long journey, and
"had brought no Letter at all with him, ſaid unto us, only by word of Mouth, "*I*
"*cite thee to appear before the King*; aſſuring us alſo by word of Mouth only, *that we*
"*ought not to fear the Traps of thoſe that threatned us*: If therefore ſuch Meſſages as
"theſe, were conſonant to certain Clauſes in that part inſerted in your Letters, let a
"juſt Judge determin. It muſt needs ſeem to any circumſpect Perſon, that to go pre-
"ſently into *Brabant*, and yet to tarry ſtill in *England* for the gaining of the foreſaid
"Informations, contains meer Repugnances. And let your Majeſty know, that no
"vain Fear, Pride, Diſobedience, Contempt, or Conſcience of Guilt withheld us from
"the delectable Sight of your Royal Face, but it was the moſt juſt reaſon above al-
"ledged, duly conſidered. And that we may ſpeak with due and reſpectfull Reve-
"rence, althô your Royal Letters of Conduct, for Coming to your Council, Staying
"and returning, might at firſt view ſeem ſufficient; if indeed we had been called to
"your Council, as we were not: Yet that ſame Day, whereon your Letters were
"brought to us, there was a Royal Brief directed to the High-Sheriff of *Kent*, that
"he ſhould oblige us to come before You and your Council at *London*, to anſwer
"about a certain Contempt in the ſaid Brief contained: But with what zeal to your
"Juſtice that matter was conceived, God knows. For thô the Royal Conduct it ſelf
"gave us free Liberty of Returning, yet the very Nature of the ſaid Brief laid upon us
"a ſtrict neceſſity of ſtaying in the hands of our Enemies: Which thing by no means
"did or may become the Majeſty of a King. Yet we, as we ſaid before, have always
"been, and ſhall be ready in the preſence of your Majeſty, the Prelates, Barons and
"Peers of the Land, to anſwer to whatever ſhall be objected againſt us; and to ſtand
"to the judgment of our Peers in all things, our State and Order always preſerved.

"But thoſe who endeavour to hinder the Convocation of a Parliament; pretending
"for an Occaſion, that there is no lawfull Cauſe, endeavour to decline the Declara-
"tion of the Truth; the Truth it ſelf witneſſing, which ſays, [n] *For every one that doth*
"*evil, hateth the light.*

[n] John c. 3. v. 20.

To the 4 Article.

"As to that which is inſerted in the ſaid Letters, *that We, being exalted by the Roy-*
"*al Bounty to great Honours, upon whom, as a moſt Dear Father your Soul repoſed, were*
"*now cruelly changed into an heavy and unnatural Step-father unto You; forgetfull of*
"*Benefits received, ungratefull, and purſuing our Benefactor, and that we have ſerved*
"*You, as a Mouſe in a Bag, a Serpent in the Lap, and Fire in the Boſom, with an ill*
"*Requital for your kindneſs.* The Truth being thus concealed, and Falſhood ſet forth
"in laying to our Charge this Ingratitude, ſaving your Reverence, not very truly,
"rather from the Malice of him that dictated the Letters, than of him that ſent them,
"we thus anſwer; For it is ſaid by the mouth of Truth, [o] *Every one that hath forſaken*
"*Houſes, or Brethren, or Siſters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, or Lands*
"*for my Names Sake, ſhall receive an hundred fold, and ſhall inherit Everlaſting Life.*

[o] Matth. c. 19. v. 29.

"Now him that ſpake the Premiſes we call for our Witneſs, that from that time,
"wherein we labour'd in your Service ſpiritually, according to the Knowledge gran-
"ted unto us from the Moſt High, we did ſo much apply our Mind with all Sincerity,
"Loyalty, Devotion and Diligence (as we premiſed) to the diſpatch of your Af-
"fairs, for your Honour and the Weal of your Kingdom, that we not only left our
"Father and Mother, our Wife, that is, our Church, and our Spiritual Children, the
"Care and Culture of our Houſes and Lands, and alſo of our Selves; but being day
"and night ſollicitous for You and your Affairs, we often paſſed the night without
"Sleep; and by no means ſparing our Labours, either beyond or on this ſide the Sea,

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"we have (I pray God it be not to the peril of our Soul) quite wasted our Body, "and by spending our temporal Goods, are as it were made Beggars; and by minding "your Advantage and that of your Realm, have lost the Love both of Clergy and "People, as the World knows. And whether these be the Actions of a Step-father, "or of a Father, let him judge, who knows not how to lie, the Almighty, True God! "For unto you we have ever been a kind Father; but unto our Spiritual Children "(which with grief we declare) for your sake an heavy Step-father. We were not a "*Mouse in your Bag*, because in your service we did not feed on what was yours but on "our own: What we have of a *Serpent*, we shew in exercising his Wisdom, not "in pouring forth the malice of his Poison in your *Lap*; as also by earnest desires "kindling *Fire* of Divine Love and Charity, which doth not consume in your *Bosom*, "but according to the knowledge given unto us of the Lord, enlighten: For all which, "since there is no reward allow'd from Man, let him reward us, who is the Rewarder "of all Good Men. Nor will that our Exaltation by Royal Benefits diminish our Re- "ward from the Most High: Which yet was charged unto us, as we have evinced, "by the malice of the Dictator; especially, since it would not become the Royal Mag- "nificence to repeat such Upbraidings: For it is not thrô the Collation or Procure- "ment of any Secular Prince whatsoever, that we are any thing exalted by the Bene- "fits and magnificent Honours, which hitherto we have enjoy'd; but thrô the graci- "ous Munificence of God, [p] *who giveth liberally unto all, and upbraids no man of the "Good things he hath given.*

[p] James c. 1. v. 5.

To the 5 Article.

"But as to that which under a kind of covert is spitefully thrown against us, *That "we have defamed the Kings Innocence, and the Fidelity and Diligence of his Counsel- "lors and Officers, who pursue Justice, publiquely in our Letters declaring, that in these "latter times by the Royal Power, contrary to Justice, the Laity is oppressed, the Cler- "gy confounded, and Holy Church burthen'd with divers Exactions, Taxes and Tallia- "ges*; whether the Premises are grounded on Truth, the Most High well knoweth. "For laying aside all Equivocation, we have incessantly studied in Mind and Spirit to "conserve your Innocence, and to own it publiquely unto others: For the Conserva- "tion whereof we have hitherto prayed God, and continually do pray him, and we "have often by our Letters Patents directed and shall do hereafter, that those of our "Province should pour forth their Prayers for the safe and happy Conservation of your "State.

"But whether by the damnable Presumption of certain of your Officers, as we be- "lieve, without your Connivance, against Justice, the Layety is more than usually op- "pressed, the Clergy and Church burthen'd with divers Taxations and Talliages, as e- "vidently now appears; when from Ecclesiastical Persons that is now exacted, which "they never granted. Your People also in these Days are governed by new and unu- "sual (I wish I could not say *Arbitray*) Laws, so that their Substance hardly sufficing "for Life, will at last (unless God avert) to your great Reproach, be reduced to ex- "treme Poverty. Nor did we say, propose or publish such things with a sinister In- "tention to defame the Innocence of You, or of your Officers; since we named none "in particular: But that thereby your Royal Majesty being moved, might so much "the sooner apply a fit Remedy; lest thrô unlawfull Grievances the Affections of "your People should (which God forbid!) lose their wonted Devotion by turning their "Love into Hatred.

To the 6 Article.

"And because your Royal Majesty, after the malevolous pleasure of the Dictator "of your Letters, seems to charge us; *That we have endeavour'd to usurp the name "of a Good Shepherd, when indeed we were nothing less, after the common Opinion, and "even our own Confession, wherein we called our selves an Hireling, and that we cloa- "ked our Fox-craft with a feigned Zeal for the Liberties of the Church; whose Trou- "bles, if in Goods or Persons, it hath sustained any in your Days, are solely to be at- "tributed to our Remissness, evil Counsels and crafty Devices.* To which we answer, "as the subject matter permits; For the *Truth* called himself the Good Pastor, say- "ing, [q] *I am the Good Shepherd*, and no other can call himself a Good Shepherd, wit- "ness the same *Truth*, saying, [r] *There is none Good save God alone.* If therefore in "Preaching publiquely we said, "That we were not a Good Shepherd, but an Hire- "ling; We spake after the Doctrine of our Saviour, saying, [s] *When you have done all "those things, which are commanded you, say ye are unprofitable Servants.* And *Truth* it "self knows, that we never thought fallaciously, or by any pretence, to usurp the "Name of a Good Shepherd, as we neither are nor can be. But laying aside all "Fox-craft and feigned Zeal, such as we were, We (together with the other Prelates

[q] John 10. v. 11

[r] Luke c. 18. v. 19.

[s] Luke c. 17. v. 10.

"and

"and Proctors of the Clergy of our Province) interposed our selves for the relief of "your Necessity, and the Profit, or rather Salvation of your Kingdom, which with "our own eyes we beheld exposed to innumerable Dangers; doing all that in us lay, "and procuring to be granted Taxes and many Subsidies, to the great burthen and "grievance of the said Clergy; that by the Aid of the Subjects, the Enemies of the "King, Kingdom, and Church might be drove away; and the Church and Kingdom "might flourish in the calm of Peace. For which, because as it seems, by You it can-"not be reasonably laid to our Charge as a Fault, we comfort our self with the com-"mon Proverb,

Thô Others Accusations raise;
'Tis fit that You should yield me Praise.

t *Si culpent alii, Te me laudare necesse est.*

"But as to that which is laid to our Charge, *That by our Letters we commanded to* To the 7 Ar-
"*be published in most Places of great Resort, certain Sentences of Excommunication,* ticle.
"*which were long since made in general against the Violators of the Liberties of the* "*Church and* Magna Charta, *thereby to spoil the good Opinion had of the King, and to* "*defame the Kings Ministers aforesaid, and traiterously to stir up Sedition among the* "*People committed to the King, and to withdraw from your Royal Majesty the Hearts* "*of the Earls, Lords and Barons of your Realm.* Because the Premises seem to fling "the Crime of Treason upon our Head, in which Case no King or Temporal Lord "can be our Competent Judge, as is sufficiently shewed above, we protest openly and "publiquely by these Presents, that we intend by what we have said, or shall say, in "nothing to prejudice our State in this part, but wholly to decline the Tryal of any "Secular Judge whatsoever. But yet extrajudicially to the declaration of our Inno-"cence, we do confess, nor can we deny, that we have denounced, and by Others "caused to be denounced certain Sentences of Excommunication, formerly made in ge-"neral against the Violators of the Liberties of the Church and *Magna Charta*; but "yet so, as particularly and expressly to except, as we might the Kings Person, that "of the Queen and their Children: Wherein we defamed no body, since therein we "nominated no body: Nor thereby, saving the Reverence of him that dictated, did "we traiterously procure Sedition, or cause the People to be withdrawn from You: "Who are at present obedient to You in all things, and who serve You in all things "according to their Duty, as the whole World may see: But He, who knows all things, "is our Witness, that as far as it was possible for us, we always, as well publiquely as "privately, did induce the Lords and Commons of your Realm, to love you heartily, "and to serve you in your Affairs more readily, and with all their Power to aid You, "as is sufficiently known to all your Realm.

"In the end of your foresaid Letters, there seem to be many things said, proposed, "and generally repeated, to the slander of our Reputation, *As that You being in your* "*Minority, by our imprudent Counsel made certain prodigal Donations, unlawfull Ali-*"*enations, and excessive Largesses, so that thereby your Majesties Exchequer was whol-*"*ly exhausted; affirming further, that being corrupted with Bribes, we have without rea-*"*sonable Cause, released to several Persons vast Summs of Money owing unto You:* "*And also, that we have applied to the Use of our selves and our Friends, and bestow'd* "*on other evil-deserving Persons, many of your Rents and Revenues. And that being* "*not only an Acceptor of Bribes, but of Persons also, we have, contrary to your desire* "*and our Oath of Fidelity made to You, admitted to publique Offices in your Dominions* "*Persons altogether unworthy, neglecting and putting back the worthy and well-deserving:* "*And that of a refractory Mind, we have rashly presumed to do many other things, to the* "*detriment of the State Royal, the hurt of the Regal Dignity, and the dammage and* "*grievance of your People, by abusing the Authority and Charge committed unto us.*

"Premising again the foresaid Protestation, because your Royal Majesty as it seems, "doth in the Premises lay unto our Charge Perjury by way of Crime, in which cause "You are not our Judge, as neither can you be, yet unto Generals we answer gene-"rally, that according to the discretion given unto us by God, being in your Offices, "we always faithfully served your Royal Majesty, and in our Actions gave you, in our "judgment, sound Counsel: To prodigal Donations, or unlawfull Alienations, or ex-"cessive Largesses, or Relaxations of great Sums of Money due unto You (unless up-"on good Reasons by you done) neither thrô Bribery, Hate, Love or Favour, yiel-"ding fallaciously any Assent, but to our Power conserving your Honour and Interest "in the Premises, and all other Matters. And because sundry times we stiffly with-"stood several Donations and Relaxations, we often went away with small Thanks

"from

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"from the Kings Servants and Others. And if particularly any thing had been made "out, as to each of the Premiſes, we ſhould have given a particular Anſwer, agreeable "to God and the Truth. For at preſent it doth not occurr to our Memory, that your "Royal Highneſs hath made any extraordinary Donations, we being preſent and know- "ing, thoſe onely excepted, which unto certain Earls, lately by You firſt made, by "Conſent of ſolemn Parliament then held in your Royal Palace at *Weſtminſter*, You "of your Royal Bounty gave: Which then we believed and yet do, not to have "been done to the Kings Prejudice, but to make for your Intereſt and Honour. For "the Experience of things teaches, what rank they held for You and your Realm, and "how much they have ſuffer'd and do ſuffer at preſent. But as for any Exceſſive "Largeſſes or Relaxations, of the Kings Liberality made, we remember not at preſent, "unleſs your Majeſty would have us underſtand it, of one Relaxation made to a "Debtor, even to all your People of *England*, in your laſt Parliament (You being pre- "ſent) conven'd at *Weſtminſter*: Which Grace on that occaſion was granted by the "Aſſent of the King and of the whole Parliament, on conſideration of a greater Ad- "vantage thereby accruing to You, *viz.* that the Community of the Land ſhould "grant You a Ninth aforeſaid; nor would the Community have otherwiſe aſſented to "give the Subſidy of the ſaid Ninth: Which latter Inſtance, where Reaſon ſways, ought "not to be imputed unto us.

"But when the ſaid Generals are declared more particularly, as the Law requires, "we will give in our Anſwer to what ſhall be ſo declared, diſtinct enough: And yet "one thing we ſhall not here omit, which we wonder that it ſhould be objected againſt us; "namely, *that we have applied unto the uſe of us and of our Friends, the Kings Rents "and Revenues:* For the juſt Judge ſitting in Heaven knows, that hitherto we "never appli'd any of the Kings Lands, Rents or Profits, to our ſelves or ours; nor "ever intended to apply them: But in the Affairs of You and of your Father and "Grandfather, for whom we have croſſed the Seas 30 times, and have often gone to "and fro for *Scotland*, and in other your Employs, we have ſpent ſo much of our own, "that of our Purſes it may be ſaid, as above in your Letters it is repeated, *Here a "little and there a little*. For from the beginning of the Wars to this preſent day, "we have received nothing at all from the Kings Exchequer except 300 *l.* And ſo "the Evil deſign'd againſt us is remembred; but our Labours, Expences and Gratitude, are
[y] Job c. 6. v. 2. "utterly forgotten of all Men. Therefore I may ſay with *Job*, *Oh! that my ſins were "throughly weighed, and my Calamity laid in the Balances together; ſurely this would "appear heavier than the ſand of the Sea.*

"As for Acceptors of Perſons, truly God is our Witneſs, we never were; but deſi- "rous always to prefer the Kings Will, we placed, and cauſed to be placed Worthy "Perſons in Publique Offices, in whatſoever Lands or Places were ſubject to the Kings "Government; as far as Human Condition permitted us to know the Manners of Men, "according to the knowledge and power given us from above, taking therefore Gifts "or Rewards of no body. And if any one will ſay or prove, that we have taken a- "ny Gifts or Mony from any, we ſhall be ready upon Occaſion to anſwer all Plaintiffs, "or Impeachers, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Kings Majeſty, according to the Law "and Cuſtoms of the Realm, the Honour of God, our Eſtate and Order being in all "things preſerved: Knowing (moſt Serene Prince) for certain, that if we might with "a ſafe Conſcience reveal the ſecrets of your Council, we could ſhow openly to all "the World, to whom the Failing in all the Premiſes ought to be imputed, in the juſt "Judgment of God and all true Men.

"Thus much for the preſent may ſuffice as to the ſaid infamous Libel, and I wiſh "that for your Majeſties Honour, it had never been written and publiſhed; which al- "thô at the firſt view it ſeems to beſpatter and wound our Reputation; yet things be- "ing ſeriouſly conſider'd, as they ought to be, and the Writings therein contained, "weighed in a juſt Scrutiny, thoſe Men cannot avoid the blot of Treaſon to the King "and Kingdom, who dictated this Libel, or thereto gave their Counſel and Conſent, or "reported the Contents thereof to our Injury, or publiſhed them to our Infamy.

"Which may your Royal Majeſty vouchſafe with an Upright Heart to conſider;
[z] Prov. c. 18. v. 15. "whom may that King, *by whom* [z] *Kings reign and Princes decree Juſtice*, vouchſafe "to preſerve in Health, and in his own Love. *Amen.*

This notable and artificial Letter the Archbiſhop wrote in a ſtrain agreeable to the Times, ſometimes ſtanding ſtiffly upon his Pontifical Authority, and the ſacred Liberties of the Church, ſometimes humbly conceding the Regal Power, always full of ſubmiſſive Courage, which was fomented by his Innocence or Dignity: But all theſe Arts

Arts could neither frighten nor mollifie the Kings Exaſperated Mind yet; ſo that he preſently followed it with this Reply, which he ſent as an Antidote againſt the Archbiſhops Inſinuations, to all the Biſhops and Clergy of that Province. AN. DOM. 1341. An. Regni *Angliæ* XV. *Franciæ* II.

X. "EDWARD by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and *France*, and Lord "of *Ireland*, To the Biſhops, Deans, Abbots, Priors, and their Chapters, and other "Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of the Province of *Canterbury*, Greeting. The Wound of "Hearts, Pride, which always ſoareth aloft, doth often turn the Remedy to a Diſeaſe, "and the Phyſick to Poiſon; And this is proved by the preſumptuous Arrogance of "*John* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who, when lately he had publiquely Preached, and "commanded to be Publiſhed in ſeveral places of great Reſort, ſundry ſiniſter Mat"ters, concerning Us and Ours, as more fully is contained in our Excuſatory Letters "to You, and others thereupon directed, now heaping up more heavy Injuries to his "former endeavours, to intimate to our Liege People, that Our Excuſes which We "provided to heal the Wounds of Our Dignity and Royal Fame, are not true; and "with Exquiſite Engines to batter them, and by New Letters lately ſent to You and "others, with a ſlanderous Pen, and lying Style, more grievouſly and freely to defame "them. And thô it be the Cuſtom of Popes, Cardinals, and Inferior Prelates, to re"ceive the Diſcourſes and Letters of Kings reſpectfully and graciouſly; yet Our Ex"cuſatory Letters containing (as in due place and time We intend fully to prove) true and "juſt Matter, he intitles Deteſtable Scandalous Libells, putting a falſe blot upon Our "Name: Becauſe if any One that hath the Cuſtody of a Common Weal, is ready to "prove thoſe Crimes that are committed to writing, if truth corroborate his Aſſer"tions, he is vindicated from the Scandal of Libelling, and is thereby accounted Praiſe"Worthy. He alſo not obſerving the manner of his Predeceſſors, who uſed to Ho"nour and Love their Princes, and cauſe [y] *Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and gi*"*ving of Thanks to be made by* themſelves and others, *for them*; and to teach them in "the Spirit of Meekneſs, begins the Web of Faction and perverſe Contention againſt "Us, and Our Servants, in the Spirit of Pride, [z] *making long his Iniquity*, and ſeek"ing (which is the Comfort of Wretches) more Companions in his puniſhment: And "which is worſe, by his Lying Words he wickedly endeavours to precipitate into a "Diſreſpect and Contempt of Us, his Suffragans, and other Our Devout and Loyal Sub"jects. And althô with God, not the Heighth of a Mans Degree, but the Paſſing of a "Good Life gains approbation, this Man Glorying in the Loftineſs of his Condition, "requires unto himſelf, as unto the Ambaſſador of *Chriſt*, that Reverence, which be"ing due from Him unto Us, He doth not pay. Nay, when both He and other Pre"lates of the Realm, who receive the Temporals of their Churches from Us, by their "Oath of Allegiance do owe unto Us Faith, Honour, and Reverence, He only is not "aſham'd to render unto Us, inſtead of Faith, Treachery; in lieu of Honour, Reproach; "and for Reverence, Contempt. Wherefore althô We are ready, and always have "been, to reſpect, as is meet, Our Spiritual Fathers; yet as for their Offences which "We ſee to abound to the Hazard of Us and of Our Kingdom, We ought not to paſs "them over ſlightly. But the ſaid Archbiſhop complains, that certain Crimes were "in Our ſaid Excuſatory Letters objected againſt him; thô abſent, unheard, and with"out Defence; and that he was condemn'd of Capital Matters, as if We (as He fool"iſhly pretends) had to the utmoſt proceeded criminally againſt him; which is not true: "When We only ſupply'd the place of an Excuſe, being compell'd of Neceſſity; "leſt We ſhould ſeem to neglect Our own Reputation. But let this Cavilling Repro"ver ſee, if this complaint may not juſtly be retorted upon his own Head, who falſe"ly and maliciouſly in poſitive Words deſcribes Us his King, and Our Counſellors, thô "abſent, unhear'd, and without Defence, as Oppreſſors and Tranſgreſſors of the Laws "altogether: When as He is juſtly blamed, who incurrs the Fault, which he himſelf "Reproves; and [a] *wherein he judgeth another, he condemneth himſelf*; while he him"ſelf is found reproveable in the ſame thing. Moreover, althô he ſtudied to ſerve, "not Our Intereſt, but his own Covetouſneſs; yet he upbraids and boaſts, that he hath "labour'd ſo Mightily in the Kings Affairs (to uſe his own Words) that thereby he "feared, how he had manifoldly incurred the heavy diſpleaſure both of God and Man: "And this he might juſtly fear, ſince he may be reckon'd among that ſort of Men, "who according to the Prophetical taunt, [b] *have taught their tongues to ſpeak lies, and* "*weary themſelves to commit Iniquity*. But as to certain other falſe and ſpecious Words, "contained in the Letters of the ſaid Archbiſhop, thô We might confute them with "Reaſons more clear than the Light, yet leſt We ſhould protract Diſcourſe, We thought "fit for the preſent not to anſwer them, becauſe it is not decent to ſtrive with a conten"tious Man, nor agree with him in perverſeneſs.

[y] 1 *Tim.* c. 2. v. 1.

[z] *Pſalm* 128. v. 3.

[a] *Rom.* c. 2. v. 1.

[b] *Jer.* c. 9. v. 5.

"But

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"But We command You firmly, in the Faith and Love, wherein You are bound unto Us, enjoyning You, that notwithstanding any Mandate of the said Archbishop (to which in derogation of the Royal Honour, against Your Oath of Allegiance made unto Us, You ought not to obey) You forthwith proceed to the Publication of those things, which in Our foresaid Excusatory Letters are contained, according to their Order.

"And because We are and ought to be extreamly jealous concerning the maintenance of Our Rights and Prerogatives Royal, which the Worthily remembred *Supremacy* of Our Progenitors, Kings of *England*, hath Gloriously defended; and because the said Archbishop, to stir up the Clergy and People against Us, and to hinder the Carrying on of Our War, which by his Counsel principally We undertook, hath caused and commanded by others to be done, and Published certain Denunciations and Publications of Sentences of Excommunication and Monitions, Injurious and prejudicial to Our Crown and Dignity Royal; since thereby he endeavours in sundry Articles to take away from Us the Jurisdiction, notoriously to Us belonging, and whereof We, being a King Anointed, are known to be capable, and which both We and Our Progenitors (the Popes, Prelates and Clergy of Our Kingdom both knowing and allowing) have peaceably enjoy'd time out of Mind, to the Hurt of Our Majesty Royal, and the manifest derogation of Our Rights and Kingly Prerogatives: We therefore strictly, and upon your Peril, forbid You, that neither by your selves, nor by others, you make; nor, as much as in you lies, by others suffer to be made any such undue Publications, Denuntiations, or Monitions, Prejudicial and Derogatory to Our Rights and Prerogatives Royal; or any thing else, whereby Our Liege Subjects may be stirred up against Us, or the Carrying on of Our War may be any way hindred, to the Subversion of Us, and of Our Liege People (which God forbid) at the Command of the Archbishop, or any other whatsoever: And if any thing in this kind hath by You been attempted, that forthwith You Repeal it. Witness Our Self at the Tower of *London*, the 31 of *March*, in the Year of Our Reign of *England* the 15, and of *France* 2. This truly Royal Command of the Kings being obey'd; by all the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, the King resolved to maintain the Rights of his Crown, and Summons a Parliament, to which also the Archbishop is called, [c] the Kings Royal Protection being Granted him, that he might safely come thither.

[c] *Antiqu. Brit. p.* 235. *n.* 55.

XI. On the [d] Ninth of *April*, being *Easter* [e] *Monday*, King *Edward* held his High Court of Parliament at *Westminster*; the Causes whereof were declared to be, how the King might be speedily supply'd with the Grants, yielded unto him last Year, upon his passing in Person against his Enemy, *Philip* of *Valois*, who had taken away part of the Dutchy of *Guienne*, much part of which Grant was kept from the King by Evil Officers: Also secondly, how more plenty of Money might be raised, and whether *Florens* were to be current with *Sterling*. After which Declaration was made in the Kings Name, that whoever of his Subjects should think themselves hardly used either by the King, or his Officers, upon Complaint and Proof made, should have their Remedy.

[d] Pascha 8 *April.* Lit. Dom. G.

[e] *M. S. Rot. Parl. p.* 40. *&c. Exact Abridgement by* Sr Rob. Cotton *p.* 31.

The mean while the Archbishop, in Order to be present at this Session of Parliament, [f] came to *London*; repaired secretly to the Bishops of *London* and *Chichester*, by whom he is convey'd to the Kings Palace, where the Parliament sat, with a great Company of Clergymen and Souldiers. Upon his Entrance into the House, the Kings Steward and Chamberlain met him; who in the Kings Name forbad him to enter the Parliament, untill in the Kings Exchequer he had undergone a Tryal concerning Crimes laid to his Charge. *Canterbury*, lest he should move the King too much, went into the Exchequer, and there took a Copy of the Articles, whereof his Accusation was framed, to which he promised after a mature deliberation to return an Answer. Then with the Kings leave he enter'd the Parliament, and there before the Prelates and Lords of the Realm declared the causes of his coming to be for the Honour, Rights, and Liberties of the Church, for the Profit and Commodity of the Realm, and for the Interest and Honour of the King; and lastly, that he might clear himself in Parliament of several Crimes laid to his Charge, and Published over all *England*. That day there was nothing done, but the Parliament being at the Kings command Adjourn'd, every one went his way. But from [g] *Thursday* the 12 of *April*, till *Thursday* the 19, the Parliament continued from day to day in debate upon this point, that the Nobles of this Land should not be put to answer, but before their Peers in open Parliament: Whereupon are named Four Bishops, Four Earls, and Four Barons, to draw up the Platform for

[f] *Antiqu. Brit. p.* 235. *n.* 56.

[g] *M. S. ibid.* §. 6. *&* Sr Rob. Cottons *Exact Abridgement.*

for the Kings View. Their [h] Names were these, the Prelates *Ralph Stafford* Bishop of *London*; *Ralph Shrewsbury* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *John Grandeston* Bishop of *Exceter*, and *Thomas Charleton* Bishop of *Hereford*: The Four Earls were *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, *William Montagu* Earl of *Salisbury*, *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntingdon*, and *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*: The Four Barons were, *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Ralph* Lord *Basset*, and the Lord *Ralph Nevill*. These being also to enquire concerning the Crimes laid against the Archbishop, and to prepare them for the King, among other things determin'd, that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and other High Officers of State, should be included under the Names of Peers; and set down a Request, that all Conditions and Estates might enjoy their proper and peculiar Liberties. By that time these things were thus forwarded, the Archbishop came again to the Parliament, but was forbid by the Captain of the Kings Guard [i] Sr. *William Attewood* to enter: Whereupon he spake thus to the People that flocked about him, "My Friends, the King by his Writ of Summons "hath called me to this Parliament, and I, who am the Chief Peer of the Realm, and "who next the King have the First Voice in Parliament, claim the Rights of my Church "of *Canterbury*, and therefore require entrance into Parliament. But when for all this being kept out by the Guard, he could not enter, he took his Cross in his own Hands, and solemnly protested, that he would not stir from that place, till the King gave him leave to come into Parliament, or a sufficient Reason why he should not: While he stood there in this manner, some that were by, began to revile him, telling him, that he was a Traytor, and had deceived the King, and betray'd the Realm. To whom the Archbishop, "The Curse of Almighty God, and of his Blessed Mother, and of St. *Thomas* "and Mine also, be upon the Heads of them that inform the King so, *Amen*, *Amen*. In this hurry certain Noblemen chancing to come out, he besought them to Request the King in his behalf, and for the Right of his Church of *Canterbury*; this they kindly promise him to do. The mean while certain Articles cunningly contriv'd, and so as they might stir up the hate of the Common People against him, are scatter'd about in all places. The Authors of this trouble of the Archbishops were thought to be that subtle Engineer *Adam Orleton* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Lord *Darcy*, and Dr. *William Killesby*; but *Winchester* cunningly dissembled the Matter, and the other two were his open Enemies. However at last by the Intercession and Favour of the Lords, the King gave leave for his Admission into Parliament, where he offer'd to purge himself Lawfully in Parliament of the Crimes objected unto him: But he was referr'd to the Consideration of the Twelve Peers, who had his Cause in Hand at that time. On the 19 of *April* being a *Thursday*, [k] the King came into St. *Edward*'s Chamber, commonly called the Painted Chamber, before whom, in sight of all the Lords and Commons, the Archbishop humbled himself, and required his Gracious Pardon; which upon the whole Parliaments General Suit and Entreaty his Majesty granted. After which the Archbishop desired, that whereas he was publiquely defamed thrô the Realm, he might now be Arraigned in Open Parliament before his Peers: But the King answer'd, he would first attend to the Common Affairs, and after that examine lighter Matters. However a little after without any more Accusation, or Answer; the King of his own accord declared him Legally purged and excused, and ever after held him more Dear than before. Thus ended the Archbishops Troubles, the Matter being no more resumed, he either appearing Innocent, which is most likely, or however made so by the Kings Pardon: Thô at that time all things touching his Arraignment were deliver'd [l] to remain with Dr. *William Killesby*, Keeper of the Privy Seal, who as We observ'd before, was thought no very Good Friend to the Archbishop. But the Gracious King it seems had a Mind not to destroy so able a Minister, but only to humble him and break his High Prelatical Obstinacy, which for a while seem'd ready to Cope with his Regal Power.

But upon occasion of this Contrast, the [m] Clergy of *England* in this Parliament made these Requests to the King, That the Liberties of Holy Church may be kept, and the Great Charter be newly proclaim'd, and by Oath confirmed: The King answer'd, that it "was his Desire that *Magna Charta* should be observed; but that it seem'd to him sufficient, for either that, or other their Liberties to be exemplifi'd under the Great Seal; and "that more Oaths were not necessary; especially since already too many were forsworn "throughout the Land.

Then they shew'd, how several of the Clergy were impriſon'd by the Kings Officers without due Process, and that therefore they may be deliver'd: To which the King answer'd, "That he intended not any Clergyman should be attached against "Law, and that he would be ready to hear, if any was in that Manner Impri-

[h] *Antiqu. Brit. p.236. Godwins Cat Bps p.136.*

[i] *Antiqu. Brit. & Godw. ut supra.*

[k] *M. S. Rot. Parl. p. 41. §. 8. Sr. R. Cotton p. 31. ibid.*

[l] *M. S. Id. p. 45. §. 48. & Sr. Rob. Cotton.*

[m] *M. S. Id. p. 42. &c.*

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"ſon'd, either againſt *Magna Charta*, or the Statute of *Northampton*.

They complain'd further, that ſeveral of the Kings Officers had entred divers Religious Houſes, and have by Oath extorted a Confeſſion of things depoſited in thoſe Houſes, and them ſo found have carried away. The King anſwer'd, "that he would "not his Officers ſhould do thus: But that if Laymen to defraud Him, do conceal "their Goods in ſuch places, then the Privilege ſhould not avail: For ſo the King is "wronged.

On *Saturday* following the King thus anſwer'd the Petition of the Lords, which Petition was, That *Magna Charta* might in all points be obſerved, ſo as ſuch Perſons, who are neither appealed, nor indited, nor preſented at the Suit of any, and yet have their Goods, Lands, or Poſſeſſions taken away, may be reſtored thereto again. R. "The "King granteth for Him and his Heirs for ever, that if any Perſon commit any Act "contrary to the form of *Magna Charta*, or any other Good Law; he ſhall be lyable "to anſwer it in Parliament, or elſe where he ought by Law. The ſame anſwer he gave the Commons, whoſe further Petitions, with their Reſpective Anſwers, follow,

Com. That the Chancellor and other Officers of State, there named in the Records, may upon their Entrance into the ſaid Offices be ſworn to obſerve the Laws of the Land and *Magna Charta*.

K. The King willeth the ſame.

Com. That every Man, for Debts due to the Kings Anceſtors, may have therefore Charters of Pardon, of Courſe out of the Chancery.

K. The King granteth.

Com. That Certain by Commiſſion may hear the Accounts of thoſe, who have received Woolls, Monies, or other Aid for the King, and that the ſame may be enrolled in the Chancery.

K. It pleaſeth the King, ſo as the Treaſurer and Lord Chief Baron may be joyned in the Commiſſion.

Com. That the Ordinance made at *Northampton, That Men of evil Life and Converſation ſhould be attached*, may be repealed: Becauſe on Pretence thereof many Honeſt Men have been arreſted.

K. The King doth revoke it.

Com. That many Commiſſions, whereby ſundry Men have been fined outragiouſly by the Commiſſioners, may be revoked, and New ones granted to Others.

K. The King is pleaſed, that the ſame ſhall be done in the Preſence of Him, of the Lords and certain of the Commons.

Com. That the Chancellor and all other Officers, there named, may be choſen in open Parliament; they at the ſame time to be openly ſworn to obſerve the Laws aforeſaid.

K. The King yieldeth onely thus much, that if any ſuch Office, by the Death or other Failure of the Incumbent become void, the Choice to remain ſolely in the King; he taking therein the Aſſent of his Council; but that every ſuch Officer ſhall be ſworn at the next Parliament according to the Petition: and that every Parliament following, the King ſhall reſume into his Hands all ſnch Offices; ſo as the ſaid Officers ſhall be left liable to anſwer all Objections.

Hereupon at the requeſt of the whole Three Eſtates made unto the King, theſe Articles were Statutes, as on the Back of the Roll doth appear: Which Statutes with the Conditions were after read before the King, his Officers being preſent, as the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Juſtices of both Benches, Steward of the King's Chamber and Others, all which Officers were ſworn on the Croſs of *Canterbury* to perform the ſame: Only the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and certain of the Juſtices refuſed the ſaid Oath, as being repugnant to their former Oath and the Laws of the Realm. However for that time the Statutes and Conditions aforeſaid, together with the Commiſſions to enquire after Oppreſſions, were exemplified under the Great Seal and deliver'd to the Lords and Commons. Althô afterwards the King judging them to entrench upon his Prerogative Royal, and conſequently to be in themſelves illegal, did abſolutely revoke and annull them, declaring them void and of no force.

Becauſe the King before *Michaelmas* then next enſuing, was to tranſport 20000 Sacks of Wooll; it was at this time provided, that no Subject ſhould before that time paſs over any Wooll, on peril of treble Loſs, *viz.* of Wooll, Life and Member: Alſo that during the War with *France* the King may charge Religious Aliens. *Robert Stratford* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Lord *Robert Wake*, and Sr. *Robert Sodington*, were appointed to proportion the Wooll, according to the Aſſeſment of the Fifteenth lately made, by the direction of ſuch as had perfect Knowledge of each County:

ty: Which particular Rates being accordingly made, were deliver'd and enter'd upon Roll in Chancery, and thereupon Commiſſions iſſued out for Collecting the ſame. And this is all I thought fit to obſerve of this Parliament; they that would know more, may have recourſe to the Printed Books of Statutes, which in this Year agree exactly with the Record, except in one Point, touching the Revocation of the Statute aforeſaid (to which ſome Officers would not agree) thô in the [n] Print it is ſet here, there is no mention in the Record: Nor is it likely, that it was Revoked till two Years after, as the [o] Record places it.

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[n] *Statute Book* 15 *Ed.* 3. *p.* 85.
[o] *Ed.* 3. 17. *n.* 23.

Revocation of a Statute.

As to what Sr. *Robert Cotton* obſerves immediately before, that there is no mention of the Revocation of the Statutes aforeſaid in the Record of this Year; but that he refers Us to the Seventeenth of this King; it is to be noted, that indeed the Statutes aforeſaid were not revoked during this Seſſion; (for then they were made) and that in a Parliamentary way they were not revoked, till the time fixed by him, *viz.* the 17 of *Ed.* 3. But that ſhortly after (according to the Printed Book of Statutes) the King of his meer Prerogative, without any Parliament, only by Advice of his Council, did abrogate what formerly he had, as he judg'd, unadviſedly Enacted; and this being done this Year, was two Years after confirmed by Act of Parliament. But for the Rarity of the Caſe, I ſhall ſubjoyn the Form of the Kings Revocation; which is this:

"EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and *France*, and Lord of "*Ireland*, to N. N. Sheriff of *Lincoln*, Greeting. Whereas at Our Parliament Sum- "moned at *Weſtminſter* in the XV of *Eaſter* laſt paſt, Certain Articles, expreſly con- "trary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of our Realm of *England*, and to our Prerogatives "and Rights Royal, were pretended to be granted by Us by the manner of a Sta- "tute: We conſidering, how that by the Bond of our Oath We be bound to the "Obſervance and Defence of ſuch Laws, Cuſtoms, Rights and Prerogatives, and "Providently Willing to Revoke thoſe things, which be ſo improvidently done, to "a due State; Counſel and a Treatiſe thereupon had with the Earls, Barons, and o- "ther Wiſe Men of our ſaid Realm: And for becauſe We never conſented to the "making of the ſaid Statute, but as then it behoved Us, We diſſembled in the Pre- "miſes by Proteſtations of *Revocation* of the ſaid Statute, if indeed it ſhould pro- "ceed, to eſchew the Dangers, which by denying of the ſame We feared to come; "foraſmuch as the ſaid Parliament otherwiſe had been without any Expedition in Diſ- "cord diſſolved, and ſo our earneſt buſineſs had likely been, which God prohibit, in Ru- "ine; And the ſaid pretenced Statute We promiſed then to be Sealed.

"It ſeemed to the ſaid Earls, Barons, and other Wiſe Men, that ſithence the ſaid "Statute did not of our Free Will proceed, the ſame ſhould be void, and ought not to "have the Name nor ſtrength of a Statute.

"And therefore by their Counſel and Aſſent, We have Decreed the ſaid Statute to "be void, and the ſame, inaſmuch as it proceeded of Deed, We have brought to be "annulled: Willing nevertheleſs, that the Articles contained in the ſaid pretenced "Statute, which by other of Our Statutes, or of Our Progenitors, Kings of *England*, "have been approved, ſhall according to the form of the ſaid Statute in every point, "as convenient is, be obſerved. And the ſame We do only to the Conſervation and "Redintegration of the Rights of Our Crown, as We be bound, and not that We "ſhould in any Wiſe aggrieve or oppreſs Our Subjects; whom We deſire to rule by "Lenity and Gentleneſs. *And therefore We do command You, that all theſe things You "do to be openly proclaimed in ſuch places within your Bayliwick, where You ſhall ſee ex- "pedient.* Witneſs my ſelf at *Weſtminſter* the Firſt day of *October*, the XV Year of Our Reign.

This is the Famous Revocation, which thô put among the Printed Statutes, was meerly the Reſult of the Kings Prerogative Royal; and yet in thoſe days Eſteemed of ſufficient Force, and as ſo, afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament, as We ſhall ſee two Years hence.

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CHAPTER the NINETEENTH.

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I. ALL this while, thô the Truce between *France* and *England* had more than Two Years to continue, King *Philip* knowing, that Truces are but Opportunities for Wise Enemies to improve to their Advantage, like a Politick and Wary Prince, thought good to take this time to recruit himself, and to provide more strongly against a War; which the Competition for a Crown seem'd to Entayl to future Ages. And first, after King *Edward*'s own Method, he desired to Establish himself with the Accession of some Powerfull Friends: The *Flemings* he could by no means expect to prevail with, while *Jacob van Arteveld* bore any Authority among them; and the Earl of *Hainalt* was too much incensed to be wrought upon; and the Duke of *Brabant*, and other Lords of the Empire were still hamper'd in the Triple League made at *Villenort*; Nor indeed did it seem feasable to gain any great footing in the Empire; till the Emperour himself might be brought over. The Emperours Friendship therefore seem'd, as more considerable, so upon many Accounts more attainable. *Lewis* the Emperour had now to Wife the Lady *Margaret*, Eldest Daughter to *Jane* of *Valois*, King *Philips* Sister: Besides he knew him extream desirous to be Reconciled to the Church, if he might obtain Absolution from the Pope on no Dishonourable Conditions; and King *Philip* had at that time the Popes Keys under his Girdle; the Court of *Rome* being at *Avignon* in *France*. The Emperour therefore he now secretly and effectually plyes by the Popes Letters, and his own Ambassadors, offering him both

both Temporal and Spiritual Advantages, great Gifts and Penſions, together with a *Frank and eaſie Abſolution* from his long-continued Excommunication. Theſe things took with him ſo well; that he preſently ſent unto King *Edward* theſe his Letters of Revocation. AN. DOM. 1341. An. Regni *Angliæ* XV. *Franciæ* III.

II. "[a] *Lewis* by the Grace of God, Emperour of the *Romans*, always *Auguſtus*, to "*Edward* King of *England*, his Beloved Brother, Greeting and unfeigned Love. Al"thô innumerable and arduous Affairs do lie upon our ſhoulders, and We are variouſly "and perpetually encumbred about them; yet notwithſtanding, when the Diſcord a"riſen between You and *Philip* King of *France*, our Beloved Coſin, which (unleſs "it be appeaſed) may for the future bring forth both to You and to your People hea"vy Loſſes, both of many Mens Lives and Fortunes, doth repreſent it ſelf unto our "Eyes, it more eſpecially torments our Mind, and moves Us to apply all our Dili"gence, Care and Labour to take it up. Wherefore We give You to underſtand, "that the foreſaid *Philip*, at our Requeſt, hath given unto Us by his Letters, Autho"rity and Power, to moderate between You and Him about this Diſcord ſtirred up be"tween You, in order to the obtaining of a Peace. Which Peace (duly conſidering "the whole State of You and your Allies) we believe to be very expedient for You "and your Kingdom: And therefore perſwade your Friendly Charity, and earneſtly "exhort You to give alſo Your Conſent thereto: So that We may thereby bring You and "Him to an Agreement, and eſtabliſh between You a firm Peace; whereunto with a "ready Mind We will apply Our ſelves, and take pains in vigorouſly proſecuting the "ſame. Wherein if You will conſent to our Advice, and as We hope, acquieſce there"in, may it pleaſe You by your Letters to give unto Us the foreſaid Power of Treat"ing about an Agreement, and of Ordaining a Truce for a Year or two more. Nei"ther let it move You, that between Us and *Philip* King of *France*, a Friendſhip is "made and contracted: For ſince You took a Truce and certain Limits, wherein to "treat of an Agreement between You and the ſaid King of *France*, without our Know"ledge, Will and Aſſent; We alſo by the Advice of our Princes, who know the Tyes, "Bonds and Covenants betwixt Us (to whom alſo it ſeem'd, that ſaving our Honour "We might do the ſame) have contracted an Agreement and Friendſhip with the ſaid "King of *France*; and therefore for the Cauſes aforenoted, do revoke and call back "the Lieutenantſhip, aſſigned unto You by our Letters. Nevertheleſs giving you for "certain to underſtand, that We ſhall in our Treaties make ſuch Brotherly Proviſion "for You; that if You will acquieſce in our Counſels, your Cauſe (by means of our "Counſel) ſhall be brought to a good Iſſue. About which Matters further to inform "your Charity of our Intention, We have ſent unto your Brotherhood a Religious "Perſon, Frier [b] *Everhard*, Reader of the Order of Friers Hermits of St. *Auguſtine*, "and Chaplain in Ordinary of our Court: Whom about the Premiſes We deſire to be "ſpeedily diſpatched unto Us again. Dated at *Frankford* the 14 Day of *June*, in "the 27 Year of our Reign, and the 14 of our Empire.

[a] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 146. *n.* 30. & *Fox Acts and Monum. p.* 351. & *Stow p.* 238. & *Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc annum* §. 12. &c.

[b] Herwart.

III. King *Edward* made no more of all this, knowing the unconſtancy of that Prince, but only return'd him this reſpectfull and rational Anſwer.

"To the moſt Renowned Prince, the Lord *Lewis*, by the Grace of God, *Roman* "Emperour, always *Auguſtus*, *Edward* by the ſame Grace, King of *France* and *England*, "and Lord of *Ireland*, Greeting and perpetual Happineſs. We have reverently received "the Letters of your Highneſs, containing among other things, that upon your Re"queſt, *Philip* of *Valois* hath by his Letters given unto You Power to treat of an A"greement between Us and Him; and that if it would pleaſe Us to give unto You "Power therefore, You would willingly endeavour Your utmoſt, toward the bringing "about the ſaid Agreement; And that the Friendſhip between You and *Philip* ſhould "not move Us; For ſince without your Knowledge and Aſſent we took a Truce "and Limits, wherein to treat of Peace between Us and the ſaid *Philip*; You alſo "have contracted the ſaid Friendſhip with him by the Advice of your Princes, to whom "it ſeem'd, that ſaving your Honour, You might do ſo much; and have alſo revoked "the Lieutenantſhip by You granted unto Us. Certainly the Zeal which You have "to make the ſaid Agreement We very much commend. [c] And truly it would be "very agreeable and acceptable to Us, if at the Inſtance of ſo great an Umpire a de"ſirable Peace may be obtained. But foraſmuch as We know our Right and Title "to the Realm of *France* to be clear enough; We purpoſe not by our Letters of "Commiſſion to any one, to leave it under doubtfull Arbitrement. But when We "ſeriouſly conſider and revolve, how your Highneſs, upon mature Deliberation, be"holding our manifeſt Right, and the obſtinate Pertinacy and Violence of the ſaid

[c] Here a Clauſe added by *Fox*, which I find not in *Walſingham's* Original.

"*Philip*,

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"*Philip*, did of your Grace make a League with Us againſt the ſaid *Philip*, admitting "Us out of the Exuberance of your Love, as a particular Child of Adoption, to ſpeak by "your leave, We cannot ſufficiently admire; That your Invincible Highneſs being "conſtituted of God, for the [d] *Praiſe of them that do well, and for the Puniſhment* "*of Evil-doers*, hath made a League againſt Us with the ſaid *Philip*, our injurious "and notorious Enemy. And as to that which You ſay, that without your Know- "ledge and Aſſent, We took a Truce with the ſaid *Philip*, in Order to a Treaty about "a Peace, the Circumſtances of the Fact being rationally weighed, it ought not to "move You; For while We beſieged the City of *Tournay*, it was requiſit we ſhould "follow their Counſels, who then gave us their Aid and Society; and the near Ap- "proach of Winter, and the Diſtance of place would not permitt Us to adviſe with "your Highneſs about the Premiſes. Nay, if you remember, your Grant unto Us was "otherwiſe, namely, that if a fit Opportunity was offer'd, We might without your "Advice or Knowledge hold a Treaty of Peace; but ſo, as that without your Con- "ſent We ſhould by no means make a final Peace with the ſaid *Philip*; which We "never purpoſed to do, till we ſhould have had thereupon your Counſel and Aſſent. "But it was Our deſire in all things to bear Our ſelves, as we ought toward You, ac- "cording to our Abilities, hoping that the Fulneſs of your Brotherly Kindneſs would "more lovingly have ſupported Us for a time. It is alſo thought by ſome, that the "Revocation of the ſaid Lieutenantſhip was prematurely made: Whereas according "to your Promiſe herein given unto Us by your Imperial Letters, it ought not to have "been made, untill we had obtained the Kingdom of *France*, or the greater Part there- "of. We deſire your Excellence duly to weigh the Premiſes, and to do farther what "ſhall ſeem moſt requiſit: Becauſe, by the Grace of God, We intend after our Abilities "to gratifie both You and Yours, according to the meaſure of your Benevolence be- "ſtowed upon Us. The Almighty grant unto your Highneſs as much Felicity, as your "Heart can wiſh. Dated at *London* the 18 of *July*, in the 2[d] Year of our Reign of "*France*, and of *England* the 15.

[d] 1 Pet. 2. 14.

IV. Now for a while we might expect to have liberty, wholly to divert to Actions of Peace, the Truce being prolonged with *France* for two Years more, and that with *Scotland* not yet expiring, till the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt* next enſuing. But King *Edwards* Deſtiny, which mark'd him out for Action, or rather the evil Genius of *France*, was even now working to break the Truce, and to ſet open the Gates of War again.

[e] *Froiſ. c. 63. fol. 35.* The Occaſion was given firſt in *Bretagne*: For [e] after the Truce had been confirmed and ſealed before the City of *Tournay*, and every Man was gone his way, the Lord *John Dreux*, then Duke of *Bretagne*, who had been there on the *French* Kings ſide, in as gallant an Equipage as any other Prince whatſoever, upon his Return homewards, fell ſuddenly ſick of a mortal Diſeaſe, and died in little *Bretagne*, and was buried at [f] *Ploermell* in the Dioceſs of *Nantes*. He had been thrice married, firſt to *Iſabell*, Daughter of *Charles* Earl of *Valois* and *Alanſon*, and Siſter to King *Philip* of *Valois*; ſecondly to *Blanch*, Daughter of the King of *Caſtille*; and laſtly to *Margaret* Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Savoy*; but yet died without any Iſſue: From whence a laſting War was entailed upon his Country; which occaſionally alſo involved the Realms of *France* and *England*. This ſame Duke [g] had two younger Brethren, the one by the Fathers ſide onely of a ſecond Venter, named *John*, Earl of *Montfort*, who was then living; the other named *Guy*, Earl of *Pentebria*, his Brother both by Father and Mother ſide, was dead indeed, but had left one Daughter behind him named *Jane*, which her Uncle the late Duke had before his Death married to the young Lord *Charles Caſtillion*, Eldeſt Son to *Guy* Earl of *Blois*, by another Siſter of King *Philip* of *France*. Upon which Marriage the ſaid King promiſed, after the Deceaſe of her Uncle Duke *John*, to uphold and maintain the ſaid *Charles*, her Husband in the Dukedom of *Bretagne*. For the late Duke always ſuſpected vehemently, that his Half-brother *Monford* would ſtruggle for the Inheritance after his Death, againſt the Daughter of his own Brother *Guy*, to whom he reckon'd it more juſtly belonged. That ſhe might therefore find an able Friend upon Occaſion to abett her Quarrel, he thus wiſely to his thinking, match'd her with a Son of King *Philips* Siſter. And accordingly King *Philip*, however partial he was in King *Edwards* Cauſe, who claim'd the Crown of *France* by a Title derived from a Woman, yet without any Scruple undertook to defend the Title of his Nephew *Charles* to this Dukedom, as we ſhall ſhew at large anon.

[f] *Catal. Honor. p. 606.*

[g] *Froiſ. ibid. & Catal. Honor.*

[h] *Froiſ. ibid.* V. However *John* Earl of *Monford* had this Advantage, that he [h] firſt heard of

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the Duke his Brothers Death; and thereupon resolving not to dally in a matter of such Consequence, he rode immediately to *Nantes*, the chief City in *Bretagne*; where, upon his fair Address to the Burgesses, and those of the Country thereabouts, he was forthwith received as their Chief Lord, and had Homage and Fealty done unto him. Then the Earl and his Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to[1] *Robert* late Earl of *Flanders*, and Sister to *Lewis* of *Cressy* the present Earl of *Flanders*, a Lady of a most Masculine Spirit, determin'd by Advice of their Council, to call a Court of Parliament, and keep a Solemn Feast on such a Day at *Nantes*; against which time the Earl of *Montford* sent forth his Summons to all the Nobles and Representatives of the good Towns of *Bretagne*, to be there to render their Homage and Fealty unto Him, as unto their Soveraign Lord. But in the mean while, before the time of the Feast came, the Earl of *Montford* went from *Nantes* with a competent Number of Men of Arms unto *Limoges* (the Chief Town of *Limousin*, whereof the Dukes of *Bretagne* were Vicounts) where he was informed, that the vast Treasures, which his Father *Arthur* had amassed together, were securely kept. Being come thither he enter'd the City in great Pomp and Splendour, and was honourably received of all the Clergy, Burgesses and Commons; who then and there made Homage, and swore Fealty unto him. Here he handled the Matter so discreetly, that he had all that inestimable Treasure deliver'd up to him, which of a long time before his Father had gather'd and strongly secur'd, with this Injunction left to his Son, that he should not meddle therewith till he should be brought to some Extremity. So having obtained this hitherto untouch'd Prize, he brought it away with him to *Nantes*, to the Countess his Wife, as the most able Nerves of the War, which he expected.

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[1] *Mezeray p.* 19.

By this time was the Day of the Solemn Feast come; but no *Breton* of any great Name or Quality was found to be concern'd at *Monfords* Summons; onely one valiant and wealthy Lord, named Sr. *Henry du Leon*, came thither to yield him his Obeisance. However the Feast was continued for three Days with much Real Pomp, but Feigned Cheer, because it look'd so ill, that his Cause was so universally discountenanced by the Nobility and Gentry. After the Feast it was resolved, that all the New-found Treasure should be set apart for Wages for Men of War, both Horse and Foot, which the Earl design'd to retain on all Hands; as well to constrain the Rebellious, as to maintain the Dutchy against his Adversary.

Being therefore as soon as might be, well furnished with Men of War and Chosen Captains from divers Countries, he resolved to March forth, and either by Love or Force, make himself Lord of all *Bretagn*. The first Place he design'd to attempt was the strong Castle of *Brest*, standing upon an Arm of the Sea, the Captain whereof was the Lord *Garnier Clisson*, a Noble Knight, and one of the Greatest Barons of *Bretagne*. Earl *Monford*, all along in his Passage thither, prest the Men of the Country to his Service, none daring to refuse; so that by that time he came thither, his Forces were mightily encreased; *Brest* and *Nantes* being distant almost the whole length of *Bretagne* one from another. Being come to the Castle, he sent the Lord *Henry du Leon* to summon the Captain to yield up the Place, and to obey the Earl, as his Lord and Duke of *Bretagn*. The Captains Answer was short, "*That he was not inclin'd to* "*do any such Matter, till he should be commanded so to do by the Right Heir of that* "*Dukedom*.

So the next day an Assault was given; But within the Castle were 300 Men of Arms besides Others, and all things were well disposed for Defence: Wherefore the Captain full of Courage came to the Barriers with 40 good Men of Arms, and made a very brave Resistance. But so many of the Assailants came thither, that at last the Barriers were won by fine Force, the Defendants being obliged to retire toward the Castle in some Confusion, having lost several of their Company: But the Captain did so much, that he secur'd the Retreat to the rest, as far as the first Gate: When those who kept the Ward thereof, fearing from what they saw, more mischief, in an ill time let down their Portcullis, and shut their Captain out with most of his Company, who fought with him in the Reer with much Resolution and Bravery. Thus they all remain'd without, expos'd to eminent Danger; for the Captain would never yield himself upon any Account: The mean while from within they cast out Stones, Timber, Iron-barrs, with Pots of quick Lime in such quantities, that the Assailants were enforced to draw a little back; at which instant the Portcullis being something raised, the Captain, and those few left alive with him made shift to get in, thô all grievously wounded. The next Day the Earl caused certain Engines to be raised, vowing, that he would not stir thence till he had reduced them. The third Day he understood for certain,

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certain, that the Captain within was dead of his Wounds: Whereupon to encreaſe their Terror, he commanded the Aſſault to be renewed, the Ditches to be filled, and the Engines to be raiſed: All this was done, and the Bickering continued with much Heat and Violence till noon; at which time the Earl declared unto the Beſieged by Proclamation; "That if they would yield, and accept of him for their Lord, accor- "ding to their Duty, he would freely pardon them all of their Lives and Goods. Here- upon they required Reſpite; ſo the Aſſault ceaſing they call'd a Council of War, and preſently after yielded on the foreſaid Conditions. The Earl preſently enter'd with a certain Number, took the Fealty of the Caſtlewick, and having ſet over them a Valiant Captain in whom he confided, and order'd the Garriſon as he thought beſt, he return'd to the Camp with great joy at this his proſperous Beginning.

[k] *Froiſ. c.* 66. From thence he marched Eaſtward to the City of [k] *Rennes*, ſtanding on the River of *Vilaine*; and ſtill, as he proceeded, he received the Homage of the People, and greatly encreaſed his Hoſt, by thoſe whom he preſt to his Service. Being come be- fore the place, he pitch'd his Tents, and lodged his Army round about, and in the Sub- urbs: The Beſieged were fully determin'd to defend themſelves to the extremity, and their Captain was one Sr. *Henry Penfort*, a Man mightily beloved in the City for his Integrity and Valour. Early one Morning this brave Gentleman Sallied out with two Hundred Horſe, and ſtrack into the Camp, beating down Pavilions, and murder- ing and wounding at his Pleaſure. The Alarm being given, all thoſe Troops, who in ſeveral parts of the Camp were then upon Duty, drew thitherward apace, others ma- king all haſte to follow them. By this the Men of *Rennes* began to draw off, but ſo ſlowly, becauſe as yet they did not ſee all their Danger; that being preſently in a man- ner ſurrounded, many were ſlain, and more taken, among whom was the Captain him- ſelf. Him they brought Priſoner to the Earl, who underſtanding, that he was mighti- ly beloved by all the City, immediately cauſed him to be preſented before the Town; offering to the Burgeſſes, that if they intended to ſave their Captains Life, they ſhould deliver up the place to the Earl, otherwiſe he ſhould be hanged before their Gates. Upon this the Beſieged deſired time to conſider; but different Opinions prolonged the Counſel; for the Commons loved their Captain wonderfully, and had great pity of his hard caſe, which he had incurr'd for their Sakes: And beſides they ſaw, they were not able to hold out long for want of Proviſions; wherefore they were for accepting Con- ditions of Peace: But the Rich Burgeſſes who had enough for themſelves, and being all of one mind and well-nigh all Related together, by intermingled Affinity, drew a- part by themſelves, and proclaimed; that all, who were of their ſide, ſhould follow them; ſo that preſently they were about two Thouſand. At this the Commons, who were far more in number, began firſt highly to rate them with bitter words, and immediately proceeded to wound and kill ſeveral of them: Till the Burgeſſes, who now ſaw their folly, to prevent further miſchief, agreed with the Commons to yield up the City. Which was done accordingly, and ſo the Captains Life was ſaved, and he received into the Earls Favour, and made of his Privy Council, and *Rennes* ſubmitted to accept of Earl *Montford* for her Lord.

[l] *Froiſ. c.* 67. [l] When the Commons had preſented the Keys of the City to the Earl, and ſet their Gates wide open, he marched in with a ſufficient Number, the reſt of his Army being left in the Fields: And having firſt made Peace between the Burgeſſes and Commons, he then Created new Provoſt, Aldermen, Bayliffs, Serjeants, and other Officers, and within the ſpace of three days, ſet all things in very good Order, ſhewing himſelf very gracious to the Inhabitants. After that he raiſed his Camp, and took the Left hand, marching *Southerly*, toward the very ſtrongeſt Caſtle in all *Bretagne*, called *Henne- bond*, a Sea-port Town, about which the Sea alſo ran round in great and deep Tren- ches. When Sr. *Henry Penfort* perceived the Earls Reſolution to go thither, he was mightily concerned for his Brother, Sr. *Oliver Penfort*, the Captain of that Fortreſs, whom he ever loved entirely; leſt he ſhould miſcarry in obſtinately defending the place. At laſt he conſider'd on a ſubtle project, whereby he might both keep his Faith to his New Lord the Earl, and alſo ſave his Brother, whether he would, or no. And with this thought he thus ſpake to the Earl in Council, "My Lord Duke, of an Enemy "and a Priſoner, it hath pleaſed You to admit me for one of Your Counſellors, and I "have given You my Faith and Allegiance to ſerve You Loyally and truly: Where- "fore I think my ſelf obliged to diſcover unto You, what I preſume will not be unſer- "viceable to Your Affairs. I underſtand, Sir, how you are reſolv'd to lay Siege to *Hen- "nebond*; which I pray God, may fall into Your Power cheaply. But Sir, be aſſured of "a Truth, that both the Town and Caſtle are of ſuch Strength, that they are in a man-

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"ner Impregnable. I rather believe You may loſe your time there an whole Year, before "You ſhall be able to take it by force. But Sir, if You will pleaſe to repoſe any Con- "fidence in me, I'll ſhew You the moſt likely and eaſie way how to win it: For where "the *Lions* skin will not do alone, the *Fox's* muſt be ſow'd unto it; and ſubtlety and "fineneſs are to be uſed, when force will not avail. If You will therefore deliver to "my Conduct 500 Men of Arms, to be wholly govern'd at my Orders, I will ride with "them half a League before Your Hoſt, with the Banner of *Bretagne*, and my own "Arms before me. Whereupon, I nothing doubt, but that my Brother *Oliver*, who "is Governour both of the Town and Caſtle, when he ſhall ſee the Banner of *Bretagne*, "and know, that I am there, will readily open the Gates, and receive me, and all my "Company gladly. And if ſo, I will then take him Priſoner, ſeiſing both on Town "and Caſtle in your Name, and will deliver my Brother into Your Hands, unleſs he "will conſent to embrace Your Service: But Sir, I muſt require Your Faith and Pro- "miſe, that however You will do no bodily hurt to his Perſon. The Earl was won- derfully pleaſed with this Device, and ſware, that his Brother ſhould by no means ſuffer the leaſt Perſonal harm, ſaying further, "Sr. *Henry*, if you can bring this about, "I ſhall love you the better for it, whileſt I live. Preſently he had his 500 Men al- lotted him, with whom he rode forth before the Army, and toward the Evening arri- ved before *Hennebond*: When the Captain Sr. *Oliver Penfort* heard, and ſaw, and knew, that his Brother was there, ſuppoſing he came with that force to his Aſſiſtance, he immediately open'd the Gates, and received him with all his Men, himſelf haſting forward joyfully to ſalute him in the ſtreet. When Sr. *Henry* ſaw him, he haſted for- ward to meet him, and taking him ſuddenly by the Arm, for the firſt Complement, ſaid, "Brother *Oliver*, now You are my Priſoner. "How ſo, cry'd his Brother, amazed? "Did I put my Confidence in your Kindneſs, expecting, you were come to my Aſſi- "ſtance in defence of this place, and am I now deceived? Brother, reply'd Sr. *Henry*, "the matter is nothing ſo: I am come hither to take Poſſeſſion of this Town and "Caſtle for my Lord; the Earl of *Montford*, who is now Duke of *Bretagne*, and fol- "lows us juſt at our heels: To him I have made fealty and Homage, and the greater "part of the Country obeys him, as You alſo are like to do now. But ſurely it were "better for You to do it of choice, than by compulſion; and You will receive more "thanks for your pains, for the Duke is a Gracious Prince, I'll aſſure you. Upon theſe and the like Words, together with the Conſideration of his preſent Condition, Sr. *Oliver* preſently conſented; and ſo the Earl, without one ſtroke given, or taken, was admitted into *Hennebond*, where he ſet a good Garriſon. Thence he marched with all his Army to *Vannes*, another conſiderable City, which after a ſmall Treaty, upon Fame of his Succeſs, open'd her Gates, and received him for her Soveraign Lord. Here ha- ving in three days time Eſtabliſhed all manner of Officers, and given neceſſary Orders, he went thence and laid Siege to a ſtrong Caſtle, called *la Roche Bernard*, on the o- ther ſide the *Vilaine*, whereof Sr. *Oliver Cliſſon*, Coſin German to the Lord *Cliſſon*, was Captain: The Siege here laſted ten days; but the place was too ſtrong to be won by force, and neither threats, nor promiſes could work upon the Governour. Where- fore the Earl thought fit to riſe thence for the preſent, and go and attempt the Ca- ſtle of *Auray*, about 10 Leagues Weſtward from *la Roche Bernard*, and very conſi- derable for its ſtrength and ſcituation, it ſtanding on an Arm of the *Morbihan*, be- tween *Vannes* and *Blavet*. The Captain thereof at that time was the Lord *Geoffry de Maleſtroit*, who had with him another Valiant Knight, Named, Sr. *John de Triguier*. The Earl gave them two notable Attacks, which they as worthily ſuſtained; ſo that when he ſaw, he might loſe more there, than he could hope to win, he thought to try them by fair means, and ſo gave them a Truce for one Day, at the Requeſt and Advice of the Lord *Henry du Leon*, who was always near him. This ſhort time Sr. *Henry* made ſo good uſe of; that by his fair Words and Perſwaſions they were con- tent to hold the Caſtle for the Earl *John*, and to yield him their Homage, as their True and Lawfull Lord. This done, the Earl left them ſtill Captains of the place, and the Country about, and then paſſed forth to another ſtrong Caſtle, called *Gony en la Foreſt*; which they prepared to Aſſault. The Captain thereof ſaw well what great forces the Earl had with him, and how in a manner all the Country fainted before him; ſo that by the perſwaſion of Sr. *Henry du Leon*, with whom the Cap- tain had kept good Company formerly in the Holy War in *Pruſſia* and *Granada*, and other Foreign Parts, he was at laſt contented to keep that place for the Earls behoof for the future; to whom he then made his Homage. After this the Earl went to *Karhais*, whereof at that time a Biſhop (who was Uncle to Sr. *Henry du Leon*) was

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Governour: But he by means of his Nephew was brought off to own the Earl for his Lord, till ſome other ſhould come, who could ſhew more Right to that Dutchy.

VI. Thus Earl [m] *John* conquer'd almoſt whereever he went, and ſeriouſly took upon him the State and Title of Duke of *Bretagne*; but by Advice of his Council he was perſwaded to have recourſe to ſome Powerfull Protector, that upon occaſion might uphold him againſt the *French* King, who doubtleſs would take the Part of his Nephew, *Charles* of *Blois*. Having therefore beſtow'd his Men about in Garriſons, and provided ſufficiently for the Defence of his Country, he took ſhipping for *England*, with ſome of his Chief Lords in his Company, and arrived ſafe at a Port in *Cornwall*; where, upon Enquiry, underſtanding, that King *Edward* was at *Windſor*, thither he went, and was very welcome to the King, Queen, and Lords of *England*. There he declared to the King, and his Council, "How he had taken Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy "of *Bretagne*, devolved unto him by Right of Succeſſion, upon the Death of his El- "der Brother, the late Duke: But that he feared, leſt the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, by "help of his Uncle the *French* King, would at laſt force him from his Right: Where- "fore, he ſaid, He was come thither to receive and to hold that Dukedom of the "King of *England*, as true King of *France*, and his Soveraign Lord, by Fealty and "Homage, for him and his Heirs for ever: Deſiring him to Defend him in his Quar- "rel againſt the *French* King, or whoſoever elſe ſhould moleſt him about that Matter. King *Edward* conſider'd, that his War with *France* ſhould be much furthered by the Acceſſion of ſo great a Prince; and that there was no way more Commodious for him to paſs into *France*, than by *Bretagne*; eſpecially remembring, that the *Germans* and *Brabanders* had done him ſmall, or no ſervice, but had made him ſpend much Money to little purpoſe; and that now ſince the Emperour, whoſe Letters he had juſt then received, was alſo fallen off, there would be little good done for him by any Lords of the Empire: upon theſe Reaſons, He readily condeſcended to the Earl of *Montford's* Requeſt, and then, and there received Homage of him, as Duke of *Bretagne*. Which done, in Preſence of all the Lords, as well *Engliſh*, as *Bretons*, that were there, he promiſed to Aid, Defend, and Suſtain him as his Liegeman, againſt either the *French* King, or any other whatſoever. This Homage and this Promiſe being interchangeably Sealed, and deliver'd, the King and Queen preſented the Earl and his Company with ſuch great Gifts, and ſo Royally entertain'd them, that they accounted King *Edward* to be a moſt Noble Prince, and Worthy to Reign in much Proſperity. After this the Earl took his leave of *England*, and arrived in ſhort ſpace at an Haven in lower *Bretagne*, whence he went to *Nantes* to his Lady; who applauded his League with *England*, as likely to be of moſt Advantage to his Affairs. But the Matter was kept very cloſe, and none but his Council knew certainly of it; for he had not been above Eight or Ten Days abroad in all, and the *Nantois* thought he had viſited ſome other Parts of his Dominions that while.

[m] *Froiſ. c. 68.*

VII. When the Lord [n] *Charles Caſtillion*, commonly called Sr. *Charles* of *Blois*, who look'd upon himſelf as true Heir of *Bretagne*, in Right of his Wife, heard of all the Conqueſts that the Earl had made in that Country, which he took for his own, he addreſt himſelf to his Uncle King *Philip*, to complain of theſe Injuries. The King deliberating what courſe to take in this Affair, was in the end counſelled to ſummon the Earl of *Montford* by ſufficient Meſſengers, to make his Perſonal Appearance at *Paris* by ſuch a day, there to anſwer to what ſhould be objected againſt him, in the Chamber of *France*. Meſſengers were accordingly ſent, who found him at *Nantes* keeping of a Solemn Feſtival: Here he treated them highly, and then having well underſtood their Errand, anſwer'd, that he would punctually obey the Kings Commandment. Soon after being prepared for his Journey, he rode from *Nantes* toward *Paris* with a Princely Equipage of 400 Horſe in his Company. The next day after his Arrival, he rode with this Great Attendance to the Palace Royal: Where the King and the 12 Peers, with other High Lords of *France* expected his coming, with the Young Lord, *Charles* of *Blois* in their Company. The Earl was conducted to the Kings Chamber, being highly regarded, and civilly ſaluted in his Paſſage thither by all the Lords, for the Fame of his great Exploits, and the Grandeur of his Perſon. When he came before the King, he enclin'd his Body ſomething low and ſaid, "Sir, I am come hither in Obedience to your Command and Pleaſure. The King anſwer'd, "Earl *Montford*, for that you have ſo done I give you thanks: But I won- "der how you durſt take upon You the Dukedom of *Bretagne*, whereunto you have "no Right: For there is another nearer than your Self, whom you ſeek to diſinhe-

[n] *Froiſ. c. 69.*

"rit:

"rit: And to maintain your unjuſt Quarrel by Violence, you have been with mine "Adverſary the King of *England*; to whom as I am enformed you have done Ho- "mage for the ſame. The Duke who thought it impoſſible, that the King ſhould know this Conveyance of his, reply'd not without ſome Confuſion, "Sir, I beſeech "your Majeſty not to believe any ſuch Matter, for You are not rightly informed, as "to that Point: But Sir, as for the Right which You mention, ſaving your Diſplea- "ſure, You do me wrong to queſtion it. For Sir, I know of none living ſo near to "my Brother deceaſed as my Self. And if it can be made appear by Right Law and "Judgment, that there is any Perſon neater than I am; I am not He that ſhould rebell "againſt Reaſon, or be aſham'd to renounce what I had unjuſtly uſurped. "Well "Sir (rejoyn'd the King) you ſay well: But I command you in whatever you hold "of me, not to ſtirr from this City of *Paris* theſe Fifteen days; in which ſpace the "12 Peers and Lords of my Realm ſhall conſider impartially on the Matter: And "then you ſhall know where the Right lies. And if you ſhall preſume to do other- "wiſe, be aſſured we ſhall not be Friends. The Earl having promis'd all ſhould be at his Pleaſure, went from the Court home to his Lodgings to Dinner: But having din'd, he mus'd much with himſelf in his Chamber, and thought he had done too raſhly in coming thither, where he ſhould be oblig'd to ſtand to the Award of ſuch as were byaſs'd another way. At laſt being [o] diſguiſed like a Merchant, and only three in his Company, he privately took horſe in a clear Night, and leaving the City, got home into *Bretagne*, before the King or any elſe, knew what was become of him. Being come to *Nantes*, he ſhew'd unto his Counteſs, what he had done and wherefore; and then by her Advice, he rode about to all the Towns and Fortreſſes, which he had won, and ſet over them Valiant and Loyal Captains with ſufficient Numbers of Souldiers, Horſe and Foot, and gave them large Wages before-hand.

[o] *Mezeray p.* 18.

VIII. For ſome [p] time the Court of *France* thought, he had been detain'd in his Lodgings by ſome Indiſpoſition; ſeeing his Servants conſtantly about the Houſe, and tending his Affairs, as if preſent. But they alſo getting off by degrees, when his Departure was fully known, it may be gueſſed, how deeply King *Philip* reſented this Affront. But for all that he kept ſo much *decorum*, as to tarry till the 15th Day came, whereon the Peers were to give their final Judgment concerning the Dukedom of *Bretagne*. At the time appointed the Caſe was adjudged clearly in behalf of Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* his Lady, *Jane*, who was Daughter and Heir to *Guy*, Earl of *Pentebria*, Brother German to the Duke laſt deceaſed, and therefore was now declared to have more Right than *John* Earl of *Monford*, [q] who was Younger Brother to the ſaid Ladies Father by a ſecond Venter, namely by *Violanta*, ſole Daughter and Heir of *Almaric*, Earl of *Narbon* and *Montford*. They alledged further, that althô the Earl of *Montford* had had the Right, yet now he had forfeited it on two Accounts; Firſt, becauſe he had received the Dutchy of another Lord, than of the *French* King, of whom only he ought to hold it; and ſecondly, becauſe he had broken the Kings expreſs Command, and diſobeyed his Arreſt in going away: Wherefore neither would they [r] admit of his Requeſt, which was to accept of his Procuration, whereby he had left One, as his Deputy to manage this Matter in his Behalf. From which Judgment it being manifeſtly influenced by King *Philips* Authority, that Prince was much [s] cenſur'd of injuſtice by thoſe, who allow'd the Ancient Order and Cuſtom of the Baronages of *France* and the *Salique* Law; eſpecially ſince it was contrary to that very Judgment, by which He himſelf had been Declared and Crowned King of *France*: Since if *Charles* of *Blois* had the Right to the Dukedom of *Bretagne* by his Wife, Daughter to the laſt Dukes Brother German; much more had King *Edward* of *England* the Right to the Crown of *France* by his Mother, ſole Daughter and Heireſs (after the Death of *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* the *Long*, and *Charles* the Fair, her Brethren) of *Philip* the Fair, King of *France*. But Prejudice is ſo ſtrange a thing, that it byaſſes the Minds of the Great and the Wiſe Men of the World, by repreſenting Falſhood and Injuſtice, under the ſpecious Titles of Fair and Equitable; unleſs there be preſent an Awe of Religion, and a Senſe of Honour and Conſcience to ſuppreſs thoſe ſelfiſh Conſiderations.

[p] *Froiſ. c.* 70.

[q] *Catal. Honor. p.* 604.

[r] *Mezeray p.* 18.

[s] *Giov. Villani l.* 11. *c.* 142.

IX. However, as ſoon as this Judgment was thus given, King *Philip* called unto him the Young Lord *Charles* of *Blois* and ſaid to him, "Fair Nephew, you have a fair "and large Inheritance by Judgment Awarded unto you: Make haſte therefore, and "go and conquer it againſt him, that unjuſtly detaineth it from you; and deſire all "your Friends to aſſiſt you in this your Quarrel. I for my part ſhall not fail to lend "you Gold and Silver enough, and I will alſo command my Son the Duke of *Nor-*

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"*mandy*, to go along with you. Sr. *Charles* enclin'd himſelf humbly to the King his Uncle, returning him his moſt hearty Thanks; and after that he deſired his Couſin *John* Duke of *Normandy*, his other Uncle *Charles* of *Valois*, Earl of *Alençon*, *Eudes* the Fourth of that Name, Duke of *Burgundy*, his Uncle by the Fathers Side, and Brother-in-Law to King *Philip*, *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, and the Lord *James* of *Burbon*, Don *Lewis* of *Spain*, *Ralph* Earl of *Ewe* and Conſtable of *France*, with the young Earl of *Guiſnes* his Son, the Vicount of *Rouën*, and the moſt Part of the Lords that were then at Court; who all ſaid they would gladly go along with him and their Lord the Duke of *Normandy*. And with this they brake up for that time, and fell ſtraight upon Preparations for this Expedition.

In the mean while King *Philip* cauſed the Earldom of *Montford* to be confiſcate and ſeiſed into his Hands; becauſe Earl *John* had made a League with the King of *England* his Adverſary: Wherefore King *Edward* reſpecting [t] this his Loſs, and willing to gratifie him with an Equivalent, gave him the Earldom of *Richmond* in *England*, with the Rights belonging unto it, in like manner, as *John* Duke of *Bretagne*, and Earl of *Richmond*, his Brother had held it; untill ſuch time as he ſhould recover his Earldom of *Montford*. *Teſte Rege apud Weſtminſt.* 24 *Septemb.* 1341. So that we may well doubt the Authority of thoſe, who ſay this Title was given to the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*: Thô it may indeed be ſuppoſed, that *John Dreux*, late Duke of *Bretagne* might, for adhering to *France* againſt *England*, be deprived of that Title; which (if our Hiſtorians muſt be in the right) was thereupon given as they ſay, to the foreſaid Lord *Robert* (thô he is not found in the Catalogue of the Earls of *Richmond*) but upon this Occaſion, upon an Equivalent conſideration, might be taken from him again: For as yet the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* was not deceaſed, as will appear hereafter.

[t] *Catal. Honor. p.* 608. *ex Record. Ed.* 3. 15.

X. And now [u] all the forementioned *French* Lords, who had abetted the Quarrel of *Charles* of *Blois*, being ready with their Forces, began to march from *Paris* and other Parts, to the place of their general Rendezvous, which was the City of *Angers* on the *Loire*. Being all joyn'd together they marched thence to *Ancenis*, wherewith *France* is bounded on that ſide toward *Bretagne*; and here having refreſhed themſelves for three Days, they began to enter the Country of *Bretagne*. As ſoon as they came into the Campaign they muſter'd, and found that they amounted to 5000 Men of Arms, beſides the *Genoueſe*, which were 3000, and led by three Valiant Knights of *Genoa*, Sr. *Otho de Rue*, Sr. *Charles Germaulx*, and Sr. *Galeas de la Baulme*, who was Captain of the Croſsbows. The Army firſt went to a ſtrong Caſtle ſtanding on an high Mountain, called *Chantoceaux*, at the very Entry of *Bretagne*, on the *Loire*; which was pretty well furniſhed with Men of War, under the Command of two Knights of *Lorrain*, Sr. *Giles* and Sr. *Valeran*. This Caſtle they thought beſt to reduce, becauſe 'twas not ſafe to leave ſo ſtrong a Fortreſs behind them: Wherefore they inveſted it round, and made many vigorous Aſſaults, eſpecially the *Genoueſe*, who ſtrove mightily to gain Honour in this their firſt Service with the *Frenchmen*: But their great Courage was more hurtfull to themſelves than to their Enemies; for the Beſieged defended themſelves ſo well, that of a long while they had no harm. But at laſt the Aſſailants reſolving to try all ways, rather than hazard their Reputation in this their firſt Enterpriſe, carried thither ſo much Timber, Graſs-plats and Faggots, that they filled the Ditches therewith, whereby they were able to approach cloſe to the Walls. The Beſieged ſpared not to welcome them with plentifull Showers of Burning Pitch, Quick-lime, Stones, Chalk and Iron-bars: But the *Frenchmen* had brought with them a ſtrong Engine, in manner of a Penthouſe, like the old *Roman Teſtudo*, under which the Pioneers might ſafely mine the Walls. At the very ſight whereof, eſpecially when they found they could not break or fire it, the Beſieged began to capitulate, and at laſt yielded up the Caſtle, on condition to have their Lives and Goods ſaved. Then the Duke of *Normandy*, who was General in this Expedition, deliver'd the Fortreſs to Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* as his own; who preſently put therein a good Garriſon, to keep open an Entrance for him into *Bretagne*. Thence they marched along by the *Loire*, directly towards *Nantes*; where they heard their Enemy the Earl of *Monford* was at that time. The Marſhalls and Vancurrours of the Army found in their way, within 5 Leagues of *Nantes*, a good Town called *Carqueſie*, environ'd with Ditches; but there were not many People in the Town, and thoſe but indifferently armed; ſo that after a fierce Aſſault the Town was taken, robbed and half burnt, and all within put to the Sword. Thereabout the *French* Lords lay all that Night, and the next Morning marched for *Nantes*, where they laid their

[u] *Froiſ. c.* 71.

their Siege, and pitch'd up their Tents and Pavilions; for they expected no short Work of it: And yet the Weather was pretty favourable; for it was about the middle of *October*. The Earl of *Monford* was not at all discouraged, that he was thus besieged; for he doubted not but to make the Place good till Winter, when they would be obliged to raise their Siege, and by the next Spring he question'd not, but to be well provided with Succours from *England*, by whose Aid, he might give Battle unto the Enemy: But he forgat all this while to consider the wavering Minds of his People: and besides Himself committed one grand Oversight in Disobliging at such a juncture the very Chief of his Captains. AN. DOM. 1341 An. Regni *Angliæ* XV. *Franciæ* II.

At the beginning of the Siege, the Men * of War within the Town, and the Inhabitants went all in Arms to their appointed Defences: A Detachment from the Army came presently to the Barriers to skirmish, against whom some Souldiers and young Men of the Town went forth; and that time many were slain and hurt on both parts; but the Barriers were maintained: And in this manner the Town and the Army had several skirmishes, not without many Wounds, and much Bloodshed on both sides. One Morning about 200 of the Besieged went forth of the City very early at a Venture; and they chanced to meet with 15 Wagons, laden with Provision, under the Convoy of sixty Souldiers, who were going therewith to the Army. The Townsmen set upon them, and easily master'd them, slew several, and took others; but some few made shift to escape to the Camp, where they related the whole Matter. At this, such as were most ready, rose up to Rescue the Prey, which they overtook, near the Barriers of the Town. And here began a fierce skirmish, the *Nantois* being hard put to it, by reason of the Numbers that flow'd in upon them from the Camp; but however some of them took the Horses out of the Wagons, upon the first approach of the Enemy, and drove them in at the Gate, that the *Frenchmen* might not easily drive back the Provision. Hereupon Fresh Men came out of the City to relieve their Companions; so the Fray multiplied, and many were slain and hurt on both sides; for Recruits continually came both from the Camp and City. Wherefore the Lord *Henry du Leon*, the Earl of *Monford's* Chief Captain, perceiving that by continuing the Fight in this Manner, he might by Degrees engage the whole City, with the whole Army, without any Advantage of his Walls and other Works, thought best to sound a Retreat now, before it grew worse. But then the pursuit was so close upon their heels, that more than 200 of the Burgesses were taken and slain. Wherefore the Earl *Monford*, when the business was over, blamed Sr. *Henry du Leon* very severely, for Retreating so soon: At which unseasonable Reproof, Sr. *Henry*, who had hitherto been his Main Support, was infinitely disgusted, and for the future came not to any Council of War, as his Manner was: Which made many to wonder, what his Design should be. * *Froiss.* c. 71.

Soon * after this Mischance, 'tis said, that some of the Chief Burgesses considering, how their substance went daily to wreck both without and within the City, and that already several of their Friends and Children were Prisoners, if no worse, and that themselves were in no less Danger, privately agreed together to hold a Treaty with the Lords of *France*. This Plot was carried on so closely by the connivance at least of Sr. *Henry du Leon*, that it was concluded, all the Prisoners should be deliver'd, they in Lieu thereof engaging to set open their Gates, that the *French* Lords might enter, and take the Earl of *Monford's* Person in the Castle, without doing any harm to the City, the Inhabitants, or their Goods. Some lay all this Contrivance, and the Menagement thereof to Sr. *Henry du Leon's* Charge, who had been One of the Earls Privy-Counsellors, his Friend, and Chief Captain, till that unhappy Accident, whereby the Earl was provok'd to take him up so roundly. However, according to this Device, so one Morning early it was effected: The *French* Lords found easie entrance, went straight to the Castle, brake open the Gates, and there took the Unhappy Earl Prisoner, and led him clear out of the City into their Field, without doing any further harm in the World: This happen'd about the Feast of *All-Saints*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCXLI. * *Froiss.* c. 72.

After this the Lords of *France*, and Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* enter'd the City again with great Triumph, and there all the Burgesses, and others, did Fealty and Homage to the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, as to their Right Sovereign, and True Duke of *Bretagne*. For three Days they all continued here in great Jollity and Feasting, because of this their unexpected Success: After which the Lord *Charles* was advised to tarry thereabout, till the next Summer, and to set Captains in the places he had won; But most of the other Lords return'd to *Paris*, with the Earl of *Monford* their Prisoner.

XI. Now

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XI. Now *Margaret*, the Counteſs of *Monford*, who had the Courage of a man, and the heart of a Lion, was in the City of *Rennes*, at what time her Lord was taken, and althô ſhe had a due ſenſe of this great Misfortune, yet ſhe bore a good Countenance, Recomforted her Friends and Souldiers, and ſhewing them her little Son, *John*, ſaid, "Gentlemen, be not overmuch diſmay'd at this miſchance of my Lord, "the Earl; whom We have unhappily loſt; He was but a Mortal Man; and ſo all our "hope ought not to reſt on him: But behold this my little Son, who by the Grace of "God, ſhall be his Reſtorer, and your Benefactor. I have Riches enough, ſo that you "ſhall want for Nothing; and I doubt not, but to purchaſe ſuch a Captain to be your "Leader, who ſhall be Wiſe, Valiant, and Noble. When ſhe had thus animated her Men in *Rennes*; then ſhe went about to all the Fortreſſes, and good Towns that held of her ſide, and ſtill ſhe carried along with her the little Lord *John* her Son; and fortify'd all her Garriſons, and ſpake to them as ſhe had done to thoſe at *Rennes*, and paid largely, and gave great Gifts, where ſhe thought it Convenient. After all things were ſettled, ſhe went to the ſtrong Town of *Hennebond*, where ſhe and her Son tarried all that Winter, and frequently ſhe ſent to viſit her Garriſons, and paid all Men well and truly their Wages.

The mean while her Lord was a cloſe Priſoner in the *Louvre* in *Paris*; without hopes of Eſcape or Redemption: Thô it will appear that about 3 years after upon certain Conditions (which he kept not) he got his Liberty; but he died ſo ſoon after, that it is hardly worth taking notice of, and that I take to be the Reaſon, why many Hiſtorians ſay nothing of it; but rather think he died in Priſon.

Thus much, thô great part thereof ſeems a Digreſſion, was neceſſary to be ſaid, in order to clear what follows next Year of the Wars of *Bretagne*, wherein *England* was concern'd. I ſhall now take leave to ſpeak ſomething of the *Scotch* Affairs relating to the end of this, and the beginning of the following Year: Which after a ſmall Digreſſion we ſhall purſue more cloſely.

XII. The laſt Year, We ſhow'd briefly, how the *Scots* ſucceeded, during King *Edwards* abſence, he lying at that time before *Tournay*: So that having at laſt taken *Edenburgh* by Stratagem, they had left nothing of *Scotland* in the *Engliſh* Hands, but *Striveling*, *Barwick*, and *Roxborough*. Now at King *Edwards* Return into *England*, nothing was yet done againſt them, becauſe they were comprehended in the firſt Years Truce with *France*: [y] But the King went about St. *Andrews* toward *Scotland*, and kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Melros*-Abbey, *Henry* the Noble Earl of *Darby*, keeping the ſame Feſtival at *Roxborough*, hard by. To *Roxborough* came the Lord *William Douglas* with Three *Scotch* Knights, to Juſt with the Earl of *Darby* and his Knights; which Martial Sport being honourably maintain'd on both ſides, the *Scots* departed for that time; but ſhortly after, the ſaid Earl of *Darby* being then at *Barwick*, twelve Knights of *Scotland* came thither alſo for the ſame purpoſe; who were preſently Match'd by as many *Engliſh*: Of the *Scotch* Knights two by chance were ſlain, and one Sr. *John Twyford* of the *Engliſh* Earls Retinue; all the Reſt came off with ſafety and Honour on each ſide. King *Edward* preſently after *Chriſtmas* Return'd to *Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*, [z] where at *Candlemas* he held a Royal Juſt and Turneament, for the Honour of the young Noblemen of *Gaſcoigne*, whom he trained up here in Feats of War: And what Expert Scholars they proved under ſo great a Tutor, We ſhall ſee hereafter in the Wars of *France*.

[y] *Knighton p.* 2580.

[z] *Stow p.* 238.

XIII. On the [a] fifth Day of *June* Queen *Philippa* of *England* was deliver'd of her Fifth Son, at the Kings Mannor-houſe of *Langley* aforeſaid, near St. *Albans*; this Young Prince being in *Auguſt* following Baptized, by *Michael* Lord Abbot of St. *Albans*, was called *Edmund*: He was afterwards by his Father created Earl of *Cambridge*, and by his Nephew King *Richard* the Second, Duke of *York*, from whom King *Edward* the IV was Lineally Deſcended. King *Edward*, as he always wiſh'd rather to have Sons, than Daughters, was mightily pleaſed at the Birth of this Boy; and being now at Leiſure from Wars, reſolv'd to expreſs his Joy in a moſt Magnificent and Royal Manner at the time of his Baptiſm, which was to be about the [b] Midſt of *Auguſt*. Againſt this time therefore he cauſed Proclamation to be made in *France*, *Scotland*, *Hainalt*, *Brabant*, and *Flanders*; that all Knights and Gentlemen, who would pleaſe to come to his Feaſt, to be at ſuch a time held in the City of *London*, ſhould have ſafe Conduct for ſo many Days, for coming, ſtaying, and going. I will not diſſemble, that all this by moſt Hiſtorians is ſaid to have been done for Love of the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, with whom they make King *Edward* to be at this time deeply in Love: But this is a moſt Fabulous and Irrational Tradition, (as we ſhall ſhew in due place) and utterly to be

[a] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 149. *Sandford p.* 357. *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.* 154.

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 89.

be exploded of all Discreet Persons: So that now the [c] Romancers themselves are fain to confess; that at least the Kings Pretence for this Feast was to Honour the Christening of his Son *Edmund*. Not to say, that it will appear the next Year, how as yet the King had not received even that supposed wound of Love, of which many Authors make such pleasant Tales. However there were present at this Solemnity many Fair Ladies and Virgins of Prime Quality, all Drest and set off in the Best Manner that could be expected from their Rank and Condition. To this Tourneament, of Foreigners came *William* the Young Earl of *Hainalt*, Brother, and the Lord *John Beaumont* of *Hainalt*, Uncle, to the Queen of *England*; *Henry* Lord *Eam* of *Brabant*, and many other Lords and Knights of several Countries: But of the *English* Nobility, the Greater Part was there; particularly the Lord *Henry de Tortocollo* Earl of *Lancaster*, *Henry Plantagenet* his Son, Earl of *Darby*, *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, and his Brother *William* Earl of *Northampton*; the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Gloceſter* and *Pembroke*, *Suffolk* and *Oxford*; the *Baron Stafford*, and Vicount *John Beaumont*; which latter *Froisard* Reports to be slain in the Justs; but indeed he [d] died not till the next Year, whereas the Tourneament is [e] rightly placed here: There was also here the Often-mention'd Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, called the Earl of *Richmond*. Among others Sr. *Maurice Barkley*, Brother to the Lord *Berkley*, together with his Valiant and Inseparable Friend and Companion Sr. *Thomas Bradeſtan*, did so well behave themselves at this Tourneament, that in consideration of their High Proweſs, they were [f] now by the King advanced to the Dignity of Bannerets. And as thus the Lords and Knights exercis'd themselves in Martial Feats, so on the other hand the Ladies diverted the whole Assembly with their Songs and Dances; the Solemnity being continued for 15 Days together. So delightfully did this Warlike King intermix the Pleasures and Pastimes of Love and Peace with the more Laborious Toyls of War; thereby to Encourage his Subjects, and to Relax himself from the Cares of Empire.

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[c] *Ferrand Spence's Countess of* Salsbury p. 45.

[d] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol.* p. 52.
[e] *Id.* 1 *Vol.* p. 576.

[f] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol.* p. 356.

XIV. About this time there happen'd some new Commotions in *Scotland*, whereof I shall presently take Notice, when I shall have made one small Digression; which I hope the Learned will pardon upon the account of its own Worth, thô it hath little or no Relation to Our Matters. The Name of *Francis Petrarch* the Famous Poet, Historian, and Philosopher of his Days, cannot, I suppose, be unknown to any one, that hath but heard of *Rome* and *Italy*. This Man flourished in this Age, being this very Year but [g] 37 Years old: He had at *Avignon*, and especially about fifteen Miles thence in a Pleasant Valley, so improv'd himself in the studies of good Learning, that his Name was now grown considerable, Insomuch that in [h] one Day there were brought unto him, Letters, from two very distant Parts of the World, the One sent from the Senate of *Rome*, the Other from the Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, each of them containing an Invitation, that he would come to the Respective Places, and accept from their Hands the Honourable Crown of Lawrel. The Glory, thô of it self Great, seem'd yet in those Days much Greater; because that Ancient and Laudable Custom had been for so many Ages discontinued; saving, [i] that in the *German* Empire, here and there we meet with an Instance or two of Laureate Poets. *Petrarch* did not at all decline so generous an offer (for he that despises True Glory, is no Friend to Vertue) but however by Advice of his Noble Friends, the two *Colonna's*, he chose rather to acknowledge this Favour to *Rome*, once the Imperial City of the World, than to *Paris*, the Metropolis of one single Kingdom. But withall being resolved not to arrogate an Honour, that should not first be Worthily and unquestionably adjudged unto Him, in his way thither He waits upon *Robert* King of *Jeruſalem*, *Sicily*, and *Naples*, the Great Philosopher of those Days; who understanding the Occasion of his Visit, and who He was, receiv'd him with Princely Humanity, and at last appointed a Time to Discourse him at large. This Discourse thus held between this Learned Prince, and Prince of Learned Men in Poetry, History, and Philosophy, was continued for Three whole Afternoons: By which time King *Robert* (having also read a good Part of his Heroick Poem, called *Africa*) was so fully convinced of *Petrarchs* Abilities; that he offer'd there at *Naples* to confer the Lawrel on him with his own Hands, and desired him also (on promise of a Gracious Acceptance and Bountifull Reward) to Dedicate that his Poem to no other, than Himself. This latter Motion *Petrarch* with many Thanks readily embraced: and has, we see, perform'd it accordingly in these and other Verses of that Work------

[g] *Natus enim A. D.* 1304. *vid. Hier. Squarzaſichum in Vitâ Petrarchæ.*
[h] *Id. ibid.*

[i] *Selden's Tit. Hon.* 2 *Part. c.* 1. *p.* 406.

O thou

Tu quoque *Trinacrii* Moderator maxime Regni
Heſperiæque Decus, atque Ævi Gloria noſtri,
Judice quo merui, vatúmque in Sede ſedere,
Optatáſque diù lauros, titulúmque Poetæ:
(Te precor) oblatum tranquillo pectore munus
Hoſpitio dignare tuo, &c. *Petrarch. Africæ l.* 1.

O Thou, whoſe Hand Sicania's *Scepter ſways,*
Heſperia's *Pride, and th' Glory of our Days;*
By whoſe Award I hold a Poets Name,
And wiſh'd-for Bayes, and Bayes-attending Fame:
Don't Mighty Prince (I humbly pray) refuſe
To' accept this candid Offering of a Muſe, &c.

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But as to the Kings Gracious Proffer to Crown him there at *Naples*, he modeſtly declared, that it was his Reſolution not to accept the Laurel but in the Imperial City of *Rome*: Whereupon that Noble Prince gave him his Letters Teſtimonial to the Senate of that City; wherein he largely ſet forth the Merits of the Man, and from his own Experience declared, that he was well worthy to be publiquely in the moſt honourable manner preſented with a Crown of Laurel. Theſe Letters being produced in the Senate by *Urſus* Earl of *Anguillara*, and *Jordanus* his Colleague, one of the Sons of *Urſus*, Knight, Senators of *Rome*, *Petrarch* was called in and there openly challenged the Laurel. His Claim was allowed, and the Day of his ſolemn Inauguration appointed; which was *Eaſter-day*, [k] or the VI of the Ides of *April* in the Year MCCCXLI. And on the ſame day [l] by the General Conſent of the whole City of *Rome*, he received this Honour in the *Capitol* by the Hands of Earl *Urſus*, in the Name of King *Robert*, and of the City and Senate of *Rome*, with the loud Acclamations of a frequent Multitude, at which time Earl *Urſus* declared him a Great Poet, Hiſtorian and Philoſopher, and Maſter in each Faculty. After which being carried with a Pompous Attendance to St. *Peter's* Church, he there conſecrated his Laurel Wreath, hanging it up on the Top of the Temple, as a Memorial to Poſterity. Certainly whatever that Man may ſeem in the Opinion of our more polite and refined Age, whoever conſiders him in relation to thoſe dark Times, muſt readily acknowledge this Honour was no way beyond his Merits; and alſo that the Ignorance of thoſe Days may be in ſome meaſure excuſed; when we conſider how ready they were to honour Learning, where they found it. In our Age a Skill in Letters is not ſo highly regarded, either becauſe it is more common, or becauſe Princes are leſs bountifull; or the Learned themſelves take not the beſt way to pleaſe them, or Envy precludes them a fair Acceſs to the notice of the Government.

[k] G. Lit. Dom. Paſch. 8 *April.*
[l] *Victorellus p.* 886. *ad hunc ann. in Vitt. Pontif. & Squarzafic.*

XV. But to return to our Diſcourſe of the *Scottiſh* Affairs: When the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt* drew near (which was the Time limited for, the expiration of the Truce between *England* and *Scotland*) Sr. *William Douglas* ſecretly gather'd together his Troops, as well of *Scots*, as of the *French* Auxiliaries, and the very Day after the Truce was expired, lay down with a competent Army before *Striveling*. And becauſe he well knew, that King *Edward* being now at home, it was not probable, he could lie long there without ſome powerfull Diverſion, he uſed the more Vigour and Fury in all his Attacks, and made his Approaches more reſolutely; hoping thereby to carry the Place, before any ſuccour ſhould come. King *Edward* about the beginning of *September*, being alarm'd at the news of theſe Motions of *Scotland*, came to *York*, having before iſſued out his Commands to his Lords and Captains to meet him with their ſeveral Retinues by ſuch a time at *Barwick*: And the Commiſſioners of Array for the *North* did ſo well beſtir themſelves, that ſhortly after the King was provided with ſufficient Forces both Horſe and Foot, and his Army encreaſed daily. The Lord *Douglas* knew well to what all theſe Preparations tended, and therefore being one of the moſt daring Captains in the World, and alſo conſidering, that now was the beſt time to ſtir, when ſo many *Frenchmen*, his Friends were by to help him, and the Enemy as yet was far off and unprovided, renewed his Aſſault ten times more fiercely than before: So that dividing his Army into Four Parts, and keeping one of thoſe four Diviſions by turns perpetually upon the Aſſault, he allowed the Beſieged not one moment to reſt, whereby they were at laſt compell'd to Capitulate, and (becauſe *Douglas* would allow them no better) to yield on theſe Conditions; to go away at their Liberty, with Life and Limb, one Suit of Apparel and their Swords only. The Captain of the Caſtle was that valiant worthy Sr. *Richard Limeſi*, who the Year before had ſo well defended the Caſtle of *Thine l' Eveſque* againſt the Duke of *Normandy*; but now the incredible Fury of the *Scots*, and the great Engines of battery, which *Douglas* brought thither, enforced him to accept of theſe neceſſary Conditions. King *Edward* was at [m] *Barwick*, when the News of this Loſs came to him; whereupon he immediately rode back to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, where he lodged, and was fain to tarry more than a Month; ſtill expecting the Proviſion for his Army, which was to come by Sea. But his Fleet had been

[m] *Froiſ. c.* 73. *Du Cheſne p.* 654.

been so shatter'd with a furious and lasting Tempest, that a very small Part of it was able to come thither in any time, and that not till *November*; the rest being dispersed abroad, some into *Holland*, others upon the Coasts of *Friseland*, and not a few quite lost: Whereby the *English* Army suffer'd great want of Victuals, and all things became excessive Dear, and Winter was pretty well enter'd. It was, no doubt, impossible, for any time to hold together so great Forces, which consisted of 40000 Foot, and six thousand Horse, in those Parts; especially since the *Scots*, had put as well all their Corn and Forage, as their other Moveables into strong Holds: And yet however King *Edward* was not wholly left by his good Fortune. For Prince *Robert Stuart*, Sr. *William Douglas*, and the other *Scotch* Lords, after the taking of *Striveling*, had retired into the Forest of *Gedeours*, not at all ignorant of King *Edwards* Forces and intent, but wholly unwitting of his Misfortune for lack of Provision: Wherefore they took counsel how to avoid so dreadfull a storm of War, as they saw now ready to fall upon them: Not at all presuming with their small Forces to meet with a Royal Army of so fam'd a Conquerour; and being satisfied in themselves, that they had already performed the Duty of good Subjects to their King and Country, in having for more than seven Years without a King to lead, or protect them, not only maintained what was left, but recover'd most of what was lost, which yet they must expect to lose again, as oft as King *Edward* should come thus strongly against them. Wherefore they were ready to mutiny against their Lord, King *David*, who for all this kept private in *France*, as if he either thought them not worth his Care, or, tho now of Age, durst not undertake their Defence. Upon all which Accounts, they resolv'd by any means to divert the War for this time, and so sent to King *Edward*, a Bishop, an *Abbot*, and two Knights, to desire a Truce of him for such a time, on such and such Conditions. These Messengers found the King in the beginning of *December* at *Newcastle*, where they declared to him and his Council their business, which was to require a Truce for six Moneths, on these Conditions; "That the *Scots* should the "mean while send into *France* to King *David*, to protest unto him, that unless He "would return home by the Moneth of *May*, next following, with Power able to "meet his Enemies of *England* in the Field, and to defend his Realm, then all *Scot-* "*land* would admit of King *Edwards* Government, and never after own either *David*, "or any of his Posterity for their King; and that thus to do upon King *Davids* failure, "all the Lords of *Scotland* had agreed. Upon good security given, these reasonable Conditions in so bad a juncture were accepted; the *Scotch* Messengers return'd with a Ratification of the Truce into *Scotland*, and King *Edward* having settled Affairs in those Parts, towards *London*.

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XVI. Soon after the *Scots* agreed to send into *France* Sr. *Robert Vescy*, Sr. *Simon Fraiser*, and two other Knights, to shew their King what they had resolv'd upon, in case he should absent himself any longer from them. They accordingly about the beginning of *March*, by reason of the Truce, took shipping at *Dover*, in order to sail into *France*. The mean while King *David*, who had now been in that Kingdom upward of seven Years, hearing daily unwelcome News of the Miseries and Ruines of his Country; at last understood, how his Captains at home had raised up some Light and Life in his Realm, had recover'd almost all *Scotland* from his Enemies, and had now extorted an half-Years Truce from the King of *England*; altho as yet the Conditions thereof had not reach'd his Ears: Whereupon being now about 21 Years of Age, and fired with a generous Indignation against *England*, as well as a due sense of Honour toward himself, and an hearty Commiseration of his poor Subjects, he determinately resolves the Redemption of his People, tho with the hazard of his Life and Crown. This his Resolution he communicates to his Friend King *Philip* of *France*, who highly approving thereof, furnishes him with Men, Money, and Vessels, and vehemently inflames him to a cruel and perpetual Enmity with *England*. Whereupon King *David*, having taken his leave of the *French* King, went on board with his Queen *Joan*, King *Edwards* Sister, and such Company as he had, for *Scotland*. His Admiral was the Loyal and brave *Malcom Flemin* of *Cummirnald*, who had formerly with great Care and Conduct convey'd him into *France*, and above a Year before had resign'd his strong Castle of *Dumbriton*, to the Custody of the Lord *Robert Stuart*, Viceroy of *Scotland*, only to enjoy the Honour of waiting upon his Exil'd Prince in *France*. King *David* landed at the Haven of *Murray*, before any of his Subjects heard any thing of his Arrival: For neither did he himself know of the Deputies about that time sent unto him into *France*; nor did they know any thing, that their King was then upon his Return home again.

1342. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVI. *Franciæ* III.

An. Dom. 1342. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVI. *Franciæ* III.

When [n] the Arrival of King *David* was nois'd abroad in *Scotland*, his glad Subjects flock'd unto him, as if He had been sent from Heaven to work their Deliverance. At first they brought him with great joy and solemnity to St. *John's* Town, whither his loving Subjects came unto him from all Parts of the Kingdom to see and welcome him home: Especially his Deputy the Lord *Robert Stuart*, Sr. *William Douglas*, Sr. *Alexander Ramsey*, and other his Great Captains, the Prime of his Nobility; all whom he highly thanked for their constant Valour and Fidelity unto Him. These Lords declared then to their Master what terrible Devastation had been made in his Kingdom by the *English*, to whose Complaints the young King only answer'd, shaking his Head, "Well, well, my Lords, by the Grace of God, I will be sufficiently revenged for all; "or else it shall cost me both my Realm and Life in the Quarrel. Then he straight sent forth his Summons to all his Subjects, Friends, and Allies, to come unto Him to St. *Johnston* by such a day to aid Him against his Adversary of *England*: At the time appointed there came thither the Potent Prince of *Orkney*, who had married one of King *Davids* Aunts, with a prodigious Number of Men of War in his Company; and divers Lords, and Knights of *Sweeden*, *Norway*, and *Denmark*, some for Love and some for Wages: So that in all He number'd in his Army no less than 60000 Foot, and 13000 Horse armed after their Manner.

[n] *Froiss. c.* 74.

The time [o] of Cessation being therefore now expired, hoping after all his troubles to have as good Success against *England*, as his Father *Robert* had, he began to march from St. *Johnston* with this terrible Army. That day he reach'd *Dumfermlin*; the next, crossing a little Arm of the Sea, and passing forth beyond *Edenburgh*, He went over the *Tweed*, leaving both *Roxborough* and *Barwick* (both which held then for *England*) unattempted: For he thought to do a greater Feat before his Return. So thrô the *Marches* he descended into *Northumberland*, exercising all manner of Hostility, and wasting and ravaging all before him, for about 40 Miles in length, till he came to *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, which he resolved to besiege, and so sat down with all his Forces before it. The Captain [p] of the Castle was the Lord *John Nevill* of *Horneby*, a Person of great Conduct and Bravery, who resolving to give the young King of *Scotland* a taste of the *English* Valour, as soon as might be, commanded 200 Lances to make a Sally very early the next Morning. These dashing suddenly with great Fury into the *Scotch* Host, on that Part where the Earl of *Murray* was (who as they say, was chief General for the time, the King himself keeping private) took the Earl himself in Bed, drag'd him away naked out of his Tent, and so having slain several of his Men, and wan much Booty, they return'd all safe into the Town with great joy, and deliver'd the Earl of *Murray* Prisoner to Sr. *John Nevill* their Captain. This Earl was a chief Prince of the blood in *Scotland*, next of Quality to Prince *Robert Stuart*, and the Earl of *Southerland*; but for Valour and Conduct he yielded to none: *Froissard* says, his Arms were Argent, three Oreills gules. This daring enterprise having alarum'd the whole Camp, the *Scots* ran like Madmen to the Barriers of the Town, and began a fierce Assault, which they continued a great while with much pertinacy. But they gain'd little, and lost much; for there were many good men of War within, who defended themselves with much Resolution and Discretion: So that the *Scots* were at last fain to leave off their Attack, and the hopes of suddenly revenging their Dishonour in that place. Wherefore that bold and lucky attempt of the Besieged being thus well back'd by a vigorous Defence, was sufficient to perswade King *David* and his Council, [q] that to dally about *Newcastle* was Dangerous; and that if they could rest securely in their Camp, yet there they had small likelihood to win either Profit or Honour; the Place it self not being of Import equal to the Reputation of so great an Army: Whereupon about Noon they decamped, and entring into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, burnt and wasted all before them. At last King *David* came before *Durham*, which he presently invested; for he knew well there was great plenty of Goods, and other Rich Booty in that City; because in time of Danger all the Country thereabout was wont to fly thither for Refuge.

[o] *Buchan.* says K. *David* return'd not till *July*, thô he makes the time limiting the Truce to be *May*: And yet that he came before the Deputies had been with him: Preposterous.

[p] *Froiss. c.* 74. *f.* 39.

[q] *Froiss. c.* 75.

XVII. As soon as Sr. *John Nevil*, the Captain of *Newcastle*, had seen for certain the Departure of the *Scots*, he gues's'd at their mischievous Designs, and resolv'd, what in him lay to prevent, or at least revenge them: Wherefore he mounts a very swift Gelding, and coasting wide of the *Scots*, rode Post night and day, till on the fifth day, he came more than 200 miles to *Chertsey* in *Surrey*, where at that time King *Edward* lay, to whom he exactly related all he knew of the *Scots*. The King immediately sent forth his Commissions, commanding all Men between the age of Sixty and Sixteen, laying aside all Excuses, to draw *Northward*, and to joyn him at *York*, to aid

and

and defend his Realm, which his Enemies the *Scots* deſtroy'd. The command was readily obey'd by all the Lords, Knights and Eſquires of *England*, concerned therein, who drew thitherward with as convenient ſpeed as might be. As for the King, he would ſtay for no Man (ſuch an ardour of Mind and indignation, with a deſire of preventing his Peoples ruine, hurri'd him on) but he paſſed immediately *Northward* with the Troops of his Guards and thoſe he had ready, leaving the reſt to follow him. AN. DOM. 1342. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVI. *Franciæ* III.

XVIII. The mean while the *Scots* aſſaulted *Durham* with all the Fury imaginable, for they were e'ne ſtark mad for the former Affront they had received at *Newcaſtle*; when they loſt the Earl of *Murray* ſo diſhonourably. They rear'd vaſt Engines to caſt Stones with, and other Devices they had, whereby to approach the Walls under the ſhelter of certain Machines, reſembling the Ancient *Teſtudo* of the *Romans*, or the *Synaſpiſmus* of the *Greeks*; and withall they had other Engines running upon Wheels, wherein on Lofts as high as the Walls at leaſt, there were Croſsbows and Others, who kept the Beſieged from their Defences. So that after the Aſſault had been continually renew'd with all the vigour imaginable, and on the other hand maintain'd with incredible Obſtinacy for ſix or ſeven Days, the *Scots* [r] enter'd the City *per* force; at which time King *David* in revenge of all his Loſſes for ſo many years preceding, eſpecially being urged even beyond his Nature, by the importunate Inſtigations of his *French* Auxiliaries then with him, commanded his Captains to put all to Fire and Sword. There were Men, Women and Children, Old and Young, Men of the Church, as Monks, Prieſts, Canons and Others, Holy and Profane, all without pity or diſtinction put to Death. Neither Churches, Monaſteries nor Shrines, no not that of St. *Cuthbert* himſelf (after it had repos'd there for more than 300 Years) could reconcile the incenſed Minds of the Souldiers to pitty; not ſo much as one Soul was left alive within the Place: ſo implacable and impartial is the Sword of War, when ſharpned by Unchriſtian Cruelty.

[r] *Froiſ. c. 75. & Du Cheſne p. 655. Martin p. 111.*

XIX. When King *David* had left his high Reſentments, written at *Durham* in ſuch bloody Characters; he was adviſed to draw back with the Prey he had already gotten, as having for this time ſufficiently plagu'd the *Engliſh*, and enrich'd himſelf with Booty and Honour. This Counſel he obey'd, not thinking it good to expect the King of *England*, who was preparing to meet him with a Royal Army; wherefore now he made back again for *Scotland*. But in his Return toward *Barwick*, he lay one night near a ſtrong Place, belonging at that time to the Earl of *Salisbury*, called the Caſtle of *Werk*, which King *Edward* had [s] formerly granted unto the ſaid Earl, together with the Mannor thereto belonging, on condition to repair the Fortreſs and defend it againſt the *Scots*. It ſtands on the Frontiers of *Scotland*, on this ſide the River *Tweed* in the utmoſt Limits of *Northumberland*, about 9 Miles from *Norham* Caſtle, and 18 from *Barwick*. It was now well fortified by the care of the Earl of *Salisbury*, and committed to the Cuſtody of a Valiant Brother of his, [t] Sr. *Edward* (not as moſt of our Hiſtorians name him, Sr. *William*) *Montagu*: Which Sr. *Edward* and Dr. [u] *Simon Montagu*, at this time Biſhop of *Ely*, and a great Benefactor to our Univerſity of *Cambridge*, were both Brethren to the ſaid Earl of *Salisbury*. Within the Caſtle was the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, whom our Hiſtorians call *Joan*, who was Siſter to *John Plantagenet*, at this time Earl of *Kent*, and Daughter to *Edmund* late Earl of *Kent*, King *Edward's* Uncle, who had been ruin'd, as we ſhew'd, by the contrivance of *Mortimer*. This Lady *Joan* I ſhall readily acknowledge to have been eſteem'd the greateſt Beauty of that Age: Nor was her Diſcretion or Chaſtity any whit leſs notable: But whatever our Hiſtorians talk of King *Edward's* Amours with her at this time, 'tis certain ſhe was now but little more than Thirteen years old: For by [x] inquiſition made in the twenty ſixth of this King, ſhe was then found to be hardly twenty four years of Age. Yet it is agreed on all Hands, that by the ſpecial Favour of King *Edward* to one *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, ſhe was intended to be given unto him for Wife. But it is moſt certain, that that Earl *William* who was eſpouſed to this Lady *Joan*, was Son and Heir to this *William*; and now alſo but [y] thirteen years of Age. His Mother the preſent Counteſs of *Salisbury*, being the Lady *Katherine Grandiſon*, a Mother of two Sons and four Daughters, and was not only now living, but ſurviv'd her Husband the Earl (who died two years after this) ten [z] years, and lies buried at *Biſham* Abbey in *Berkſhire* of the Earl her Husbands Foundation. But the Lady *Joan Plantagenet* was indeed ſome Years after deſign'd to be married to this Earls Son, [a] thô by reaſon of a Precontract with the Lord *Thomas Holland*, upon his complaint to the Pope, ſhe was adjudged unto the latter: The former as it ſeems acquieſcing therein, by his after-marriage with another young Lady, namely [b] *Elizabeth*, one of the Daughters and Co-

[s] *Pat. 4. Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 21. Eſc. 18. Ed. 3. n. 51.*

[t] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 653.*

[u] *Dugd. ibid. & Godwins Catal. Bps p. 268.*

[x] *Eſc. 26. Ed. 3. n. 54.*

[y] *Dudg. 1 Vol. p. 647.*

[z] *Aſhmole's Garter p. 180. ex Eſc. 28. Ed. 3 n. 19.*

[a] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 74. ex libro Iſlip dicto f. 178*

[b] *Catal. Honor. p. 1044.*

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heirs of *John* Lord *Mohun* of *Dunſtor* Caſtle. Whereby it is evident, that this Lady *Joan Plantagenet* could never be rightly called Counteſs of *Salisbury*. Nor yet was ſhe Counteſs of *Kent* at this time, nor till ten years after, when her Brother *John* Earl of *Kent* dying without Iſſue, left her (then) Husband, the foreſaid Lord *Holland*, Earl of *Kent* in her Right. After whoſe Death, ſhe was upon the account of her extraordinary Endowments and Perfections both of Body and Mind, taken to Wife by *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, commonly called the *Black-Prince*. Whereupon Hiſtorians, either miſtaking the young Earl for his Father, and ſo conſequently *Joan Plantagenet*, his intended Wife, for the Lady *Katherine* his Mother, or not apprehending, that the Order of the Garter, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper Place, could have any other than an amorous Original (thô we ſhall ſhew the contrary) or reſolving by right or by wrong, to celebrate the Counteſs of *Kent's* Beauty and Vertues, have thus confounded Matters, that without this long Digreſſion, we could not perfectly clear the Truth; which now we have ſincerely and unanſwerably done.

However near this Caſtle of *Werk*, wherein at that time was the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, and her Lords Brother, the *Scotch* Army [c] lodged that night, but thought not to ſpend any time in Aſſaulting the Place, becauſe they were now ſo laden with Booty, and the Fortreſs it ſelf ſeem'd too inconſiderable to employ ſo great an Army. Wherefore early next morning they began their March for *Scotland*; Prince *Robert Stuart*, Heir Apparent of that Crown, being in the Van, the King himſelf with moſt of the Booty and Carriages in the Middle, and the Lord *William Douglas* bringing up the Rear. Sr. *Edward Montague*, [d] who well ſaw from the Battlements of the Tower, that the *Scots* were reſolved to leave him in quiet, and that they were ſo charged with heavy Carriages, with the Plate, and what elſe they brought from *Durham*, that their Horſes could hardly ſuſtain the burthen, preſently mounts fourty Spears, and he himſelf in the Head of them ſallies out of the Caſtle, and covertly following the Reer of the *Scots*, overtook them as they were juſt entring into a Wood, and ſet on them with ſuch vigour, that he preſently ſlew and hurt of the *Scots* more than [e] two hundred, and took away from them above ſixſcore Horſes laden with Spoil, which they drove back toward their Caſtle. The cry and noiſe that follow'd this Action, came to the hearing of Sr. *William Douglas*, who had the charge of the Rereguard and was already paſſed the Foreſt: But when upon this Alarm he looked back and ſaw his Men come flying over Mountains and Dales, he was mightily ſurprized at firſt, but being quickly informed of the Matter, he commanded his Men to face about, and having ſent word thereof to the King and Prince *Robert Stuart* who led the other two Battalia's, himſelf without any ſtop purſued the *Engliſh* even to the foot of the Caſtle, and mounted the Hill after them with his Sword drawn. But before he came to the Barriers, the *Engliſh* were all entred, together with the Spoil they had recovered, and had cloſed the Barriers again: However the enraged *Douglas* falls immediately to the Aſſault with great Fury, and was received with as much Bravery. This Action continued till the whole Army and King *David* himſelf were return'd before the Caſtle; at which time, when the King ſaw what Maſſacre they had made of his Men along in the Field, and how weary and wounded they had already rendred the Aſſailants, without any apparent advantage on his Side, he cauſed the Aſſault to ceaſe for that time; but however gave command to encamp about the Caſtle. Then all men were buſied in taking up their Quarters, as the Camp-maſters had appointed, and to gather their Dead together for Burial, and to dreſs their Wounded. Thus they were employ'd the remaining part of that Day till time of reſt came: Next morning King *David* gave command for a freſh and general Aſſault, and the Beſieged ſtood ready at their Defences. The Counteſs of *Salisbury* for her part even beyond her Sex, ſhew'd ſuch a Maſculine Spirit, that inſtead of receiving Courage from others, ſhe added heart to all her Men: She diſtributed her Gold and Silver largely among her Souldiers, and promiſed more, and told them King *Edward* their Lord would ſoon come to her Aid; and ſpake ſo ſweetly, that every Man became as good as two. Wherefore the Aſſault was ſore and cruel, being on both ſides maintain'd with great Ardour and Animoſity: But the Aſſailants were expoſed to infinite hazards, the Preſence of their King making them venture on any thing; while the Beſieged fought with all poſſible Care and Diſcretion as well as Courage, as being Guardians of Beauty and Vertue, beſides the charge of their own Lives, and the Honour of their King and Country, which they were to maintain againſt a cruel and numerous Enemy. The *Scots* carried thither Timber, Faggots and other Stuff, intending to fill up the Ditches, whereby their Engines might the better approach the

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 76.

[d] *Froiſ. ibid. & Du Cheſne p.* 655. B.

[e] *Froiſ. ibid. & Du Cheſne p.* 655. B.

the Walls: But the *Engliſh* ſhot ſo fiercely, that after a long and bloody Conteſt, the Aſſailants were obliged to retire back, weary and well-beaten, and leaving great Numbers of their Companions behind. AN. DOM. 1342. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVI. *Franciæ* III.

Then * King *David* gave Order to guard well the Engines for that Night, being fully reſolved the next day to renew the Attack: So all men retired to their Lodgings, but thoſe who were to ſtand upon Duty. There ſome lamented the loſs of their Friends, others, their own Wounds and Languiſhing Condition; the whole Camp was out of humor, either griev'd, or vext, or aſhamed.

XX. On the other hand † Sr. *Edward Montagu* Governour of the Caſtle called a Council of War: Where having conſider'd, that if the *Scots* gave them many ſuch Aſſaults, it was impoſſible to hold out long; They reſolved, that ſome body muſt adventure to paſs thorough the *Scotch* Camp, and ride Poſt to King *Edward* (who, as they heard from their Priſoners, had been for ſome time at *York*, gathering his Forces together) to tell him their Condition. Hereupon Sr. *Edward Montagu* threw down a Purſe of Gold, offering it as a Reward to Him, that would adventure to do ſo ſignal a Piece of Service, and withall, his beſt Gelding to carry him. But it ſeem'd ſo deſperate an undertaking, that every man look'd about upon his Neighbour, but none durſt engage in the Attempt himſelf. When Sr. *Edward* ſaw this he ſaid, "Well, Gentle-"men, however I am ſufficiently aſſured of the Loyalty, and Good-will, that you all "bear to my Lady of this Caſtle; wherefore for her ſake, and yours, I'll put my Life "in hazard to do this Errand my ſelf: For I have ſuch knowledge of you, that I "doubt not, but you will make ſhift to hold out, till my Return: And I repoſe ſuch "a Confidence in the Goodneſs of Our Soveraign Lord the King, that he will ſhort-"ly ſend me back unto You, with ſuch Relief, as will pleaſe You. And then believe "it, his Majeſty will ſo well Reward You, that You ſhall all remain highly ſatisfied. Theſe Words kindly refreſhed the Mind of the Noble Counteſs, and the reſt with her: So when Night came, he provided all things for his purpoſe, as ſecretly as poſſible, cauſing the fleeteſt Courſer that he had to be ready ſaddled for him. Surely, either the Ladies Vertue, or his Courage, or both, made Heaven propitious to the Enterpriſe; for it rain'd ſo hard all that Night, that the *Scotch* Sentinells kept all within under ſhelter, whereby his Paſſage was not impeached, and the Aſſault next Morning could not proceed to any purpoſe. About Midnight Sr. *Edward* iſſued privily out of the Caſtle, and paſſed within a while clear thrô the Hoſt, unhurt, and unperceived, till being got clear he made forward with full ſpeed. It was now about Day-break, when near half a League from the utmoſt Limits of the *Scotch* Camp, he met with two *Scots*, driving before them two Oxen and a Cow toward the Army; whom upon Examination, finding out, he ſet upon them, and wounded them both in ſeveral places, for he would not kill them, becauſe he deſign'd they ſhould tell their King what he was gone about: But the Cattle he ſlew, that the *Scots* might have no Benefit of them. After which he ſaid to the wounded *Scots*, "Now go your ways, and tell your King, that "I am *Edward Montagu*, who have this Night broke thrô his Camp, and am now go-"ing to direct the King of *England* hither with his Army; and with this he ſet forward upon the Spur. The News was brought to the King of *Scots*, wherefore being hindred for a while by the fall of the rain, as ſoon as he could, he renewed the Aſſault with all the fury imaginable; but gain'd nothing all the while. Upon this the Lords of his Council, who had ſeen ſo many Attacks made to no purpoſe, but that his Army was daily diminiſhed and weakned thereby, fearing that the King of *England* might come ſuddenly upon them before the Caſtle could be won, and ſo they might hazard not only the loſs of what they had already gotten, but of the King and Kingdom too, upon theſe Conſiderations (I ſay) the Lords of *Scotland* agreed all together, and thus one of them deliver'd their Minds to King *David*, "Sir, hitherto You have Honourably per-"formed Your Enterpriſe; You have done conſiderable Damage to the *Engliſh*, your "Enemies; you have taken and deſtroy'd the City of *Durham*, and in this Country "of *Northumberland*, You have now kept the field 12 days. And certainly, Sir, all "things conſider'd, it were better to go home in time with Honour, and ſave what "You have already won; then with Your wearied Forces to expect a freſh Enemy, "and ſo hazard the loſs of all upon unequal Terms. Your Majeſty may more oppor-"tunely return another time, when Your Men have refreſhed themſelves, and Your E-"nemies are not at hand with ſuch vaſt Preparations. The King would not be againſt the general Opinion of all his Council; but after a while, thô very unwillingly, yielded to follow their Advice. So early the next Morning he paſſed the *Tweed* with all his Hoſt, taking the direct way to the Foreſt of *Gedeours* among the wild *Scots*, there to

* *Froiſ. c. 76.*

† *Froiſ. ibid. & Du Cheſne.*

remain

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remain and wait King *Edwards* Motions, whether he would break up his Army and return, or pierce into *Scotland* at that time.

XXI. That [g] very day at Noon King *Edward* came thither with his Army to the ſame place, where the *Scots* had lain, and was mightily diſpleaſed, that he found them not there: For he came thither in ſuch haſte, with hopes to give them Battle, that his Infantry eſpecially was much wearied. However, when he ſaw how the matter ſtood, he gave Order to encamp there that Night, and ſaid, "how he intended to go ſee the "Caſtle, and give a viſit to the Noble Lady the Counteſs of *Salisbury*: For (ſays *Froiſard*) he had not ſeen her ſince ſhe was Married, before, which was near upon 14 Years ago, if not more, as may be gather'd from the Age of her Eldeſt Son, who was fifteen Years old, two Years after this, as appears [h] by Record. Wherefore I ſhall wholly wave that Popular, but exploded, Story of the Kings Amours with her at this time, and only proceed in a way more conformable to Reaſon, and undeniable Authority. When King *Edward* had unarm'd him ſelf, he took 10 or 12 of his Barons with him, and went to the Caſtle to ſalute the Counteſs, and to ſee the manner of the *Scots* Aſſaults, and the Defence that was made againſt them. As ſoon as the Counteſs heard of the Kings coming, ſhe commanded the Gates to be ſet open, and came forth to meet him in her moſt Rich Attire, ſo that it is not to be doubted, but that the Fame of her Courage preparing Mens minds, and the Splendour of her Garb being added to a Perſon of that Sex, of an high Quality, and not too far gone in Years, ſhe might appear charming enough to give occaſion of much merry talk among the Souldiers, who ſaw her at that time; and did poſſibly ſcatter ſuch Reports, as might propagate an erroneous Tradition even down to us. When ſhe came before the King, ſhe kneeled upon the Earth, and returned her Dutifull Thanks for this his ſeaſonable Succour. The King took her up Graciouſly with a cheerfull and hearty Aire, and perhaps (as One of that Sex and Quality, who had Honourably acquitted her ſelf in a Danger, brought upon her upon his account) ſaluted her at the ſame time. And ſo taking her by the hand, he walk'd her eaſily toward the Caſtle, talking no doubt pleaſantly upon the way, as a King not fully 30 Years old might probably do on ſuch an occaſion. Whoſo is minded to believe the other account of this Story, where the King is made to fall in love with her, him I refer to [i] *Froiſard*, who diſcourſes it at large, and is, I muſt confeſs, as to the main, a very credible Hiſtorian: Altho in this he is not to be followed by thoſe, who ſeriouſly confer circumſtances of Names, Times, Places, and Perſons.

[g] *Froiſ. c. 77. & Du Cheſne.*

[h] *Eſc. 18. Ed 3. n. 51.*

[i] *Froiſ. c. 77.*

Here the King had a Noble Dinner provided for him, both he and his Lords ſitting down together at the ſame Table: But the King himſelf ate but little, whereat his Lords wondred much, for he was wont to bear a cheerfull Countenance; but they judg'd this ſadneſs to proceed not from Love, but from this, that he had miſſed of the *Scots* his Enemies. In the [k] Morning however the King aroſe early, reſolving forthwith to follow after the *Scots*, and to chaſe them out of his Realm. Accordingly having taken leave of the Lady, he put himſelf in the head of his Army, and went after the *Scots*, till he came to *Barwick*; from whence afterward he proceeded, till he encamped within four Leagues of the Foreſt of *Gedeours*, whereinto King *David* was entred with all his Forces in confidence of that Impaſſable Wilderneſs. For three days together King *Edward* lay there, to ſee whether the *Scots* would come forth and give him Battle: All this while there were divers skirmiſhes between the two Armies, and ſeveral were ſlain and taken interchangeably on both ſides; thô the greater ſhare of the loſs fell to the *Scots*. But Sr. *William Douglas* was the Man among them that did moſt harm to the *Engliſh*: His Arms at that time are ſaid to have been Azure, a Chevron Argent, Thô after upon the Encreaſe of the Honour of that Houſe, the *Douglaſſes*, as * We ſaid before, took the bloody Heart for their Arms, in memory of Sr. *James Douglas* the Author of their Nobility, who died in *Spain*, as he was carrying King *Roberts* Heart to *Jeruſalem*.

[k] *Froiſ. ibid.*

* *Vid. c. 4. §. 2. p. 57.*

XXII. Now for all theſe Skirmiſhes between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*, during theſe three days, [l] there were certain Noblemen on both parts, who earneſtly labour'd to compoſe matters between the two Kings: And their Treaty took at laſt ſuch effect, that a Truce was agreed on for two Years, provided the *French* King ſhould give his Conſent thereto: For King *David* was ſo ſtrongly confederated with King *Philip*, that he could admit of no Peace without his Leave. Which unleſs he ſhould now grant, then the ſaid Truce was only to endure unto the Firſt day of *May* following. It was alſo agreed, that the Earl of *Murray* ſhould be quitted of his Ranſom and Captivity,

[l] *Froiſ. c. 78. & Du Cheſne.*

vity, if the King of *Scots* could ſo far prevail with the *French* King, as that the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was already at liberty but upon Parole, ſhould now fully be acquitted of all Obligations. This Truce the King of *Scots* was by his Council earneſtly adviſ'd to make, that *Scotland* might thereby have ſome Breathing time to recover Strength from all its Miſeries, and that the Husbandmen might return to their care of the Fields, which were now almoſt wholly neglected: And King *Edward* for his part agreed the ſooner, not only becauſe the Seaſon of the Year began to call for a Reſpit, but becauſe he had Men of War at this time maintained at his charges in *France*, in *Gaſcogne*, in *Ponthieu*, in *Xaintogne*, in *Bretagne* and other Places, beſides his other vaſt Expences. King *David* ſoon after by his Ambaſſadors perſuaded King *Philip* to allow of this Agreement, and moreover to ſend a Releaſe to the Earl of *Salisbury* into *England*, on ſight whereof King *Edward* immediately return'd the Earl of *Murray* into his Country. Only the King of *France* did by a caution oblige the Earl of *Salisbury* to pay him [m] 3000 *l.* Sterling to boot, which before he had undertaken to do, for the redemption and Fees of himſelf, and of the Lord *Robert Hufford le Fitz*, Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*. In conſideration of all which Charges we find, that a Year after the Earl of *Salisbury* had his Liberty, his good Maſter King *Edward* allow'd him leave to tranſport [n] 240 Sacks of Wooll into *Flanders*, as part of a Requital of what he had loſt and ſuffer'd for his ſake.

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[m] *Leland Coll.* 1 *Vol. p.* 803. & 805. *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 646. & 2 *Vol. p.* 48.

[n] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 646.

CHAPTER the TVVENTIETH.

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I. WE

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WE have before given an Account of the Occaſion and Beginning of the Wars in *Bretagne*; how *John* Earl of *Montford* was taken at *Nantes* and deliver'd up, as Priſoner to King *Philip*, who committed him to the *Louvre*, and that all that Winter the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* remained about *Nantes*, intending to renew the War in the Opening of the Year. Now therefore having remov'd out of the way the Matters of *Scotland*, we ſhall return again to *Bretagne*, where ſhortly we ſhall find *England* engag'd in a War. Early [a] in the Spring of this Year MCCCXLII, all the *French* Lords, who had the Year before aſſiſted the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, returned unto him to the City of *Nantes* with a great Power of Armed Men. Among them it was in a Council of War agreed, that the City of *Rennes* upon the River of *Vilaine* ſhould be firſt attempted, as being a place of great Importance, and the Seat of Parliament for the whole Province. The Counteſs of *Montford* who foreſaw no leſs, had already well provided for that City, having made a moſt loyal and couragious Gentleman of *Bretagne*, named Sr. *William Cadudal* Captain thereof. However the Lords of *France* laid their Siege to *Rennes*, but were ſo well received by the Captain, that they loſt much more than they could win: Yet ſtill they continued there, reſolving one way or other to be Maſters of the Place,

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 79.

II. Upon the firſt News of their Return into *Bretagne*, the Counteſs of *Montford* ſent the Lord *Emery Clyſſon* into *England*, to deſire Succour of King *Edward*; proffering her only Son and Heir in Marriage with one of the Kings Daughters, who thereupon ſhould be Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*. King *Edward* upon this Lords Arrival was at *London*, holding a great Feaſt, for it was *Eaſter*, whereupon moſt of his Chief Barons and Knights were about him. When the Lord *Clyſſon* had punctually related his whole Errand, the King granted his Requeſt in contemplation of the Alliance already made, and to be made between *England* and *Bretagne*. Whereupon he commanded the Noble Lord *Walter Manny*, to take with him as many Men of War as Sr. *Emery* thought neceſſary, beſides 3000 Select Archers at leaſt, and with all ſpeed to croſs the Seas for *Bretagne* in order to aid the Counteſs. Sr. *Walter Manny* prepared with all Expedition, and when all things were ready, took the Sea with theſe Lords of *England* and of *Bretagne* in his company; the Lords of *Bretagne* were Sr. *Emery* of *Clyſſon*, the two Brethren of *Lyndale*, Sr. *Lewis* and Sr. *John*, Sr. *Alan Sirefond*, Sr. *John Hayes* of *Brabant*; and of *England* the Lord *John* [b] *Bardolph*, the Lord *Miles Stapleton*, the Lord *John Darcy* ſenior, Sr. *John Butler* and Sr. *Matthew Trelauny*; being in all [c] 620 Men of Arms and 6000 Archers with others: For we find [d] that *Hugh Audley* Earl of *Gloceſter*, was alſo there as a Volunteer under the Lord *Manny*, with a Troop of an 100 Men of Arms, himſelf accounted for one, whereof there were beſides one Banneret, twenty Knights and ſeventy eight Eſquires; and theſe were joyned with another Troop of an 100 Archers on Horſeback: Here was alſo the Lord *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, who [e] had Commiſſion to receive Fealty and Homage from the *Bretons*, on the behalf of King *Edward*, as King of *France*. But thô theſe Succours took the Sea early enough, it was almoſt too late before they came to the Counteſs, for they were detained at Sea more than fourty Days by Tempeſts and bad Weather.

[b] *Dudg.* 1 *Vol. p.* 682.
[c] *Knighton p.* 1581. *n.*10.
[d] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 751.
[e] *Id. ibid. p.* 185.

III. The mean while the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who had layn ſome while before *Rennes*, gave ſuch Trouble to them within, that the Citizens would gladly have Articled; but Sr. *William Cadudal* their Captain, would by no means hear of any Agreement. The Beſieged however, when they ſaw that all this while there came no Succour from *England*, nor from the Counteſs, as they had been promiſed, and that they had already endured much Trouble, urged the Captain again more importunately to think of yielding while there was time of Mercy; but he abſolutely refuſed, ſaying, he was ſtrong enough to hold out, but if not, had rather die than turn Traytor. When they ſaw his Reſolution, they kept their own counſel ſecret; and being reſolved to ſave themſelves (thô without doing him any harm, for they lov'd his Perſon for his valour, Bounty and Loyalty) they once by a wile train'd him from his Attendants, and ſeiſing his Perſon caſt him into Priſon. Then they preſently agreed with Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* to yield up the Town the next Day, on condition, that the Captain and all thoſe who would ſtill hold on the Counteſſes ſide, might have free leave with their Horſe and Arms to depart whither they would; and the reſt ſhould make Homage unto him. Accordingly in the beginning of *May*, the City was yielded up, and the Lord *Charles* received there, as Duke of *Bretagne*; to whom all the Burgeſſes made their Homage and ſware Fealty. But Sr. *William Cadudal* could not be wrought upon

to

to own him, or his cauſe; wherefore according to the Articles he had leave to depart; which he did with all thoſe of his Mind, and went ſtraight to the ſtrong Town of *Hennebond*, where he found the Counteſs; who as yet had heard no News of Sr. *Emery Cliſſon* and his Fellows. AN. DOM. 1342. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVI. *Franciæ* III.

IV. *Rennes* being thus taken, the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* was [f] adviſed to go and lay his Siege to *Hennebond*, where the Head of the War, the Counteſs and her Son were. For (ſaid the Lords, his Friends) "now the Earl himſelf, your Adverſary, is "in Priſon; if We might get the Counteſs and her Son into Our Hands, the whole "War would be at an end. This Advice, if it had been taken before they went to *Rennes*, had in all likelihood ſucceeded, as they wiſh'd: For even now We ſhall find the Place to be almoſt reduc'd, by that time the ſlow Succours came from *England*.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 80. *fol.* 41. *b.*

When the Counteſs underſtood that the *French* were come to Beſiege her, ſhe immediately commanded an Alarum to be given with the Watch-Bell, for all Men to go to their Defences. And ſhe had now with her in the Town a Competent Garriſon, well furniſh'd with Proviſion, Ammunition, and Good Captains, as the Biſhop of *Leon*, Uncle to the Lord *Henry du Leon*, who was Revolted, Sr. *Pierce* of *Triguier*, the Lord of *Landerneau*, Sr. *William Cadudal*, Sr. *Henry Pennefort*, and Sr. *Oliver* his Brother, the Governour of *Guingand*, and many other Valiant Gentlemen.

When Sr. *Charles* came thither with his Army, he encamped within a quarter of a Mile of the Town: But ſome of his luſty young Knights, and Eſquires would not reſt, till they had try'd what Defence their Enemies could make. So to the Barriers to skirmiſh they went; and others, as bold went forth to meet them: The Diſpute was continued very hot between them for a while; but at laſt the *Frenchmen* and *Genoueſe* being overpower'd, were forced to retire with conſiderable loſs. The next day Sr. *Charles* perfected his Siege round both the Town and Caſtle, except where the Caſtle opens to the Sea; (for he had no Navy) and then took Advice to give a fierce Aſſault at the Barriers, which continued till Noon: At which time the Aſſailants were compelled to draw back, themſelves all weary, and having loſt many of their Men. When the Lords of *France* ſaw their people retire thus, they were no leſs aſhamed, than diſpleaſed; inſomuch, that they all ran thitherward with the remainder of their Forces, and made the others turn their Faces again, and together with them renew the Aſſault. This was a moſt vigorous and general Onſet, and Honourably performed; but the Beſieged ſtill defended themſelves moſt reſolutely. The Virago Counteſs was her ſelf Armed Cap à pied, and rode about on a large ſtrong Courſer from ſtreet to ſtreet, deſiring and commanding all Men to make good their Defence: The very Women and Maidens ſhe order'd to cut their Garments ſhorter, and to carry Stones and Pots of quick Lime to the Walls, to throw down upon the Enemy. And ſhe her ſelf to ſet an Example of Hardineſs to her Sex, perform'd that day ſuch an Exploit, as few Ages can equal; but all Writers joyntly atteſt. [g] When ſhe had thus ſet all hands to Work, ſhe mounted the Higheſt Tower to ſee how the *Frenchmen* were diſpoſed without: And there ſhe ſaw how all the Army was engaged at the Aſſault, and had left the Camp unguarded. Hereupon ſhe deſcended, took again her Courſer, all Armed, as ſhe had been, and Selecting 300 Horſemen went with them to another Gate, which was not Aſſaulted. Here ſhe iſſued forth with all her Company, and taking a Courſe daſhed into the *French* Camp, cutting down, and ſetting fire to their Tents and Pavilions: There was no reſiſtance made againſt her, for ſhe met with no body in the Camp, but Boys and Pages, who ran all away with great outcries. When the Lords of *France* looked back, and heard this confuſion, and ſaw their Tents on fire, they left the Aſſault, and return'd to the Field, crying Treaſon. When the Counteſs ſaw them Returning, ſhe gather'd her Men together, and perceiving that without great Danger ſhe could not recover the Town again, took another way, and made toward the Caſtle of *Breſt*, which was above 22 *French* Miles from thence.

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 80. *Du Cheſne p.* 656. *Mezeray 2. part. tom.* 3. *p.* 19. *&c.*

But ſoon after, the Lord *Lewis* of *Spain*, who being Marſhal of the Hoſt, was returning that way toward the Camp, when he beheld ſuch a Company of his Enemies marching off, followed after them with a competent Number of his beſt Horſe, and purſued the Counteſs ſo cloſe, that he ſlew and hurt ſeveral of her Men, who could not keep up with her: But however, ſhe and the greater part of her People rode ſo well, that they gained *Breſt*, where they were all received with great joy.

V. The next day the Lords of *France*, having thus loſt moſt of their Tents and Proviſions, reſolved to lodge nearer the Town in Bowers made of Trees: But they

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were mightily surpriſed, when they heard how the Counteſs her ſelf had headed that daring Exploit. However the Beſieged were extreamly concern'd for their Lady; for of five days together they heard no tidings of Her, nor could any way tell, what was become of Her. The mean while the Counteſs took ſuch Care of her Affairs, that ſhe had gather'd together no leſs than 500 Men of Arms, beſides thoſe whom ſhe brought with her to *Breſt*: And having ſo done on the Fifth day from her coming thither, ſhe left the Town with all this Warlike Company, and rode forward without noiſe, till about Sunriſe ſhe came along by one ſide of the Enemies Camp, to the very Gate, whence ſhe had before made that daring Sally, which immediately upon knowledge of her Perſon, was opened unto her: And ſo both She and all her Company enter'd Triumphantly with a great noiſe of Trumpets and Clarions; whereby the *French* Army was rouſed. They admired much at this Rejoycing of the Beſieged, and made haſte to give them a freſh Alarum; as thoſe within did to defend themſelves. For this ſeaſonable Return of the Counteſs with ſo good a Succour, brought ſuch mighty aſſurance to the Town, that now they made a moſt notable defence, thô their Enemies held them hard at Work all that Morning: At Noon the Aſſault ceaſed, the *French* having by far the Worſt of it, as well now, as at other times. Hereupon it was determin'd in a Council of War, that the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and *Guy* Earl of *Blois* his Father, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Marſhall of *France* Sr. *Robert Bertrand*, ſhould go with moſt of their Troops, and lay Siege to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Auray* upon the *Morbihan*, which is ſaid to have been built by the Famous *Breton*, King *Arthur*. And that the Lord *Henry du Leon*, *Don Lewis* of *Spain*, and the Vicount of *Rouën*, with all the *Spaniards*, and part of the *Genoueſe* ſhould tarry ſtill before *Hennebond*, and block it up; for they deſpaired of taking it by Aſſault. But however they ſent to *Rennes* for 12 great Engines, wherewith they might caſt huge Stones into the Town and Caſtle Night and Day. Thus the *French* Hoſt was divided, the One part lying before *Hennebond*, and the Other before *Auray*. This Fortreſs of *Auray* was now well fortified and ſupply'd with 200 choice Souldiers, and Proviſion ſufficient, and the Counteſs of *Monford* had lately ſent them from *Hennebond* two Valiant and Loyal Captains, Sr. *Henry Pennefort*, and Sr. *Oliver* his Brother. About four Leagues from this Caſtle was the ſtrong City of *Vannes*, which ſtill held for the Counteſs, by whom the Lord *Geoffry* of *Maleſtroit* was made Captain of the Place. Not very far off was the good Town of *Guingand*, the Governour whereof, the Lord of *Dinant*, was now in *Hennebond* with the Counteſs; but he had left the Town well provided both of a Captain, and what elſe was neceſſary, his Wife and Children being in the Town of *Dinant*, whereof Sr. *Reynald* of *Dinant* his Son was Captain. Between *Guingand* and *Vannes* ſtood a ſtrong Caſtle belonging to Sr. *Charles* of *Blois*, called *Roſternan*, well Garriſon'd with Souldiers of *Burgundy*, whoſe Captains were Sr. *Gerard* of *Morlaix*, and Sr. *Peter de Portbeufe*. Theſe two waſted all the Country about them, and prov'd a great Nuiſance to both the foreſaid Towns; ſo that neither Merchandiſe, nor Proviſion could be ſent to either of them without Danger of being intercepted and loſt. For one day they would ride toward *Vannes*, and another toward *Guingand*, and ſtill, when one Captain went forth, the other kept the Caſtle. One day among the reſt, it happen'd, that Sr. *Reynald* of *Dinant* had laid an Ambuſh for theſe Prolers, at which very time Sr. *Gerard* of *Morlaix* their Chief Captain, being ridden forth, had taken 15 Merchants with all their Goods and Commodities, and was now driving them to his Caſtle of *Roſternan*. But in the way he fell into Sr. *Reynald's* Ambuſcade, who took Sr. *Gerard*, and Twenty five of his Men Priſoners, reſcued the Merchants and all their Goods, and return'd ſafe to *Dinant*: Whereby the Young Man deſervedly got much Commendation.

VI. All this while [h] Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* gain'd no great Advantage at *Auray*. But *Don* [i] *Lewis* of *Spain*, Nephew to King *Alphonſo* the XI, who continu'd the Siege before *Hennebond*, had ſo broken and ſhatter'd the Walls of the Town with his Engines, that the Beſieged began to doubt extreamly. One day among others, the Biſhop of *Leon* having had ſome Communication in the Camp with Sr. *Henry du Leon* his Nephew, after much arguing (for the Biſhop was ſent forth to obtain ſome ſhort reſpite) it was at laſt agreed, that the Biſhop ſhould endeavour to perſwade them within to yield up the Town and Caſtle to Sr. *Charles* of *Blois*; and Sr. *Henry du Leon* on the other ſide, engag'd to obtain of the Lord *Charles* a full freedom and liberty for them all, that they ſhould receive no Damage either in Body, or Goods. Upon this concluſion the Biſhop enter'd the Town again; immediately whereupon the Counteſs, who ſuſpected his Errand (after ſhe had heard of his conference with Sr. *Henry*) beg'd earneſtly

[h] *Froiſ. c.* 80. *fol.* 42.

[i] He came from Prince *Ferdinando*, Eldeſt Son to *Alphonſo* X, King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, and from the Daughter of St. *Lewis* King of *France*: Whoſe Sons were put by the Crown by their Uncle *Alphonſo*, that now Reigned. *Odoric. Raynald. ad an.* 1344 §. 47.

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of the Lords and Knights, who were with her in Council, "that for the love of God, "they would all take heart, and hold out a little longer: For she said, she was confident, that within three days the Succours from *England* would arrive. But yet the Bishop spake so effectually, and gave so many Reasons for what he said, that all their Minds were mightily perplexed, and they remain'd in doubt all that Night. The next Morning they met in Council again: And at last they began to agree about yielding, and had accordingly then done it, had Sr. *Henry* been near with his Forces to enter and take possession. Then the Countess ran to a Window in great Agony, and look'd down along the Sea from the Castle with her heart aking, while her Lords were left debating of these unpleasant matters. Of a sudden she leap'd for joy, and cry'd out aloud, "I see, I see the Succours of *England* coming! There's the Cross of St *George*! God "has heard our Prayers: He has heard Us! Then all the Lords, and others, ran to the Window, and to the Walls, and up to the High Tower, whence they beheld a Fleet of Ships, Great and Small, freshly deck'd, making up to the Port. They presently knew it to be the *English* Fleet, as indeed it was, and had been detain'd above 40 days at Sea by ill-weather; but now happily came in the very Golden Opportunity to save the Countess and the Town. AN. DOM. 1342. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVI. *Franciæ* III.

Now [k] when the Governour of *Guingand*, Sr. *Pierce* of *Triguier*, *Galeran* Lord of *Landerneau*, and other Knights of *Bretagne* saw these Succours coming, they said to the Bishop, "Sir you may e'n leave off this pious Harangue about Peace, for we are "not at present disposed to follow your Doctrine. Then said the Bishop, "if so Gen-"tlemen, we must e'n part Stakes: For I will go to that Side which hath most Right. Having so said, he went out of Town and defi'd the Countess and all her Abettors, and being brought to Sr. *Henry du Leon*, shew'd him how Matters stood. Sr. *Henry* was wonderfully displeas'd, and gave Command, that the very greatest of the Engines which were rais'd against the Castle, should be pli'd Day and Night without ceasing: And so he led his Uncle the Bishop to Don *Lewis* of *Spain*, who in the Name of Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* received him kindly, as well for the Accession of so considerable a Person, as for Sr. *Henry* his Nephew's sake. [k] *Froiss. c.* 81.

VII. The mean while the Countess of *Montford* made ready Halls and Chambers to entertain the Lords and Captains of *England* that were coming, and she sent out the Chief of her Court to welcome them in the Haven upon their Landing. When they were landed she her self went forth to meet them, and shew'd all along great Respect to the Captains and feasted them highly, and gave them hearty Thanks, and lodged all the Knights and Others at their Ease in the Castle and the Town. The next day she made them a very noble Dinner in the Castle (now all the night before, and all that morning, the great Engines cast mighty Stones against the Castle) wherefore after Dinner the Lord *Walter Manny*, who was General of all the *English* Forces, enquired of the condition of the Town, and of the Army without, and having heard a full Account of all, he said, "Surely Gentlemen, I have a desire "to sally out and break down this Great Engine that stands so near us, if any man "will follow me. Then Sr. *Pierce* of *Triguier* and the Lord of *Landerneau* said, they would not fail to follow him in this his first Adventure. So they immediately arm'd themselves, and went out privily at a certain Postern with 300 Archers, and about 40 Men of Arms. The Archers shot so thick altogether, that those who kept the Engine fled away, and the Men of Arms who came after the Archers, pursu'd and slew many of those that fled, and then with Axes they beat down the Engine to the ground and brake it all to pieces. Nor content herewith they ran in among the Tents and Lodgings that stood neerest, setting Fire in divers Places, and killing and wounding till the whole Army began to stirr. Then they put themselves in good Order and withdrew fair and softly, they of the Host running after them like Mad-men. Hereupon Sr. *Walter Manny* said aloud, "Let me never be beloved of my Lady, if I re-"fuse to take a Turn with one or two of these Pursuers! And therewithall he couched his Spear and faced about to his Enemies; so did the two Brethren of *Landale*, Sr. *Hayes* of *Brabant*, Sr. *Pierce* of *Triguier* and the Lord of *Landerneau*, with the other Knights of *Bretagne* and of *England* that were there. Then might have been seen a fierce Medley indeed, Spears shivering to pieces, Horses falling down and Men revers'd upon the Earth: But those from the Camp encreasing upon the Others continually, it behoved the *English* by little and little to endeavour to recover the Town. In this honourable Retreat it was a gallant sight to behold, how here a Prisoner was taken, and immediately rescued again; here a Knight was unhorsed and forthwith remounted upon his Enemies Beast. The Lord *Walter Manny* shew'd himself both a

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Wiſe Captain and a valiant Knight: For all the while he fought couragiouſly in the Reer of his Men, as he retired diſcreetly to the Ditches: Where the Archers being planted on each Flank, he made a ſtand with his choice Captains about him, till he ſaw all the reſt in ſafety. By which time almoſt all the Men of Arms within the Town ſallied forth with great clamour to reſcue their Friends; and about 3000 Archers more came out and ranged themſelves on each ſide the Dike in order to receive the Enemy: But they for their part prudently retired, finding it a vain Attempt to force them upon ſuch Diſadvantage; and the *Engliſh* returned all ſafe and victorious into the Fortreſs. At which time the Counteſs, who from the high Tower had ſeen all this brave Skirmiſh, deſcended and came forth of the Caſtle with a glad cheer, and in the Street ſhe met and kiſſed Sr. *Walter Manny* and his Captains one after another, twice or thrice (as *Froiſard* ſays) like a valiant Lady.

VIII. This bold and lucky Enterpriſe of the *Engliſh* Generals took off all hope from the Enemy of Prevailing; wherefore the [1] next day Don *Lewis* of *Spain* called a Council of War, and the Vicount of *Rouën*, the Biſhop of *Leon*, Sr. *Henry du Leon* and Sr. *Otho du Rue* Maſter of the *Genouëſe*, to know their Advice in this Juncture. They remembred how long they had lain already to little purpoſe before the ſtrong Town of *Hennebond*; they ſaw how mightily the Enemy was reinforced with theſe Men of Arms and Archers of *England*; ſo that they were ready even to have bid them Battle at their Gates: Their biggeſt Engine was broke, many of their Men ſlain and wounded; their Army weaker, the Enemy much ſtronger: So that on all theſe conſiderations they thought it but loſt time to wait for any good Succeſs there; and thereupon concluded to raiſe their Siege the next day, and to draw to the Caſtle of *Auray*; where ſtill Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* lay at Siege with the other half of the Army. As they had agreed the next day they began their March for *Auray*, whereat thoſe of the Town made great Outcries and Shoutings after them, and ſome adventur'd to follow them in the Reer, but they were ſoon beat back again; nor did they gain the Town without loſs. When Don *Lewis* of *Spain* came to the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, he gave his Reaſons why he rais'd his Siege from before *Hennebond*; which were allowed. But Sr. *Charles* being of himſelf ſtrong enough to maintain the Siege before *Auray*, he ſent Don *Lewis* to *Dinant*, a Town not otherwiſe fortified than by Pales, the Water of the River *Rance* and a Mariſh Ground. The *Spaniſh* Leader in his way thither, came to a Caſtle called [m] *Comper*, the Captain whereof was a valiant Knight of *Normandy* named Sr. *Anthony Manſon*, who had a pretty conſiderable Garriſon under him. This Place Don *Lewis* reſolved to attack, and gave them a fierce Aſſault, which held till Midnight (for it was begun but in the Evening) the Defendants ſtill making their part good. The next Morning the Aſſault was renewed, and (the Ditches being then found not to be of any great Depth) the Aſſailants approached by Wading, and made a great Breach in the Wall, whereat they entred by Force and ſlew all the Garriſon, but only the Knight their Captain, whom they took Priſoner. When Don *Lewis* had ſet here a new Garriſon of 60 choſen Men under a good Captain, he went forward and lay down before *Dinant*.

[1] *Froiſ. c.* 82. *fol.* 42. *b.*

[m] *Sic corrigo* Froiſard Conqueſt: *Nam inter* Auray & Dinant *non reperitur* Conqueſt, *ſed immane quantum ab utriſque occidentem verſus diſtat: Vt ex Tab. Geogr.*

IX. Now when firſt Don *Lewis* had ſat down before *Comper*, immediately one was diſpatch'd away with News to the Counteſs of *Montford*; who thereupon ſaid to the Lord *Walter Manny*, "That if he could relieve that Place, it would be as ſatisfacto-"ry to her, as honourable to himſelf. Sr. *Walter* agreed, and the next Morning began his March towards *Comper* with moſt of the Forces of *Hennebond*: About Noon he came to the Caſtle, wherein now was a Garriſon of *Spaniards* and *French*, for it had been won the Day before. Sr. *Walter* was vext when he ſaw that Don *Lewis* himſelf was not there; for he came with a reſolution to give him Battle: However he ſaid to his Men, "Gentlemen, I am not in the mind to ſtirr hence, till I know who are in "the Caſtle and how they came there. So the Aſſault was begun, and the *French* and *Spaniards* within ſtood ſtifly to their Defence: But the *Engliſh* Archers held them ſo ſhort, that (the Ditch being now alſo gaged with Spears and found paſſable) the Men of Arms came eaſily to the Walls; and preſently finding the Breach, at which the *French* had entred before; they alſo entred the Caſtle the ſame way and ſlew all they found there, but ten whom they took to Mercy. The Lord *Manny* would not leave any Garriſon there, for he ſaw well the Place was not tenable; wherefore having ſet it on fire, he returned with his *Engliſh* and *Bretons* to the Counteſs to *Hennebond*: for he durſt not go too far from that Fortreſs having almoſt drained the Garriſon.

X. In the mean time Don *Lewis* lay at Siege before *Dinant*, wherein was Captain the

the young Sr. *Reynald* of *Dinant*, Son to the Lord of *Guingand*, who had ſo well acquitted himſelf againſt Sr. *Gerard* of *Morlaix*, as we ſhewed a little before. He valued nothing the Threats of Don *Lewis*, but always gave him his hands full of work when he came to aſſault them. But Don [n] *Lewis* within a little while had got together ſeveral Boats and little Barks; ſo that now he could attack the Place both by Land and Water at once. Wherefore when the Burgeſſes of the Town ſaw their condition, they reſolved to yield, and begun to perſwade Sr. *Reynald* their Captain thereto; but he diſdaining their Motion, proteſted he would never endure to be ſo baſely diſloyal: Wherefore theſe Barbarous Wretches laid hands upon the noble-hearted young Gentleman, and moſt inhumanly murder'd him in the open Market-place. When thus Don *Lewis* had gain'd the Town, he releaſed Sr. *Gerard* of *Morlaix* (whom he found there a Priſoner) and made both him and his Friend Sr. *Pierce Portbeuf* Captains thereof, with a ſufficient Garriſon under them. From thence Don *Lewis* marched back again till he came to a great Town on the Sea ſide, between the *Vilaine* and the *Loire*, called *Guerande*: Where he found ſeveral Merchants Ships, which had been come laden with Wine from *Poictou* and *Rochel*. The Wine was all ſold off, but the Payment was not very good: For Don *Lewis* ſeiſed on all the Veſſels and what he found therein, and having mann'd them, aſſaulted the Town the next day both by Sea and Land. The Beſieged could not make good their Defence both theſe ways at one time; wherefore the Place was carried by Force, the Town robb'd, all the Souls therein both Men, Women and Children put to the Sword without Mercy; and Five Churches were violated and ſet on Fire. Which laſt fact ſo highly diſpleaſed Don *Lewis*, that he commanded 24 of thoſe who had done it, to be forthwith hanged for their pains. In this Place there was found much Treaſure and Riches, ſo that every Man was maſter of more than he could bear away, wherefore they were fain to pick and chooſe the moſt valuable things, and leave the reſt againſt their Wills behind them. For it was a Town of great Traffick and Merchandiſe.

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[n] *Froiſ. c.* 82. *fol.* 43.

XI. After this cruel Execution done at *Guerande*, Don *Lewis* enter'd into the Ships, which he had found there with Sr. *Otho du Rue*, and a good Number of *Genouëſe* and *Spaniards*, reſolving to coaſt along by the Sea ſide in hopes to find ſome Purchaſe. But the Vicount of *Rouën*, the Biſhop of *Leon*, and Sr. *Henry du Leon* his Nephew, with all the reſt of that Army, return'd back to the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who lay ſtill before *Auray*. There they found many Lords and Knights of *France*, as the Lord *Lewis* of *Poictiers*, the Earl of *Valence*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of *Porcien*, the Earl of *Joigny*, the Earl of *Boulogne* and ſeveral Others, whom King *Philip* had newly ſent thither to reinforce the Lord *Charles* againſt the *Engliſh*; beſides not a few, who of their own Good will came to ſerve him.

Until this time the Caſtle of *Auray* held out very well: But now there began to rage ſuch a Famine among them within, that they fed upon whatſoever they could meet with, having for ſeven days before dieted upon their Horſes: And yet even this Plague which tameth all other Creatures, could not make theſe Warriers yield: Becauſe the Lord *Charles* would not grant them Honourable conditions; but demanded them to yield abſolutely to his Pleaſure.

However one dark Night theſe valiant Men, ſeeing they could do no better, went all ſilently out of the Caſtle on Foot, and as God would have it, eſcaped quite thrô the Hoſt, except ſome few of the Weakeſt; who being left behind, were perceived and ſlain. But the two Loyal Brothers, Sr. *Henry Pennefort* and Sr. *Oliver*, by means of a little Wood hard by, got off clearly with moſt of their Men, and came to the Counteſs to *Hennebond*, but about 4 *French* Miles from *Auray*.

XII. Thus after ten Weeks Siege Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* hardly at laſt gain'd the ſtrong Caſtle of *Auray*, which he ſupplied with a good Garriſon and Proviſion, and ſo went and laid Siege to the Great City of *Vannes*. The Captain of *Vannes* was the Lord *Geoffry* of *Maleſtroit*, a Loyal and valiant Gentleman, who reſolved to defend the Place to the laſt. The Day after *Vannes* was beſieged, a part of the Garriſon of *Ploermel*, which being little more than 7 *French* Miles from thence, held for the Counteſs, rode forth early in the Morning to the Camp of *Charles* of *Blois*, where falling ſuddenly on, they ſlew, and wounded and terrified many: But having no expert Leader, they engaged themſelves too far, and ſo were well-nigh encloſed unawares, before they could get back: So that they loſt many of their Company, and the reſt were chaſed almoſt to the Gates of *Ploermel*. When the *Bloiſians* were returned from this Chaſe, the Lord *Charles* commanded a general Aſſault upon *Vannes*: Whereupon within a while the Barriers were won by Force: So that there was held a Bloody

Conteſt

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Conteſt at the Gates of the City, which laſted till Night: At what time a Truce was by the Beſieged required, and granted for all the day following. The next day the Burgeſſes of the City, mauger all that the Lord *Geoffry* could do or ſay, concluded to yield up the Place to Sr. *Charles*; but however, during the time of the Treaty, the Captain ſeeing how things would go, got privately out of the Town, and with a few of his own Mind came ſafe to *Hennebond*. The Lord *Charles* enter'd the Town peaceably, and had the Homages of all the Inhabitants yielded to him; and ſo having tarried there five days to ſet things in Order, he went thence and ſat down before *Karhais*, upon the River *Aufene*.

[o] *Froiſ. c.84. fol. 43. b.*

XIII. The mean while [o] *Don Lewis* of *Spain*, who with his Troops had taken Ship at the Port of *Guerande*, which he had ſo cruelly deſtroy'd, ſailed forth, till he came into *Bretagne Bretonant* to the Haven of *Quimperlay*, near *Quimpercorentin*. Here he landed, and burnt, and waſted all the Country about, and gat a vaſt quantity of Riches and ſpoil; which having ſent on board, himſelf proceeded on farther, ravaging about in thoſe parts. Sr. *Walter Manny*, and Sr. *Emery Cliſſon* heard at *Hennebond* of all theſe proceedings; wherefore calling a Council of War, they reſolv'd to ſail in queſt of *Don Lewis*: And ſo they ſet forth to Sea with 3000 Archers, and a competent Number of Men of Arms; till at laſt they arrived at the Haven of *Quimperlay*, where they found *Don Lewis* his Navy: Which immediately they boarded, and took with eaſe, putting all to the ſword they found therein. But they admired at the vaſt Riches and Prey, which the *Spaniards* had heap'd together, not as we may gueſs, with a Deſign to leave them thus for the *Engliſh*. However, Sr. *Walter Manny* was not ſatisfied with all this, unleſs he might diſpute his Right thereto with the Owners themſelves. He therefore leaves his own Veſſels, and thoſe he had won to the Protection of 300 Archers, and with the Reſt of his Forces, takes Land and Marches up into the Country in queſt of *Don Lewis*, being ranged in three diſtinct Battails, diſtant about half a Mile from each other, that the Enemy might not eſcape them. And thus (Command being given to fire all Towns which had owned *Charles* of *Blois*) they went on, driving the Country before them. When *Don Lewis* heard of theſe new Intruders, he drew all his Men together, and endeavour'd with all ſpeed to recover his Ships, which as yet he knew not to be in his Enemies Power. Upon his Return, he encountred with One of the three *Engliſh* Battails, and finding he could not well avoid them, he reſolv'd to engage with them; ſo he order'd his Men, and made ſeveral new Knights (among whom was his Nephew, *Don Alphonſo*, a young hopefull Gentleman) and preſently gave the *Engliſh* a brisk Onſet. In all likelihood He had ſoon prevail'd over this Brigade; but by the Cry and Noiſe of the Country people, who had ſufficient cauſe to hate the *Spaniard*, the other two Battalions of the *Engliſh* were in good time directed thither. Then the Archers of *England* ſhot ſo fiercely; that neither the *Spaniards*, nor *Genoueſe* could any longer keep their Array. So they were all beaten down, diſcomfited and ſlain: For after the Flight was once begun, the Country People fell in with Prongs, Staves, and Stones, and ſlew all they met, without Mercy. Of 6000 there eſcaped ſcarce 300: *Don Lewis* himſelf (thô not without ſeveral wounds) hardly with a few being able to reach the Haven: But his Nephew, *Don Alphonſo* was ſlain. When *Don Lewis* came to the Ships, he could find no entrance for the Archers of *England*, who kept him off with their ſhot; But at laſt, with much difficulty he made ſhift to get into a little ſwift Barge; wherein with ſome few of his Company he ſail'd away, as faſt as he could.

XIV. Sr. *Walter Manny* upon his Return, hearing of the Eſcape of Don *Lewis*, took the beſt and nimbleſt Veſſel he had, which he made the Admiral, and follow'd hard in the chace of him, the whole Navy ſailing after. But the *Spaniard* had got ſuch a Start before him and fled ſo faſt, that they could not overtake him, till he had taken Land at the Haven of *Redon* in the River of *Vilaine*. Don *Lewis* and his Company had entred the Town, but durſt not tarry there; for the *Engliſh* were then juſt ready to land at the ſame Place, and had immediately been upon their Backs, had not the *Spaniard* got for Himſelf and his Men ſuch Horſes as came firſt to hand: Wherewith he eſcaped to the City of *Rennes*, which was but about ten *French* Miles off. However ſome of his Company who were not well horſed, fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, who purſued them ſome part of the Way: And then Sr. *Walter Manny* return'd back to *Redon*, where He and his Men lay all that night. The next Day he went on Board again, intending for *Hennebond*, where the Counteſs was ſtill: But being driven by contrary Winds he was fain to land about three Leagues from *Dinant*, where having ſent his Navy back to *Hennebond* with a ſufficient Convoy, he took

took such Horses as he could get, many whereof had no Saddles or Bridles, and so came at last to the Castle of *Rosternan*. Then Sr. *Walter Manny* spake to his Followers, "Gentlemen, if our Company were not so over-toil'd already, I would make "one Attempt upon this Place gladly. The other Captains repli'd, "Sir, begin when "you please; we shall not fail you thô we die for't. And so saying, they began the Assault: But Sr. *Gerard* of *Morlaix*, who being lately sent thither from *Dinant*, was Captain there now, made so good a Defence, that in the Assault many *English* Men were grievously Wounded, the chief whereof were Sr. *John Butler*, and Sr. *Matthew Trelauny*, two Valiant Knights; who presently thereupon were carried aside into a Fair Meadow hard by, to have their Wounds dressed, and look'd to: The mean while the Assault was carried on with more Fury than before.

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Now [p] this Sr. *Gerard* of *Morlaix* had a Brother, named *Reginald* of *Morlaix*, who was Captain of a little Fortress hard by, named *le Favoet*: When he heard of the Danger his Brother *Gerard* was in; taking 40 Spears along with him, he resolv'd to go out to his Assistance. As he rode toward *Rosternan*, he came by the side of a Wood thrô that same Meadow, where he found the foresaid two Knights, and others, *English* and *Bretons*, all Wounded, together with those that attended them. Those that were hurt, he easily made his Prisoners, and led them all back with him to *Favoet*; all Wounded, as they were: The rest fled directly to *Rosternan* to Sr. *Walter Manny*, and told him what had befell them. Upon this News, He caused the Assault to cease, and with all his Forces in great haste followed those that had carried away the Prisoners towards *Favoet*. They were all got into the Castle before Sr. *Walter* could come up to them; but however, as weary as he and his Men were, they began to Assault this Place also. But because the Fortress was well Defended, and it began to be late, they presently gave over for that time; resolving, when they should have the day before them, to make another Tryal the next Morning. Sr. *Gerard* of *Morlaix* knew in what jeopardy his Brother was, and to requite his last Kindness, of which he had had Intelligence, took this Course to deliver him. That Night he mounted his Horse, and rode all alone to *Dinant*, which he reach'd a little before Day; and there made Declaration of all the Matter to his Old Friend and Companion, Sr. *Pierce Portbeufe*, Captain of the Town. Sr. *Pierce*, when it was day, Assembled all the Burgesses of the Town in the Common-Hall, and there Sr. *Gerard* of *Morlaix*, with the others Assistance, so perswaded them, that they all agreed to send Succours to *Favoet*, and so one with another they made up a Body of 6000 Men. The mean while Sr. *Walter Manny*, just as he was going to renew the Assault, was informed of all this by an Espy; whereupon he call'd a Council of War, by whom it was concluded, "that if Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* should come upon them on one side, as "those of *Dinant* were ready to do on the other, they hazarded all upon one Stake: "Wherefore they judg'd it best to leave their Friends in Prison, till some better op-"portunity, and with all speed to make now directly for *Hennebond*. In their Return, they came to a Castle, called *Gony en la Foreſt*, which had been deliver'd up to the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, but fifteen days before. Sr. *Walter* taking Indignation at the Treachery of those Men, who had yielded up so Strong a Place, said aloud, "that "he would go no farther, as weary as He was, till he had attack'd that Castle, and "try'd the Demeanour of those within, and whether they had as much Courage, as "they had shew'd falshood. So a fierce Assault began, nor were the Besieged backward to Defend themselves: Sr. *Walter* encouraged his Men, and was always himself among the foremost: The Archers play'd so thick with their shot, that none hardly durst appear at the Battlements: Wherefore within a while the Ditch in one place was filled with Faggots, Turfs, Bushes, Wood, and other solid Matter; so that the Pioneers might approach the Walls; whom the Archers Defended so well, that they presently made a Considerable Breach: Then the Men of Arms entred, and slew all they found therein; and having lodged there that Night, the next Day they all return'd to *Hennebond*.

[p] *Froiſ. c.* 85. *fol.* 44.

When the [q] Countess of *Montford* heard of their coming, she went forth and met them, and (as *Froisard* says) kissed the Lords, and made them great Cheer, entertaining them all at a Noble Dinner in her Castle: But now, when it was known that *Vannes* also was newly taken, and *Karhais* Besieged by the Lord *Charles*, and that his Power daily encreased by his Succours from *France*, the Countess and the Lord *Walter Manny* agreed to send certain Messengers to the King of *England*, to inform him of the wonderfull Success of Sr. *Charles*, and that without more Powerfull Forces, than hitherto he had sent, he would be like to bear down all before him: These Messengers arriving safe in *Cornwall*, rode unto *Windsor* to the King.

[q] *Froiſ. c.* 86.

XV. All

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XV. All this while the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who lay before *Karhais*, had so closely preſt the Town with his frequent Aſſaults and terrible Engines of Battery, that at laſt they thought beſt to yield themſelves unto him, and to own him for their Lord and Soveraign. Having therefore received the Town, he tarried there fifteen days, in making new Officers and giving neceſſary Orders for the Defence of the Place. And this done, thô he well knew the ſtrength of *Hennebond*, he reſolved to lay Siege thereto again, becauſe that was the only Important Place almoſt which he had not reduced, and there lay the Head of the War, the Counteſs and her Son. So thither he went with all his Forces and lay down before the Town: The Fourth day after the Siege began, Don *Lewis* of *Spain* came again unto him, after he had been detain'd in the City of *Rennes* ſix Weeks together, by the Wounds he received in the Fields of *Quimperlay*; which not till now were perfectly healed. He was extreamly welcome to Sr. *Charles* of *Blois*; for he was a Prince of great Courage and Conduct, and very conſiderable among the Men of War. Beſides the Acceſſion of ſo notable a Perſon, the *French* Army that lay before the Town encreaſed daily at a wonderfull rate: For many Lords and Knights of *France*, who had deſigned to go into *Spain* to aſſiſt King *Alphonſo* and the Chriſtians againſt the King of *Granada*, as in their Paſſage thrô *Poictou* they heard of theſe Wars in *Bretagne*, ſtop'd in their intended Journey, and drew thither to the Part of the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*. And now had the *French* reared againſt the Town fifteen or ſixteen vaſt Engines of Battery: But the Beſieged valued them not, for they had before by means of ſoft Woolpacks, and the like Inventions provided againſt them: ſometimes the Townſmen would in contempt mock the *Frenchmen* from the Walls, crying out in Deriſion, "Go, go, Meſſieurs, and gather "together your valiant Troops that lie idle in the fields of *Quimperlay*. This Sarcaſme was a Corroſive and a Stab to the Soul of Don *Lewis* of *Spain*, who loſt that Battle and his Nephew *Alphonſo* therein, and hardly eſcap'd away, wounded himſelf.

[1] *Froiſ. c.* 87.

[1] Wherefore one day he came to the Tent of the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and by way of Friendſhip, and in lieu of all the Service he ever had or ſhould do for him, deſired only one Boon in the preſence of ſeveral great Lords of *France*. Sr. *Charles*, beſides the Reſpect he bore to his Quality, had ever found him a conſtant and uſefull Friend, and ſo frankly promiſed to grant him whatever he ſhould demand. "Sir, ſaid "Don *Lewis*, then I require that you would inſtantly ſend Order for the two *Engliſh* "Knights who are Priſoners in *Favoet*, that is to ſay, Sr. *John Butler* and Sr. *Mat-* "*thew Trelauny* to be brought hither, and to be given to me, to do with them as I "ſhall think good. This Sir is the only Boon that I deſire of You: They have cha- "ced, diſcomfited and hurt me, and ſlain my Nephew *Alphonſo*, with many Hundreds "of my Men. I know no better way to be revenged of theſe *Engliſhmen*, who have "done me all this Miſchief, than if I ſtrike off the Heads of theſe two Knights before "the Town in the ſight of their Company. The Lord *Charles* who was a moſt ac- compliſh'd Gentleman, was amaz'd at this ungenerous Procedure, and made this An- ſwer. "Certainly [f] my Lord *Lewis*, the Priſoners I yield unto you with a very good "will, ſince you have deſired them of me. But doubtleſs it would be a diſhonoura- "ble Action, to put to Death two ſuch valiant Knights as theſe in cold Blood; and "it will give Occaſion to our Enemies to deal in the ſame manner with us, if we "ſhall fall into their Hands: Which, ſince War is ſo uncertain, we know not when "we may. If they have affronted you, provoked you, wounded you, ſlain your Ne- "phew, they were your Enemies, they did it in open Field; you could expect no o- "therwiſe; nay youl'd have done the ſame to them. Now revenge all this in Gods "Name, I allow it; but do it in an honourable way; let not two Innocent Men, "whoſe hands are ti'd, be a Sacrifice to the Anger of the Noble Don *Lewis*. Dear "Coſin, I deſire you of all love to be better advis'd, and ask of me any other thing, "that I may not be aſham'd to grant you. Don *Lewis*, who was nothing at all mov'd with theſe Words, repli'd ſullenly, "Sir, if you will not keep your Word with me, "be aſſured, that I ſhall forſake both your Company and Cauſe, and never after either "ſerve or love You again while I live. When Sr. *Charles* ſaw him ſo peremptory, and that nothing could perſwade him to alter his Mind, he ſent to *Favoet* for the two *Engliſh* Knights, who were brought the next Morning early to his Tent. Then the Lord *Charles* renew'd his Requeſts in their behalf to the angry Don *Lewis*, but for all that could be ſaid, he was inexorable, and ſware by God and St. *Jago*, they ſhould both looſe their Heads after dinner in ſight of the Town.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 87. *fol.* 46. & 47.

XVI. But it pleaſed God that all this Diſcourſe, and the Reſolution taken about theſe poor Gentlemen was preſently brought to the Lord *Walter Manny*, with the exact

exact time when they were to suffer. Sr. *Walter* being mightily concern'd, calls a Council of War to consider of the matter. Some said one thing and some another; but none could see any Remedy in the case: For the Lord *Charles* his Forces were not to be fought with in plain Field by those of the Town. At last the Gallant Lord *Manny* stood up and said, "Gentlemen, it would certainly redound much to our Ho-"nour, if we could deliver yonder two Knights from Destruction. And if we should "but endeavour to save them, thô we fell short of our Purpose, yet King *Edward* our "Master would give us many Thanks, and so would all Persons of Honour, that should "afterwards hear of the Case: For they will say, that however we did our Devoir to "save the Lives of our Companions in Arms. Methinks therefore a Man that dare "look Death in the face, should not scruple to venture his life for the Safety of two "such valiant Captains, his Friends and Countrymen. Now this is my Advice, that "we divide our whole Power into two Parts, the one to pass out at the Great Gate "immediately and to range themselves along on the Dike, thereby to provoke the Army "(as I believe every Man of them will) to draw that way: The other Party in the mean "time to try another Experiment. You my Lord, *Emery Clisson*, shall be Captain of "the First Company, and shall take with you Six thousand good tall Archers, and "Three hundred Men of Arms; and I the mean while with an hundred Men of Arms "and 500 Archers on Horseback, will sally privily out at the Postern, and taking a "Course will dash into their Camp, among the Lodgings behind, which I verily think "to find as good as unguarded. Here I have such Men with me, as will shew me the "Tent of *Charles* of *Blois*, where I am sure to find the two Knights Prisoners, and "then let me alone to bring them off. This Project took immediately, and so they "prepared to put it in Execution.

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About Dinner-time the Lord *Emery Clysson* set open the chief Gate which look'd toward the Enemy, and marched out with all his Company, some whereof struck suddenly in upon the Skirts of the Host, and slew and hurt divers. The whole Army was alarm'd at this unexpected boldness of the Besieged, and made all the haste possible to chace them back again into the Town. They for their parts retired fair and softly to their main Battle, not ceasing to skirmish all the way: The mean while Sr. *Emery* drew forth his Men along upon the Dike without the Barriers, and placed the Archers ready on both sides the way to receive the Enemy. The Noise and Cry of Men and Martial Instruments was so great, that all the whole Army drew thitherward, expecting a full decision by Battle; only their Pages and Valets being left in the Camp. At that very time Sr. *Walter Manny* with his 600 Men sallied out privily at the Postern Gate, and fetching a Compass behind the Camp, entred the Lodgings of the *French* Lords; where they met with no Resistance; for all were at the Skirmish. Sr. *Walter* (being directed) went straight to the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* his Tent, where he found the two Knights Prisoners, Sr. *John Butler* and Sr. *Matthew Trelauny*, with their Faces cover'd and their Hands ti'd behind them: For all the Servants left about them were run away. Sr. *Walter* unbound them himself, and made them leap upon two good Horses brought thither for that purpose, gave them each a Sword in their Hands, and immediately without doing any harm, return'd the same way he came and enter'd *Hennebond* with all his Company; where he was received of the Countess with great joy.

All this while the Battle waxed hot near the Great Gate, till the Valets who fled from before Sr. *Walter*, brought word how the Prisoners were rescued. When Don *Lewis* heard this Report, he thought the Lord *Charles* had put a Trick upon him, and ask'd in great fury which way they were gone, that made the Rescue; they told him toward *Hennebond*. Then he left the Shirmish in great Displeasure, and with his Troops retreated to the Camp; at which time also Sr. *Charles* sounded a general Retreat: For he found himself cheated, and that there was no good to be done. As the *Frenchmen* retired, the Lord of *Landerneau* and the Governour of *Guingand* pursued after them so eagerly, that they were both taken Prisoners, and carried to the Lord *Charles* his Tent, where they were so beset with Threats and Promises, that they presently acknowledged him Duke of *Bretagne*, and rendred him their Homage and Fealty. Thus for the Recovery of two Friends the Countess lost two other, but however by this Action she gain'd such a Reputation from her Enemies, that they reckon'd her at that time Invincible.

XVII. For three days after this brisk Exploit, at a Council of War in the Lord *Charles* his Tent it was consider'd, "That *Hennebond* was not to be forced; that by "these Wars the Country had been so wasted and robbed by both Parties, that there

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"was hardly any Forage or Provision to be got, that Winter also was near at hand; for "it was now [t] between the Feast of *Remigius* and *All Saints*: Wherefore they agreed "to raise their Siege for that time; only it was advis'd, that the Lord *Charles* should "take care to reinforce all his Fortresses which he had won, with Provision, Soldiers "and Captains; that so they might the next Year find their Affairs in no worse Posture "than now they left them: And for the better security of their Men in Winter Quar- "ters, it was order'd, that if any desired a Truce till *Whitsuntide*, it should not be "refused. This was the Result of what was agreed in this Council before *Hennebond* in the Moneth of *October* MCCCXLII.

[t] October.

Whereupon [u] they brake up the Siege, and except only such of the Lords as the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* retain'd with him to advise him in his Affairs, all the Captains with their Forces went to their several Homes, or the Quarters assigned them: The Army breaking up at the strong Town of *Karhais*, where some time after the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* remained.

[u] *Froiss. c.* 88. *fol.* 47.

Now during his Stay at *Karhais*, a certain rich Merchant, being a wealthy and powerfull Burgess of *Jugon* (a Town standing on the River *Arguenon*, about 7 Leagues from St. *Brieu* and 5 from *Dinant*) was taken up by the Marshall Sr. *Robert Beaumanoir* and brought to his Lord Sr. *Charles*. This Merchant by Commission from the Countess of *Montford*, had the chief Rule of the Town of *Jugon*, and was greatly also beloved and respected by the Inhabitants thereof. Him Sr. *Charles* put in fear of his Life, and pretended to be unwilling to accept of any Ransom whatsoever: So that what thrô Fear and other Arts us'd upon him, he began to listen to a Proposal of Betraying the Town. At last it was agreed, that as he who kept the Keys of the Town, he should on such a Night leave open such a certain Gate: For the Accomplishment whereof he left his Son in Hostage; and Sr. *Charles* on his Part promised to give him in Requital of that Service five hundred Pounds of yearly Revenue.

This Agreement was performed on the Alderman's Part; and on the Night appointed Sr. *Charles* enter'd the Town at such a Gate with considerable Forces: But the Watchman of the Castle perceiv'd them and gave the Alarm, crying out Treason, Treason. At this the Inhabitants began to run to their Arms; but seeing all lost they fled to the Castle for security by Heaps, and to set a good Face upon the Matter, the Alderman who was author of the Plot, fled along with them. In the morning Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* sent such a number of his Men to search and plunder the Houses, and he himself with the rest came before the Castle; and thô he saw and knew the great Strength thereof, yet considering how thronged it was now with new Comers, whereby their Provisions would be mightily wasted, he said aloud, "That he would not stir thence "till he had it at his Devotion. The mean while Sr. *Gerard* of *Rochfort*, who was Captain of the Castle, perceiving evidently, and upon strict Examination finding, that this Burgess the Governour of the Town had betrayed all, presently took him and hang'd him for an Example over the Walls; after which considering that his Provision would not serve above ten Days, and that the Lord *Charles* had made a vow not to depart till he had one way or other reduced the Place, he Capitulated to yield on Condition, that the Goods and Lives of all within should be saved, which was granted. The Lord *Charles* took them all to his Homage, and left the Castle to the Government of the same Captain, Sr. *Gerard* of *Rochefort*, whose Loyalty he approved even thô lately contrary to him: Thus both Town and Castle of *Jugon* were put in a good posture of Defence, only the Master was changed.

XVIII. But now by the Mediation of many sober Men on both Parties, a Truce was at last concluded between the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* and the Countess of *Montford*, and consented to by all their Aiders and Assisters, to endure to the Fifteenth of *May* then next ensuing: Whereupon (the King of *England* having before sent for the Countess of *Montford*) as soon as this Truce was ratified; She together with her young Son *John*, took the Sea and went for *England*, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Northampton*, about the Middle of *December* and arrived in safety at *Plimouth*, whence She was honourably convey'd to the King, who received her graciously, and for a long while after took Care of her Son here in *England*. For her sake King *Edward* renewed those publique Rejoycings, which were usual in his Days, with his accustomed Magnificence. All the *Christmas* Holydays there were daily Tournaments, Running at the Ring, Dancings, Balls, Splendid Collations and Princely Banquets; so that the Countess look'd upon the Court of *England* as another Paradise. And here for many Years her Son was exercised in those honourable Methods of Education, which fitted him for the Character he was afterwards to bear, and enabled him to purchase the Glorious Sirname of *Valiant*.

XIX. This

XIX. This Year the Renowned Earl of *Salisbury* is said to have Conquer'd the Isle of *Man*; in consideration whereof, and because [x] his Father was Married to one of the Sisters of *Orry*, King of *Man* (descended from *Orry* Son to the King of *Denmark*) he [y] was now by King *Edward*, his Gracious Master, Crowned King of the said *Island*: which was in like manner enjoy'd by his Son, till he sold it to the Lord *Scroop* in King *Richard* the Seconds days; thô it is certain, [z] that he bore the Title of *Lord of the said Isle* unto the Day of his Death.

On the [a] 25 of *April* this Year, Pope *Benedict* the XII died at *Avignion*, after he had sat 7 Years, 4 Moneths, and six Days. *Clement* the VI succeeded him, a Man of great Learning, but (as 'tis said) very Prodigal, especially of what was not his own: For he took up by way of Provision, as well throughout *England*, as elsewhere, most of the best Spiritual Preferments; which he [b] conferr'd on his Cardinals, and others; till he forced King *Edward* flatly to oppose this his Tyrannous Usurpation, as We shall see hereafter.

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[x] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 644.
[y] *Id. ibid. p.* 646.
[z] *Id. ibid. p.* 648.
[a] *Labbe Chronol. Tech. ad hunc annum, & Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc an.* §. 1.
[b] *Vid. Walsingh. hist. p.* 149.

CHAPTER the TWENTY FIRST.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *prepares on all hands against the next Campagne; but chiefly embraces the Countess of* Montford's *Interest; to whose Aid he commands the Lord* Robert *of* Artois *in all haste to address himself: But not finding the* Scots *sure, he resolves forthwith to bring them down.* II. *He enjoyns his Clergy by Proclamation to make Publique Prayers for the Success of his Arms.* III. *A Truce for two Years taken between the* Englisn *and* Scots, *to which the* French *King gives his Consent.* IV. *The Lord* Robert *of* Artois, *Admiral of the* Englisn *Fleet, Engages with* Don Lewis *of* Spain, Charles *of* Blois *his Admiral; but a Tempest parts them.* V. *The Lord* Robert *of* Artois *Landing in* Bretagne, *lays Siege to* Vannes, *and takes it by Stratagem.* VI. *The* Englisn *lay Siege to* Rennes. VII. *The* Bloisian *Lords come suddenly before* Vannes, *and retake it by Storm.* VIII. *The Lord* Robert *of* Artois *dies in* England *of his Wounds received at* Vannes; *King* Edward *vows to revenge his Death.* IX. *A Parliament; wherein* Edward, *the Kings Eldest Son is created Prince of* Wales. X. *The Commons in Parliament complain of the Popes Provisions, and Reservations of Benefices in* England; *whereupon by the Kings leave, the two Houses send an Address to the Pope, with the Event.* XI. *The Popes Letter to the King about the Premises.* XII. *Another of the Popes Letters to the same purpose directed to his Council.* XIII. *King* Edwards *notable Answer unto the Pope in behalf of the Liberties of the Church of* England; *with his Proceedings thereupon.* XIV. *The King goes in Person into* Bretagne, *and lays Siege to* Vannes, *with* Charles *of* Blois's *Preparations to resist him; and King* Edwards *march against him; whereupon he Besieges him in* Nants: *And at the same time takes in* Dinant, Ploermel, Malestroit, *and other Towns.* XV. *The Lord* Clisson, *and the Lord* Henry du Leon *taken by the* Englisn *before* Vannes: Don Lewis *of* Spain *distresses the Kings Navy; which being Succoured, for the more security is removed, part to* Brest, *and part to* Hennebond. XVI. John *Duke of* Normandy *comes into* Bretagne *with an Army against King* Edward. XVII. *The two Armies confront without offering Battle on either side; by the Mediation of the Pope, a Truce agreed on, and a time limited for a further Treaty; King* Edward *returns into* England. XVIII. *The Treaty fully Ratified; whereupon some* Englisn *Lords go to the Holy War.* XIX. *The Year concludes with the Death of King* Robert *of* Sicily, *of King* Philip *of* Navarre, *and others: The Foundation of* Trinity-Hall, *of* Pembroke-Hall, *and* Gonvill *and* Caius *College in* Cambridge.

I. NOw while King *Edward* was keeping his *Christmas* with great Solemnity, and entertaining the Fair Countess of *Montford*, and the Lords of *Bretagne*, he [a] received sundry Letters of great Importance from several places. From *Gascogne* and *Bayonne* his Captains desired a supply of Men to secure the Frontiers: From *Flanders Jacob van Arteveld* sent him Letters, import-

[a] *Froiss. c.* 89.

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ing, how He hop'd ſhortly to bring it about, that his Eldeſt Son, *Edward* Duke of *Cornwall*, ſhould marry the Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders*, (for him and his Son they intended to expell) and ſo ſhould be Lord and Duke of *Flanders*; with many other Politick Devices, which I paſs over, becauſe they never took effect. From *Scotland* at the ſame time, King *Bailiol*, who was Governour of *Barwick* for King *Edward*, the Lord *Ros* of *Hamlake*, and the Lord *Henry Piercy* of *Northumberland*, ſent alſo their Letters, ſignifying to the King, that the *Scots* did not hold the Peace over punctually; but that they made great Trainings, and Muſter'd many Souldiers; to what intent, as they knew not, his Majeſty might eaſily gueſs. Beſides all this, his ſeveral Captains in *Ponthieu Xaintogne*, *Rochel*, and *Bourdelois*, ſent him Word, how the *French* made vaſt Preparations for the enſuing Campaigne, and that therefore the Truce made at *Arras*, being well-nigh expired, it would become his Majeſties Wiſdom to look about him. And ſo He did, and anſwer'd all theſe Letters diſtinctly, promiſing to provide a timely Remedy for all their Doubts: But in eſpecial manner, notwithſtanding all theſe Avocations, he was [b] reſolv'd to embrace the Intereſts of the Counteſs of *Montford*, who was then at *London* with her Son in the Queens Company. Wherefore he commanded his Couſin the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* with ſuch a Number of Archers, and ſo many Men of Arms to undertake this Expedition. He alſo [c] ſent the Lord *Thomas Holland*, and Sr. *John Darvel* to *Bayonne* with 200 Men of Arms, and 400 Archers, to defend the Frontiers there. But as for the *Scots*, thô the King intended to War upon them in Perſon, till they themſelves required a Peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, yet his Lords perſwaded him, rather at this time to ſend unto them in order to Treat for a Truce between the two Realms for two or three Years: For they ſaid, "how it was great Wiſdom in a Prince, that hath War in ſe-"veral places at One time, to make a Truce with One, to pacifie the Other by mild "Words, and on the Third to employ his Power, By theſe and the like Perſwaſions, he was content to ſend [d] *Richard Bury* Lord Biſhop of *Durham*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevill* of *Raby*, the Lord *John Striveling*, and others, to Treat about the Premiſes. But King *David*, either becauſe He thought this Offer was extorted by ſome great Neceſſity, or for that he was really ſo obliged to King *Philip*, return'd anſwer, that he neither could, nor would ſtrike up a Peace with *England*, without the Conſent of the King of *France*: That this was one of the Articles in the laſt Truce, and muſt be for ever, that nothing of Agreement could be laſting between *England* and *Scotland*, without the Allowance of the King of *France*. King *Edward* was ſo nettled at ſo brisk a Reply from a Prince, whom he had drove out of his Kingdom, that in great Indignation, he vow'd openly; "That now therefore he would for a while intend to no other bu-"ſineſs, but the War with *Scotland* only; till he had reduced that Kingdom to ſuch "Deſtruction, as ſhould be remembred, while the World endur'd. And immediately he gave out his Commands for all his Men of War to meet him at *Barwick* by *Eaſter*, except ſuch only, who were appointed for the Wars in *Bretagne*.

[b] *Froiſ. c. 90. fol. 46.*

[c] *Froiſ. ibid. & Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 74.*

[d] *Dugd. 2. Vol. p. 143. a. & Froiſ. ibid.*

II. Nor did this Heroick Prince truſt alone in the Arm of Fleſh; but truly conſidering, that God Almighty was the ſole Diſpoſer of the Succeſs of all Mans endeavours, he now iſſues forth his pious Commands to all the Clergy of *England*, that with one Voice they would inceſſantly ſtorm Heaven, and by their importunate Prayers extort a Bleſſing upon his Arms. Behold a Copy of his Letters,

[e] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 147. n. 10. Speed p. 574. §. 68.*

EDWARD [e] by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, to the Reverend his Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, *&c.* Greeting in the Lord.

"The King of Heaven is Terrible in his Judgements, and in Wiſdom inſcrutable: "Who juſtly correcteth the Sons, whom He loveth, and often ſhews unto his People "that offend, hard things, by humbling Sinners for their Iniquities; that ſo returning "unto him, they may ſeek his Holy Name with fear. We therefore, duly conſider-"ing, with what hazards of War and Adverſities, both We and the People under Us, "either for our ſins, or for theirs, or rather, both for ours and theirs, have been of a long "while, and ſtill are exceedingly moleſted, and very much damnifi'd, and exhauſted "thereby of our Treaſure; and further, weighing the Dangerous inconveniences, that "ſtill in all likelihood hang over the heads of Us, and of our People, unleſs Divine Pro-"vidence ſhall more graciouſly reſpect Us from on High: In the midſt of ſuch Diffi-"culties and Troubles, while We behold our own Weakneſs, in all our Actions We "have our recourſe to the Divine Omnipotence, truſting, that the Juſt Judge, the "True God, will kindly reſpect the Truth and Juſtice of our Cauſe, and will humble "our Adverſary. And ſo in confidence of his Heavenly Compaſſion, attempting an Ar-"duous Affair, We have ordained our Paſſage towards the parts of *France* with a ſtrong

"and

"and well-armed Power; and another Army We have order'd to be conducted toward "the parts of *Scotland*; that so, by the Grace of God, We may prevent the Dangers "threatned unto Us, and prepare unto our Liege Subjects, after those Storms of Trouble "they have suffer'd, the Halcyon-days of Peace and Quiet.

"Seeing therefore You are constituted of God, on the behalf of Men, to offer up "Gifts and Sacrifices for sin, attend, We pray You, to the foresaid Dangers, not of "Us only, but of our People, pouring forth to the most High, Prayers for our happy Suc- "cess, supplying the place of *Moses*; that by the lifting up of your Hands, We and "Our Armies may prevail against the Enemy: And that by the Multitude of Interces- "sors, an Augmentation of Grace may be afforded Us; do You cause thrô all our Ci- "ties, and Towns in your respective Dioceses, Prayers, and Processions to be made, "and other parts of Pious Attonement to be meekly performed; that the God of Mer- "cies would vouchsafe to extend the Hand of his Benediction over Us, and our Ar- "mies, and so direct our Actions according to his Good Pleasure, that they may "redound to his Praise, to our own Comfort, and to the Quiet and Advantage of "Our Liege-Subjects. Dated, *&c.* In the Year of Our Reign of *England*, the [f] 17, "and of *France* the 4.

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[f] *Apud Walsingh. dat.* Angl. 16. Fran. 3. *hoc est sub fine præcedentis anni.*

III. And having thus begun with Heaven, King *Edward*, as he had appointed with his Men of War, kept his [g] *Easter* at *Barwick*, and for three Weeks held a great Court there; for all the Chief Lords and Knights of the Land were then about him. But the Divine Goodness was yet willing to defer the further punishment of *Scotland*: For in the mean time there were found certain Pious Men, who labour'd so earnestly on both sides, that at last a Truce was agreed on to endure for two Years; to which also the *French* King, for the sake of the Common good of that harassed Kingdom, consented. Thus were these two Tempests of War for that time scattered, without breaking upon one another; saving, that during the time of the Treaty, some few skirmishes passed between the two Armies; and we find, [h] that in one of them, which happen'd at *Barwick*, the Lord *Ralph Nevill* of *Raby* was taken Prisoner, and carried to *Dunbar*, whence soon after he was redeemed. Only we must not omit, that before King *Edwards* Arrival at *Barwick*, the *Scots* willing to be beforehand with him, had laid Siege to the strong [i] Castle of *Loughmaban*, which King *Edward* had committed to the Custody of *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, but he upon his late going into *Bretagne*, had left it to the Defence and Care of Sr. *Walter Selby*, a Valiant Knight. The King hearing of this Siege, sent thither presently the Earl of *Darby*, the Earls of [k] *Glouceſter* and *Northampton* (who both return'd out of *Bretagne* with the Countess) and the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Robert Hufford* Junior, Eldest Son to the Earl of *Suffolk* with a considerable Body to relieve the Castle. But the Valour of the aforesaid Sr. *Walter Selby*, with the Assistance of *John Kirkeby*, Bishop of *Carlile*, and *Thomas* Son and Heir to the Lord *Anthony Lucy*, had raised the Siege and beat away the *Scots* before they came. And soon after the King, as we shew'd, coming to *Barwick* with all his Forces, the foresaid Truce for two Years was taken.

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 90. *fol.* 46.

[h] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 294.

[i] *Walsing. hist. p.* 150.

[k] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 751.

IV. The mean [l] while the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* busied himself in Preparations for his Expedition into *Bretagne*: But however, he was not able to take the Sea, till about the beginning of *May*, in the middle of which Moneth the Truce taken between the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and the Countess of *Montford* was to expire. The Lord *Charles* was not ignorant of the Assistance, which the King of *England* had promised to send into *Bretagne* along with the Countess; and therefore against their coming, he had set forth under the Command of *Don Lewis* of *Spain*, and the Captains of *Genoa*, a Fleet of 32 Sail with a 1000 Men of Arms, and 3000 *Genouese*, besides others, who hover'd about the Isle of *Garnsey* to intercept the *English*. The Lord *Robert* of *Artois* was now upon the Sea with the Countess of *Montford* (who had left her young Son *John* for his better security in *England*) and these Persons of Quality, namely, *William Montague*, King of *Man*, and Earl of *Salisbury*, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Lawrence Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, the Lord *Hugh Spencer* (Grandchild to the unfortunate *Hugh le Despencer* the Elder, who was Earl of *Wincheſter*, in the Days of King *Edward* the Second) the Lord *Robert Bourchier*, the Lord *John Tibetot*, or *Tiptot*, the Lord *Roger Northwood*, and others: All whom *Don Lewis* of *Spain* met with before the Isle of *Garnsey*. When first the *English* Mariners espi'd the Fleet of *Don Lewis* consisting of *Spaniards*, *Genouese*, *French*, and *Bretons*, they warn'd all the Lords and Captains of their Danger. They all commanded their Trumpets immediately to be sounded, and rear-

[l] *Froiſ. c.* 90. & 91. *f.* 46. *a* & *b.*

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reared up their Banners and Standards, with their ſeveral Arms and Devices, together with St. *George's* Banner, the Red Croſs of *England*; and ſo betook themſelves to their Arms in their appointed Order, the Archers being planted on the Decks; and then as the Wind ſerved, they went forward Couragiouſly.

The *Engliſh* conſiſted of 46 veſſels Great and Small, the *Spaniards* making but 32, as we ſaid before, but among the latter were nine *Spaniſh* Carricks high-built and greater than any one of the *Engliſh*, beſides three huge Galeons, wherein were the three Admirals, Don *Lewis* of *Spain*, the Lord *Charles* of *Germaulx*, and Sr. *Otho de Rue*. At the joyning of the two Fleets, there was a fierce Medly between the Croſsbows of *Genoua* and the *Engliſh* Archers: But when the Men of Arms began to board one another, then the Face of the Battle look'd terrible indeed. [m] The Counteſs of *Montford* her ſelf was that day inferiour to none of the Lords of either ſide, ſhe had the Heart of a Lion, and in her Hand a ſharp Sword, wherewith ſhe laid about her to the pleaſure of her Friends, the terrour of her Enemies, and the Wonder of all. The *Spaniards* and *Genoueſe* from their great Carricks caſt down bars of Iron, Timber and the like, which much offended the *Engliſh* Archers; but however they ſtood with their Arrows ready nook'd, to take off what ever Head appear'd. This Engagement muſt of neceſſity have been very bloody to either ſide, for it was carried on with much Fury and Bravery of both Parts; but the God of Battles order'd it otherwiſe: For the Fight having begun about Evenſong, a Night came upon them ſo dark and diſmal, that they were all forced as it were by Conſent to give over; for they could diſcern nothing to any purpoſe. Hereupon they withdrew from each other, and caſt Anchor at ſome diſtance, but ſtill kept to their Arms; for they thought to renew the Fight again early the next Morning. But about Midnight there aroſe ſuch a Storm, as ſeem'd to threaten a Mixture of Heaven and Earth together, and the Elements fought with as great animoſity as lately the two Fleets had joyn'd. At this horrible Tempeſt all their warlike Ardour was quaſh'd, and the boldeſt Heart among them wiſh'd for nothing more than Land: For the Ships daſhed ſo roughly together, they feared that they would ſplit in ten thouſand Pieces. The Lords of *England* enquired of the Mariners what courſe they had beſt to take in this Extremity, and they adviſ'd to make up to Land, becauſe their veſſels were not able to ride out ſo great a Tempeſt, and there was no danger that their ſmall Ships ſhould be ſtruck upon the Shoar; wherefore they drew up their Anchors and bare but a quarter Sail, and ſo at laſt without much loſs they came ſafe to Land. But the *Spaniards* and *Genoueſe* on the other ſide hal'd up their Anchors and took the main Sea; for their Ships were better able to ride out, but they could not hope to touch the Land without inevitable Ruine. Upon their Departure they met with four *Engliſh* Veſſels, which being laden with Proviſion, had been ſcatter'd from the Fleet; theſe they took and tow'd after them. But ſtill the Storm encreaſed ſo outragiouſly, that in leſs than a Day, they were driven more than an 100 Leagues from the Place where the Battle was fought. All that Night and the next Day till Noon the Storm laſted without ceaſing one jot, to their great danger and no little dammage; for they loſt two good Ships with the Men and all that was therein. The third Day about Prime the Sea was calm, and then upon enquiry of the Mariners Don *Lewis* was informed, how the next landing place was in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and that they had been carried from *Bretagne* more than ſixcore Leagues. There then they caſt Anchor, and when the Tide came the Wind ſtood fair for *Rochell*: So they coaſted *Bayonne*, but would not come near it, becauſe the *Engliſh* were Lords there: In their way toward *Rochell* they met with 4 Ships of *Bayonne* coming from *Flanders*; theſe they boarded, took them preſently, ſlew all they found therein, and held on their courſe towards the *Garonne* and *Rochel*, in order to recover *Bretagne*. Thus ſtrangely was the Deciſion of this Engagement prevented by a Tempeſt, ſo that it could not be known which Side had the better: For they both were parted againſt their Wills.

[m] *Froiſ. ibid.*

V. The *Engliſh* when the Storm was over, landed in *Bretagne* near the City of *Vannes*, whereupon having unladed all their Horſe, Armour and Proviſion, they concluded to ſend away their Navy to *Hennebond*, and preſently to go and lay Siege to *Vannes*. The Captains, who were there for the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, were the Lord *Henry du Leon*, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, the Lord of *Tumine* and the Lord *Guy* of *Loheaire*: Who upon the Approach of the *Engliſh*, like Men of Honour ſeriouſly appli'd themſelves to make good the Place; and at every Gate they ſet a Knight with ten Men of Arms and 20 Croſsbows, and for all the other Defences, both in the Town and Caſtle, they provided very carefully and wiſely.

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The Lord *Robert* of *Artois* had at this Siege, beſide thoſe whom he had ſent to *Hennebond* with the Navy, a 1000 Men of Arms and 3000 Archers, not reckoning the Foot. He waſted all the Country about, and burnt and deſtroy'd as far as *Dinant* on the other ſide of *Bretagne*, and unto *Gony en la Foreſt*: So that none durſt abide in the plain Country. Every day there were ſeveral Aſſaults and Skirmiſhes at the Barriers of *Vannes*, but as yet no great matter was gained. AN. DOM. 1343. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVII. *Franciæ* IV.

The mean while Don *Lewis* having recover'd of the Tempeſt, paſſed by *Rochell* and *Poictou*, and came up beyond the Mouth of the *Loire* and landed at *Guerande* in *Bretagne*, where he firſt heard that *Vannes* was beſieged by the *Engliſh*: Of which he preſently ſent word to the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*.

The Counteſs of *Montford* would not return with the Fleet to *Hennebond*; ſhe had rather in the open Fields adventure her ſelf in the Company of her *Engliſh* Friends before *Vannes*. But yet ſhe ſent word of all to the Lord *Walter Manny*, who was her chief Captain in *Hennebond*, and bad him act as ſhould ſeem beſt to his Wiſdom. Sr. *Walter* having had this account of Affairs from thoſe who return'd with the Fleet, deliver'd the Keeping of the Town to Sr. *Willaim Cadudal* and Sr. *Gerard* of *Rochefort* (who had now left his Command of *Jugon*, and return'd to the Service of his firſt Miſtreſs the Counteſs) and took with him the Lord of *Triguier* and an 100 Men of Arms and 200 Archers, whom he led to the Siege of *Vannes*. Upon his Arrival there was a great Aſſault made at three Places at once, during which time the Archers ſo well obſerv'd the Walls that the Defendants had much ado to make good their Stations. It was a fierce Aſſault indeed and laſted a whole Day, ſo at Nights approach it ceaſed, the *Engliſh* withdrawing to their Camp; as thoſe of the Town did to reſt; many of them being wounded and all extreamly wearied. Wherefore they unarmed themſelves, and only ſetting the uſual Guards upon Duty, intended to eaſe themſelves for that Night. On the contrary, the *Engliſh* kept on their Armour ſtill, except their Head-pieces, and ſo drank and refreſhed themſelves: All this was done by the Counſel of the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, who order'd now again three Battalia's as before; two whereof were appointed to renew the Aſſault at the Gates, and the Third to keep aloof till they had continued the Aſſault for ſome time: And when in all likelihood it might be ſuppoſed, that the chief Strength of the Town ſhould be drawn to the Gates, then this Battalion in great privacy with Ladders, Ropes and Hooks of Iron ſhould ſcale the Town in the Weakeſt place. As it is [n] ſaid of Wolves, that going in great numbers to aſſail a flock of Sheep by Night; they ſet ſome one or two of their Company on the Wind-ſide of the Fold afar off, who by their Scent and Howling give a falſe Alarm, and ſo draw off the Dogs and Shepherds towards the purſuit of them: While the other ſecurely enter the Fold on another ſide and deſtroy the whole Flock. This being reſolv'd on, about Midnight the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* return'd with the firſt Battle, and gave a fierce Aſſault at one of the Gates; and the Earl of *Salisbury* with the ſecond Battle did the like at another. And becauſe it was dark, and to ſtrike the greater Terrour into the Beſieged, the *Engliſh* made many great Fires, the light whereof ſhone over all the City, ſo that they within thought their Houſes had been on fire, and crying Treaſon, roſe preſently out of their Beds and ran toward the Light without either Order or Command; and thoſe who were up flew ſtraight to their Arms and repaired to their Defences. While the whole Town was thus engaged at the two Gates, the Earl of *Oxford* and the Lord *Walter Manny* approached ſilently with the third Battalion to the Walls, where no Defence being made, without any Difficulty they mounted up with the Scaling-ladders and entred the Town. The *Frenchmen* and *Bretons* had no heed of them, they were ſo buſied in other Places, till they ſaw them in Martial Array in their very Streets. Then every Man fled away to ſave himſelf, the Captains not having time enough to gain the Caſtle, took their Horſes in a great Hurry, and with much ado getting out at a privy Poſtern eſcaped. Happy was he who made the ſame Advantage of that Poſtern: For all that ever were ſeen by the *Engliſh* were ſlain or taken; the Caſtle was immediately ſummon'd and yielded, the Town overrun and rob'd; and the Counteſs and the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* entred the City with great joy at their happy Succeſs.

[n] Leiceſter's *Com. Wealth* p. 160.

VI. Thus was the ſtrong City of *Vannes* taken by Stratagem; but the Triumph of the Conquerours was not of long Continuance: For when their Strength was divided, it was again recovered with no mean intereſt. Five Days [o] after this Victory, the Counteſs of *Montford* and the Lord *Walter Manny* with many other Knights of *England* and *Bretagne* returned to *Hennebond*: Soon after that the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, *Oxford* and *Suffolk* went from *Vannes* with a 1000 Men of Arms and 3000 Archers,

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 93. *f.* 47.

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Archers, and laid Siege to the City of *Rennes*, from whence the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* had been gone but four Days before; thô he had left the Place well furniſhed with Captains and Men of War; and had alſo refreſhed Don *Lewis* his Navy, and ſet him again to keep the Sea; ſo that this Year they did much Harm upon the Coaſts of *England*, and none could paſs without their Danger between *Bretagne* and *England*.

VII. This Winning of the City of *Vannes* amazed all the whole Country; for 'twas thought the Place being ſo ſtrong, and the Captains ſuch Choice Men both for Skill and Courage; that if they had been as True as they ſhould have been, the Town was ſo well provided of Men of War, and Artillery, that it might have held out much longer againſt any Forces whatſoever. Sr. *Henry du Leon*, and Sr. *Oliver Cliſſon* were infinitely troubled and aſham'd at theſe Reports; and their Enemies and Enviers made them yet more concerned; for they cry'd ſhame on them, and laid direct Treaſon to their Charge. Wherefore what thrô ſhame and indignation, and what thrô hope of Succeſs, they both privately reſolved to make one vigorous Effort; if by any means they might recover the Town, and thereby reeſtabliſh their tottering Credit. At laſt they got together ſuch a Number of Knights and Eſquires, Men of Arms, and others; that on an appointed Day, there met before the City of *Vannes* more than 12000 Men, the Chief whereof, beſide themſelves, was the Lord *Robert Beaumanoir* Marſhal of *Bretagne*, under the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*. When the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* ſaw, how of a ſudden he was cloſely beſieged on all ſides, he was not at all negligent to do what became his Wiſdom and Courage; but he was ſomething ſurpris'd to be taken at ſuch a time, when moſt of his beſt Friends were abſent with the Earl of *Salisbury*, who lay then before *Rennes*, but knew nothing of this matter, it had been carried on ſo privately. When the Beſiegers had made good their Approaches, and rightly fitted themſelves, they immediately fell on the Aſſault, which they maintain'd with incredible Fury and Reſolution: For they feared, leſt the Earl of *Salisbury* ſhould be informed of this their undertaking, before they had effected their Deſign. The Lords *Henry du Leon*, and Sr. *Oliver Cliſſon* gave the greateſt Encouragement, and ſet the beſt Example; ſo that never any Attack was carried on with more Ardour, nor obtain'd better Succeſs: For there were ſo many places to be Mann'd, and ſo few hands to perform, that at laſt they wan the Barriers, not long after the Gates, and ſo they entred the City by force; the *Engliſh* being now in their turn put to the chace, many hurt and taken, and more ſlain. The Lord *Robert* of *Artois* eſcaped very narrowly thrô a Poſtern, thô grievouſly wounded, and with him the Lord *Stafford*, who both got to the Counteſs to *Hennebond*. The Lord *Hugh Spencer* was taken by the Lord *Henry du Leon*, but ſo grievouſly wounded, as *Froiſard* ſays, that he died within three Days after. Thô this is a miſtake; for this Baron *Spencer* died not till [p] ſix Years after, as appears from the Records; only indeed a Brother of his, Sr. *Edward Spencer*, we find to have departed this Life about this time: But neither will I affirm, that he was the Man; for his Death is ſet a little more forward.

[p] *Dudg. 1 Vol. p. 395.*

VIII. Thus [q] was the City of *Vannes* retaken and fortified, and repaired with all Expedition imaginable for fear of a Relapſe; ſo that within a ſhort ſpace, it was much better provided to endure a Siege, than ever before. The Lord *Robert* of *Artois* tarried a while at *Hennebond*, to ſeek remedy for his Wounds; but neither did the Air agree with him, nor the Phyſick: For he found but little good there. So he was adviſ'd to return into *England*, where he might get more skilfull Chirurgeons: But in his voyage the Sea and the Weather us'd him ſo unkindly, that his ſores feſter'd, inſomuch that being brought to *London*, he there died ſoon after. Surely thô his High Spirit, not being able to brook an injury from one, whom He had in a manner raiſed to a Crown, had urged him to open Enmity with his own Country, yet for his Valour, Conduct, and Loyalty to King *Edward*, he ought not to be deprived of his due Commendations; eſpecially ſince his fault againſt his Country may ſeem to have been expiated by his violent Death; but the Worth of the Man may appear to have been conſiderable, ſince his fall was bemoan'd as a Publique Loſs over all *England*, and King *Edward* himſelf being preſent at his Funeral in St. *Pauls* Cathedral, perform'd his Obſequies as ſolemnly as if he had been his own Coſin, *Henry Plantagenet*, the moſt Noble and Valiant Earl of *Darby*. Nor that only, but he made a vow, that he would ſeverely revenge his Death, "and to that purpoſe would go himſelf in "Perſon into *Bretagne*, and bring the Country into ſuch heavy deſolation, that it "ſhould not be recover'd of fourty Years. He that could reſolve to do ſo much for his ſake after Death, cannot but be ſuppoſed to have had an high eſteem for his Perſon, when living: Althô I do not find, that he had any Monument raiſed for him

[q] *Froiſ. c. 93. fol. 47. b.*

over

over the place of his Burial. Perhaps King *Edward* thought, as the late Noble *Montroſs* wrote for his Martyr'd Prince, that it was more fitting

"*To ſing his Obſequies with Trumpets Sounds,*
"*And write his Epitaph in Blood and Wounds.*

However the Kingdom of *France* did not gain much by his Fall; for her evil Genius ſoon after rais'd up another Native of her own, who prov'd as great a Firebrand of the War againſt Her.

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IX. But we muſt not omit a Memorable Parliament, which King *Edward* held this Year at his Palace of *Weſtminſter*; *die Lunæ poſt Quindenam Paſchæ*, that is, on * the 28 Day of *April*; during the Seſſions whereof, *viz.* on the 12 of *May*, being a *Monday*, King *Edward* created [r] his Eldeſt Son, *Edward*, who was now in the *Thirteenth* Year of his Age, Prince of *Wales*, inveſting him with a Coronet, a Gold Ring, and a ſilver Rod: And that he might be enabled to maintain a Port according to his Style and Dignity (beſides his former Titles and Profits annexed thereto) he added ſeveral other Lands, which are all particularly enumerated in a Writ directed to *William Emelden*, ordering him to deliver them unto this Prince, or his Attorney, together with this Dignity. Further, the King granted him all Debts and Arrears of Foreign Rents due to himſelf for what cauſe ſoever, in *North* and *South-Wales*, to the time of his being created Prince of *Wales*; as alſo all Victuals, Arms, Horſes, Oxen, Cows, and other things in and upon all the Caſtles and Lands which he held by the Kings Grant. At the ſame time the King Knighted ſeveral young Noblemen, particularly [r] *John Beauchamp* younger Brother to *Thomas* Earl of *Warwick*, to whom he then gave an allowance of twenty pounds *per annum*, toward his better ſupport in the Kings Service.

* E. Lit. Dom. Paſcha 13. *April.*

[r] *Aſhmole's Garter p.* 671. & *Adam Murimouth & M. S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. c.* 226. *ad hunc an. &c.*

[r] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 231.

Now it was Enacted, [t] that the Statute made at *Weſtminſter* 15 of *Edward* 3. (which the King had ſoon after revoked, as we have ſhewn) ſhould accordingly be utterly Repealed, and loſe the Name of a Statute; as contrary to the Laws, and the Kings Prerogative. But foraſmuch as the Articles there made, were Reaſonable; it was Enacted, that ſuch Articles, and others agreed on in this Parliament, ſhould be made into a Statute by Advice of the [u] Juſtices.

[t] *M.S. Rot. Parl. p.* 50. §. 23. & *Sr. Rob. Cotton. p.* 38. §. 23.

[u] *i. e.* of the Kings Bench and Common Pleas.

X. In this Parliament it is Recorded, [x] That the Commons of *England* made great Complaint of the Proviſions, and Reſervations coming from the Court of *Rome*: Whereby the Pope took up beforehand the future vacancies of Eccleſiaſtical Dignities for Aliens, and ſuch as had nothing to do within this Realm. They remonſtrated to the King the Manifold Inconveniences enſuing thereby; as the Decay of Hoſpitality, the tranſporting of the Treaſure of the Realm to the Maintenance of the Kings Mortal Enemies; the Diſcovering of the Secrets of the Kingdom, and the utter diſcouragement, diſabling, and impoveriſhing of Scholars, Natives of the Land. Among other inſtances, they alſo ſhewed how the Pope had ſecretly granted unto two New Cardinals ſundry Livings within the Realm of *England*, and particularly to the Cardinal of *Perigort* above ten Thouſand Marks, Yearly Collections. Whereupon they humbly require the King and his Lords to find a Remedy for theſe Intolerable Encroachments; for that they neither could, nor would any longer bear thoſe heavy Oppreſſions; or elſe they deſired, that his Majeſty and the Lords would help them forceably to expel the Papal Power out of this Realm.

[x] 17. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 59. *in Dorſo. Vid. M.S. Rot. Parl. p.* 54. & *Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgement p.* 41. & *Fox Acts & Mon. p.* 388. *&c.*

The King in Conſideration of the Premiſes, willeth, that the Lords and Commons among themſelves, conſult of the moſt Decent and fitting way, promiſing his conſent to any reaſonable Remedy. Hereupon the King, Lords, and Commons, preſently ſent for an Act made at *Carlile* in the [y] 25 Year of *Edward* the Firſt, upon the like Complaint: Which utterly forbad to bring, or attempt to bring any thing into this Realm, which ſhould tend to the Diminution of the Kings Prerogative, or the Prejudice of his Lords and Commons. And ſo at this time the Famous *Act of Proviſion* was made, prohibiting the bringing in of any Bull, or the like Trinkets from the Court of *Rome*, or the uſing, allowing, or enjoying of any ſuch Bull, Proceſs, or any other Inſtrument obtained from thence, as there at large doth appear. This Act however, [z] as One obſerves, could not be agreed to by the Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy, but they rather ſeem'd reſolv'd to proteſt againſt it, till the King peremptorily commanded them to ſurceaſe ſuch Preſumption.

[y] So in *M.S. Rot. Parl.* & *Sr Rob. Cotton*: But *Fox* ſays the 34. and yet puts it to the Year of our Lord 1307. which was the 35. and laſt of *Ed.* 1. I rather believe it ſhould be 35. *Ed.* 1.

[z] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 921.

However the Lords Temporal only, and the Commons by themſelves, wrote a Letter to his Holineſs, the Purport whereof followeth, [a] from the Original *French*.

[a] *Adam Murimouth & Fox Acts & Mon. p.* 352. & *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 921.

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"To the moſt Holy Father in God, the Lord *Clement*, by Divine Providence, of "the Holy *Roman* and Catholick Church the Chief Biſhop; his Humble and Devout "Children the Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and all the "Commonalty of the Realm of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament at *Weſtminſter* on "the 28 Day of *April* laſt paſt, Devout Kiſſings of his Holy Feet. MOST HOLY "FATHER, the Pious Diſcretion, Prudence and Equity which ſeem, and ought in- "deed to be in You (who are ſo Holy and ſo High a Prelate, Head of the Holy "Church, by whom the Catholick Church and People of God ſhould, as by the Sun- "beams be enlightned) do give us good Hope, that the juſt Petitions hereunder by "us declared, to the honour of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of his Holy Church and of your Holi- "neſs alſo, ſhall be of You gratiouſly conſider'd; and that all Errours and Injuſtice "ſhall be quite removed, inſtead whereof fruitfull Amendment and neceſſary Remedies "(thrô the Grace of the Holy Spirit, which You in ſo eminent a Degree have received) "may be by You gratiouſly ordained and applied.

"Wherefore (moſt Holy Father) after great Deliberation, We all with one Aſſent "come unto your Holineſs, ſhewing and declaring, that the moſt Noble Kings of *Eng-* "*land*, Progenitors to his Majeſty that now is, as alſo our Anceſtors and our Selves "too (according to the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt to them and to us given) every "one of his own Devotion have eſtabliſhed, founded and endowed within the Realm "of *England* Cathedrals and other Churches, Colleges, Abbeys, Priories, and divers "other Religious Houſes: And to the Prelates and Governours of the ſame have gi- "ven and granted Lands, Poſſeſſions, Patrimonies, Franchiſes, Advowſons and Patro- "nages of Dignities, Revenues, Offices, Churches, with many and divers other Ad- "vantages and Emoluments: Whereby the Service of God and the Faith of *Chriſt* "might be honoured and had in Reverence, Hoſpitals and Alms-houſes, with all other "Edifices, Churches and Colleges might be honeſtly kept and maintain'd, and Devout "Prayers in the ſame Places made for the Souls of the Founders; and the Poor alſo of "the ſeveral Pariſhes conveniently aided and nouriſhed: Of all which ſuch only were "to have the Cure, who were able to take Confeſſions, and were otherwiſe meet in "their own Mother Tongue of *England* effectually to teach and inform their Flock.

"And foraſmuch (moſt Holy Father) as You cannot well attain the knowledge of "divers ſuch Errours and Abuſes, as are crept in among us; nor yet be able to under- "ſtand the Conditions and Cuſtomes of Places, being your ſelf ſo far diſtant, unleſs "your Holineſs be of others duly informed and inſtructed: We therefore having full and "perfect Notice and Intelligence of all the Errours and Abuſes of the ſaid Places with- "in the ſaid Realm, have thought fit to ſignifie the ſame unto your Holineſs, namely, "*That divers Reſervations, Proviſions, and Collations by your Apoſtolick Predeceſſors* "*of the Church of* Rome, *and by You alſo in Your time* (*moſt Holy Father*) *have been* "*granted* (*and now more largely than heretofore*) *unto divers Perſons, as well Stran-* "*gers and of other Nations, as unto ſome, who are our profeſſed Enemies, and who have* "*little or no Underſtanding at all of our Language, and of the Conditions and Cuſtoms* "*of thoſe, of whom they have the Government and Cure*: Whereby a great number "of Souls are in peril, many of the Pariſhioners in Danger, the Service of God neg- "lected, the Alms and Devotion of all Men diminiſhed, the Hoſpitals brought to "Decay, the Churches with their Appurtenances ruin'd and dilapidated; Charity wax- "eth cold; the good and honeſt Natives of our own Country unadvanced; the Charge "and Cure of Souls unregarded, the pious Zeal of the People reſtrained, many Poor "Scholars of our own unpreferred, and the Treaſure of the Realm exported, againſt "the Mind and Intention of the Founders.

"All which Errours, Abuſes and Slanders (moſt Holy Father) We neither can nor "ought any longer to ſuffer or endure: Wherefore we moſt humbly require Your Ho- "lineſs, that the Slanders, Abuſes and Errours, which we have declared unto You may "of your great Prudence be throughly conſider'd; and that it may pleaſe You, that ſuch "Reſervations, Proviſions and Collations may be utterly repealed; that the ſame from "henceforth be no more uſed among us; and that ſuch Order and Remedy be forth- "with taken therein, that the ſaid Benefices, Edifices, Offices and Rights with their "Appurtenances, may by our Countrymen to the Honour of God be ſupplied, occu- "pied and governed. And that it may further pleaſe Your Holineſs, by your Letters "to ſignifie unto us without Delay, or further protracting of Time, what your Plea- "ſure is touching this our lawfull Requeſt and Demand; that we may diligently do "our Devoir herein for the Remedy, Correction and Amendment of thoſe Enormities "above ſpecified. In witneſs whereof unto theſe Letters Patents We have ſet to our

"Hands

"Hands and Seals. Given in full Parliament at *Weſtminſter* the 18 Day of *May*, "*Anno Domini* 1343. Theſe Letters were diſpatch'd away [b] to the Pope by Sr. *John Shoreditch* Knight, a Man of great Gravity and deep Knowledge in the Law: Who coming to *Avignion*, and being conducted into the Pope's Privy Chamber, where his Holineſs then ſat among his Cardinals, humbly preſented theſe Letters from the Three Eſtates of *England* aſſembled together in Parliament. The Letters being once read, the Knight made Anſwer to what the Pope thought fit to object againſt them; and particularly he inſtanced in the Deanry of *York*, which his Holineſs had lately taken up for one of the Kings Enemies: Whereat the Pope with ſome Emotion reply'd, ---"Well, well, it is not unknown to Us who made and endited theſe Letters, and "We are ſenſible, how you are not the Author: But there is one, who endeavours "to pinch us narrowly, whom we ſhall find a way to bring down: For we underſtand "theſe Affairs well enough; and will not ſuffer them to be too nicely handled by o-"thers. He added, that there was a Knight of *England*, who accuſtomed himſelf to "ſpeak derogatory to the Church of *Rome*, wherewith he could not but be highly "offended; eſpecially ſince he ſaw his Honour invaded with Impunity. In concluſion he promiſed to anſwer the Letters of the Lords and Commons of *England*, in reference to the Contents thereof. Whereat the Cardinals roſe up and departed in great ſeeming Diſpleaſure, and the Knight having taken his leave, left the Court, and without longer tarrying went for *Bourdeaux* in *Guienne* about other of the Kings Buſineſs: Either becauſe he was ſo commanded, or leaſt otherwiſe on ſome Pretence or other he might have been detained there againſt his Will. The Pope nevertheleſs ſoon after ſent an Anſwer, directed to the King, in Behalf of thoſe Cardinals, for whom he had before made Proviſions, which now the King by vertue of his Prerogative Royal had deprived them of. The Tenour whereof followeth [c].

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[b] *Holinſhead ibid. p. 922. Sandfords Geneal. Hiſt. p. 164. Walſingh. hiſt. p. 150. n. 20 & hypod. p. 116. Adam Murimouth. M.S.*

XI. "CLEMENT the Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his moſt Dear Son "in *Chriſt*, the Lord *Edward* the Illuſtrious King of *England*, Greeting and Apoſtolical "Benediction. Lately after the Creation of new Cardinals of the Holy *Roman* Church, "having before taken a provident and mature Deliberation, We judg'd it highly re-"quiſite, both for the Honour of God and of his Holy Church, and alſo for the pub-"lick Utility, that thoſe Cardinals, who partake with Us of our Labours and Bur-"thens in diſpatching thoſe great Affairs, which from all Parts, as to their proper Cha-"nel, flow into the Apoſtolick See, ſhould alſo have agreeably, wherewithall to ſupply "their Neceſſities, according to the Dignity of their State and Condition.

"Whereupon having conſider'd of the moſt proper and lawfull Ways and Means, "whereby the ſaid *Proviſion* might with leſs burthen to the Churches and their Clergy, "be made; We gave out of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, then vacant in ſundry Realms of "*Chriſtendom*, and alſo of ſuch as ſhould from that time be vacant, unto each of the "ſaid new Cardinals for their Support, our Special Grants, unto ſuch a certain Summ, "and under certain Forms and Limitations, ſo diſtinguiſhed, as We judged might be pro-"portionable to the ſeveral Provinces.

"Now ſince unto two Cardinals born in the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, to wit, our be-"loved Sons, [d] *Ademare* of the Title of St. *Anaſtaſia*, and *Gerard* of the Title of "St. *Sabina*, Prieſts, We have made the like Grants of Benefices within your King-"dom and Territories (moſt Dear Son) contained in Form for them and other the "ſaid Cardinals, with great Deliberation ordained, and they for the obtaining the ſaid "Grants have ſent their Proctors and Eccleſiaſtick Meſſengers, being Perſons of Wiſ-"dom and Learning unto the Parts of your Kingdom of *England*; the ſaid Proctors "and Meſſengers when being enter'd the ſaid Kingdom, they began there to purſue "the Buſineſs of their ſaid Lords, were not only hinder'd in their ſaid Buſineſs by the Kings "Subjects and Officers, but alſo confined, and after that in very Diſgracefull manner "ejected the ſaid Kingdom, as We have too well underſtood by the too-unwelcome "Relations thereof.

[c] *Antiquitates Britannicæ p. 237. n. 50. Walſingh. hiſt. p. 152. n. 10. Adam Murimouth &c.*

[d] *Victorellus de Vit. Pontif. p. 894, 895. concordat cum Hiſtoricis noſtris.*

"Truly (moſt Beloved Son) if the Premiſes, which about the ſaid Proctors We "have premiſed, are founded upon real Truth, conſidering the ſincere Devotion which "You are known to bear towards the Lord, and toward the Holy *Roman* Church "your Mother, as the Kings of *England*, your Progenitors of Famous Memory in their "Days have born, We cannot eaſily believe that they proceeded from your Know-"ledge. But this is certain, that not only in your ſaid Kingdom and Territories, but "in a manner in all Kingdoms and Countries as well near as remote, whereever the "Catholick Faith flouriſhes, We have made the like Grant to other new Car-"dinals: Where notwithſtanding, except the ſaid Rebellious Denial, which if it be true,

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"We mention with grief of Heart, We have hitherto heard of no manner of Refusal. "For We thought and still do think it sufficiently advantageous for your Royal Ho- "nour and Interest, that Cardinals (especially such, who are naturally affected to your "Royal Honour and Interest) should obtain Ecclesiastical Benefices in your Kingdom "and Territories: Because thereby they may be induced more freely and frequently to "promote your Princely Advantage.

"And we wish to God, that those, who are fed with the Crums of the said *Roman* "Church, and by her have been exalted to Honours and Preferments, were not too "probably suspected (not without a Note of most Detestable ingratitude, and to their "own peril) to have procured the foresaid impediments unto Her! Whereby they have "to the great hazard of their Souls rendred themselves liable to Excommunication, and "other Punishments and Sentences promulged against such Persons by the Canons: "Which respect the happy Encrease of the Health, Fame and Honour of your Maje- "sty, towards which if with Loyal Endeavours these Men had attended, they would "not, by doing the contrary, so eagerly hunt after their own filthy Lucre, under the pre- "tence of their Prince's Service.

"Finally We entreat your Royal Excellence, and most earnestly exhort You in the "Lord, that diligently within your Princely Breast considering the Premises, and what "else shall occurr to your Royal Wisdom, You would graciously order those things, "which were done against the said Proctors and Others, authorized by the said Cardi- "nal *Ademare*, who are reported to have been afterwards taken and confin'd, to be "decently amended and revoked; and that your Royal Majesty would cause the said "Proctors, being upheld by the Royal Favour, in the Prosecution of the said Affairs "in the same Kingdom, to rejoyce with full Security for the Reverence of God, and of "Us, and of the said See, not lending your Royal Ears to those things which may "bring any Offence to God, Dishonour to the said Church, or harm to your Imperial Ho- "nour, Safety and Dignity: That so you may render the Lord always propitious unto "You, and the foresaid See still more ready to serve your Occasions: We desire You "would again write unto Us, most Beloved Son, what your Royal Wisdom shall think "fit to ordain in these Matters. Dated at *Villeneuve* in the Diœcese of *Avignion*, "the v. of the Kalends of *September*, in the second Year of our Pontificate.

XII. This Letter to the King of *England*, was accompanied by another of the same Date, directed to his Council, which being no where extant, but in [e] *Adam Murimouth*, whose Authentick and Ancient MS. was kindly communicated unto me by the Learned and Reverend Linguist and Philologist, Dr. *John Covel* Dean of *York*, I also thought fit to set it down faithfully translated from the Original.

[e] Adam Murimouth *ad An. Ed.* 3. 17.

"CLEMENT the Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his Beloved Sons, the "Counsellours of his most Dear Son in *Christ*, *Edward* the Illustrious King of *Eng-* "*land*, Greeting and Apostolick Benediction: A Displeasing and most ungratefull Ru- "mour hath in these Days reported unto Us, how that when our Dear Sons *Ademare*, "of the Title of St. *Anastasia*, and *Gerard* of the Title of *Sabina*, Priests Cardinals, "did send their Proctors to the Parts of the Kingdom of *England*, in order to pursue "the Grants lately by Us granted unto them (as unto other new Cardinals in divers "parts of the World) of Ecclesiastical Benefices, being in the Parts of the said Kingdom "of *England*; the said Proctors, thô both Learned, and also Ecclesiastical Persons, "were not only hindred in the Pursuance of the said Affairs; but also by the procu- "rance of some, who have been fed with the Crums of the said *Roman* Church, and "by her have been exalted to Honours and Preferments, as it is probably supposed: "(whereby as well they as others, who procured or perpetrated the same, have to "their great Danger rendred themselves liable to Excommunication, and other Pu- "nishments and Sentences, promulged against such Persons by the Canons) have been "ignominiously taken, and then expelled the said Kingdom; certain other Proctors of "the foresaid Cardinal *Ademare*, being afterwards taken and detained Prisoners.

"But since We cannot by any means believe, that the Premises, which (if Truth "agrees with the Relation) would redound to the Offence of the Divine Majesty, the "Discredit of the *Roman* Church, and the exceeding Reproach of the said Cardinals, "could proceed from the Knowledge of our most Dear Son in *Christ*, *Edward* the Il- "lustrious King of *England*, considering his Devotion, which he beareth to God and "the Holy *Roman* Church, his Mother; as neither can We by any means imagine, "that He, to whom We write also about this Matter, would endure such things as are "contrary to his Honour, Safety, and Dignity: We therefore entreat Your Wisdom, "and in the Lord more earnestly exhort You; That You, whose Office is to direct

"the

"the Actions and Affairs of the said King by the way of Honesty, Righteousness, and "Justice, the Contrary whereof, if it should happen, which God forbid, would be im- "puted to You; do prudently, speedily, and discreetly take Care, that whatsoever "Matters in this part have undecently, and unjustly proceeded, be revoked and a- "mended: Knowing, that in divers other parts of *Christendom*, as well near, as re- "mote, wherein We have made the like Grants, to other New Cardinals, We have not "heard of any notable impediment given unto them, or unto their Proctors, which "therefore they have sent to those parts long since. Given at *Villeneuve* in the Diocese "of *Avignon* [f] V. Kal. *Septemb.* in the second Year of our Pontificate.

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[f] i. e. 28 *Aug.*

XIII. To these Letters of the Pope, the King immediately return'd this Famous Epistle in behalf of the Liberties of the Church of *England*, [g] "To the most Holy Fa- "ther in God, the Lord *Clement*, by Divine Providence of the Holy *Roman* Catho- "lick Church, the Chief Bishop: EDWARD by the Grace of God, King of *France*, and "of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, Devout Kissings of his Holy Feet. When We se- "riously consider the Goodness of the Apostolick See, which is wont to be most so- "licitous concerning the Encrease of Devotion in *Christs* Flock, and the Welfare of "their Souls, not seeking that which is its own, but rather those things which are "*Christs*, We have a very probable hope, that Your Wisdom, being now worthily "placed in the Watch-tower of the Apostolick Eminence, will graciously take Care "to reform those things, which detract from the Honour of the Church, and the De- "votion of the People; and threaten inevitable Danger to the Souls and Goods of Man- "kind. We nothing doubt; but that it is now publiquely known, how from the ve- "ry first rise of *Christianity* in our Kingdom of *England*, our Progenitors, the Kings of "*England*, and the Lords, and other Subjects of the said Realm, have for the augmen- "tation of Divine Worship, built Churches, enriched them with ample Possessions, "and endowed them with large Privileges, placing fit Ministers therein, who have (nor "without Success) Preached the Catholick Faith to the People in their Mother Tongues: "By whose Care and Diligence the Vineyard of the Lord of *Sabaoth* hath wonderfully "prospered both in Culture and Fruit. But now, which is to be lamented, the slips "of this very Vine are degenerated into a Wild-vine, and the Boar out of the Wood "doth waste it, and the [h] Wild-Beast of the Field doth devour it: While by the Im- "positions and Provisions of the Apostolick See (which now grow more insupportable "than ever) its own proper Goods, against the Pious intent and appointment of the "Donors, are held in the Hands of the Unworthy, and especially of Foreigners; and "its Dignities, and Chief Benefices are confer'd upon Strangers, who for the most part "are Persons, at least, suspected unto Us; and who neither reside on the said Benefi- "ces, nor know the Face, nor understand the voice of the Flock committed unto them; "but wholly neglecting the Cure of Souls, like Hirelings, only seek their own Profit "and Temporal Advantage: And so the Worship of *Christ* is empaired, the Cure of "Souls neglected, Hospitality withdrawn, the Rights of the Churches lost, the Hou- "ses of the Clergy dilapidated, the Devotion of the People extinguished, the Clergy "of the said Kingdom, who are Men of great Learning and Honest Conversation, and "are both able and willing effectually to perform the Work of Ministers, and would "also be very fit for our, and the Publique Service; forsake their Studies, because the "Hope of a Reasonable Preferment is thus taken away: Which things, We know, "can be no ways acceptable to the Divine Pleasure; but will most certainly prove a "Mighty Prejudice, and unspeakable Calamity both to Us, and Our Subjects, unless "We take more sound and speedy Care in this Matter. For the Right of Patronage, "which We and Our Subjects have in these Benefices, is thereby infringed: Our Court, "in which only Cases concerning the Right of Patronage to the said Benefices, ought "to be discussed, is deluded; and so the Rights of our very Crown are both shame- "fully, and to our great Detriment, invaded; the Treasure of our Kingdom exported "to Foreigners, not to say, to our Enemies, perhaps with this subtle Intent; that thus "the Priesthood of the Kingdom being depressed, and its Wealth exhausted, the "Realm it self may be rendred more weak against the Storms of Adversity: All "which Incommodities, together with others, which follow from the Premises, were "lately made manifest unto Us in our Parliament, by the Community of the said "Realm, together with their Unanimous and Earnest Petition subjoyned; that We "would speedily prevent the foresaid Mischiefs, which seem utterly insupportable to our "said Community.

[g] *Adam Murimouth & Antiq. Brit. p.238. & Walsingh. hist. p.150. & 2 M.S. ex Vatican apud Odoric. Raynald. ad hunc annum* §. 90.

[h] Ita *Hebraicè*: singularis fera *Latinè*, i.e. Quadriennis aper Ὑς μόνιος *Græcè*, sanglier *Gallicé*; singular, *English*: vid. *Wase* on *Gratius p.69.*

"We therefore by this their Representation plainly beholding the Depression of the "Church of *England*, and the Dishersion of our Crown, with all the foresaid Evils,

"which

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"which if longer diſſembled, would probably very much encreaſe, do now refer them "unto You, who are the Succeſſour of the Prince of the Apoſtles, who received Com- "mand from *Chriſt* to *Feed*, and not to *Sheer* the Lords Sheep, and to *confirm*, and "not *depreſs* his Brethren; heartily requeſting, that duly weighing and conſidering "the Premiſes; how of Right, Magiſtrates are to be created from among the People, "and that according to the ſaying of the Prophet, *They ſhall make Vinedreſſers of the* "*People from the ſame place:* Which We read to have been the Practiſe of the bleſ- "ſed Apoſtles, when they ſet over the Converted Heathen, Perſons, who had know- "ledge of their tongues: And alſo remembring that Exuberance of Devotion, where- "with our Royal Family, and the Clergy, and People of our ſaid Kingdom, have hi- "therto continued in the Obedience of the ſaid See, wherefore Your Paternal Affe- "ction ought not to heap Burthens and Grievances upon them; but rather, as a Fa- "ther, who lays up for his Children, to alleviate the Weight of the ſaid Impoſitions "and Proviſions, and Burthens, which thus ariſe from the Apoſtolick See: Permit- "ting further, that Patrons may not loſe their Right of Patronage, and that the Ca- "thedral, and other Churches of the ſaid Kingdom, may have their free Elections, "and the Effects thereof: Which Churches our ſaid Progenitors have long ſince, up- "on each of their Vacations, freely of their Royal Prerogative, confer'd on fit Per- "ſons; and afterward, at the Requeſt and inſtance of the ſaid See, have under certain "Forms and Conditions granted, that the Elections ſhould be made in the ſaid Churches, "by the Chapters of the ſame; which Grant was alſo on due deliberation confirmed by the "Apoſtolick See.

"But yet now againſt the Form of the Conceſſion and Confirmation of the ſaid Chur- "ches, the ſaid See, by theſe her Reſervations and Proviſions, doth take away the ſaid "Elections, from the ſaid Chapters, and from Us alſo our Right and Prerogative, "which according to the Form of the ſaid Conceſſion, belong unto Us in this part: "wherefore by the Law of our ſaid Kingdom, ſince the Conditions of our Grant are not "obſerved, the Conceſſion it ſelf is revolved unto Us again, and the whole ſtate of the "Matter reverts to its Original.

"Upon the Premiſes therefore We pray, that your Goodneſs would vouchſafe to "the Honour of God, and the ſalvation of Souls, and alſo to take away the foreſaid "Scandals and Prejudices, to provide a ſpeedy and wholſome Remedy; that We and "our Subjects, who deſire, as We ought, to Revere your moſt Holy Perſon, and "the Holy *Roman* Church (theſe Intolerable Evils being once removed) may reſt in "the ſweetneſs of your Fatherly Love, and that our Devotion may flouriſh again, be- "ing refreſhed by the Clemency of your Pious Moderation extended unto Us: The "moſt High preſerve You in the Government of his Church many and happy Days. "Given at *Weſtminſter* the 26 of *September*, in the 4 Year of Our Reign of *France*, "and of *England* the 17. This Letter is ſaid to have been of ſuch force, [i] that neither the Pope, nor his Cardinals, could tell reaſonably how to anſwer it for that time; wherefore they were obliged to comply therewith. King *Edward*, notwith- ſtanding what *Odoricus Rainaldus* ſays, by Advice of his Parliament [k] proceeded to prohibit theſe Collations and Proviſions in his Realm on pain of Impriſonment and Death it ſelf: Wherefore the Pope ſeeing him proceed with ſo High an hand, thought fit ſomewhat to diſſemble the Matter, for fear of exaſperating too far; till at laſt by de- grees his Compliance gain'd, what by ſeverity could not be expected. However now We find that King *Edward* in the beginning of the next Year ſet forth his Royal Pro- hibition againſt the Popes Proviſors, bearing date 20 of *January*, in the Year of his Reign of *England* the 18, and of *France* the 5. But this being extant in *Adam Mu- rimouth's* Ancient M. S. We ſhall refer the Curious thither, having already (as We fear) dwelt too long on this Matter. And thus, as my Author ſays, had the King perſevered accordingly, he had utterly taken away all manner of Proviſions; but in ſuch a noiſe of War, as followed, he thought it ſafer now and then to yield ſomewhat to ſo * powerfull a Father; than to ſtand at open Defiance with him. And now to the Wars of *Bretagne*, wherein We ſhall find the King Perſonally Engaged about this time.

[i] *Walſing. & Brit. Antiq. in titulo hujus Epiſtolæ.*

[k] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 922.

* Lat. *tam irrita bilem patrem.*

XIV. King *Edward* according to the Vow he had made, to take a ſevere Revenge for the Death of his Dear Friend, the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, was within little more then a Moneth after his Death, with a great Army ready to take the Sea at *Sandwich*. On the [l] Fourth of *October* He went on board in a Ship called the *George*, and landed at a Port not far from *Vannes*, at the very place where the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* had landed after his Fight at Sea with *Don Lewis*. The Kings Preparations [m] were ſo great, that

[l] *Aſhmole p.* 653.

[m] *Froiſ. c.* 93.

that he was three Days in landing all his Warlike Proviſion, and ſo on the Fourth Day he marched ſtraight to *Vannes*, which he intended to Beſiege, having before ſent to view it, the Lord *Walter Manny*, who came to wait on him from the Counteſs then at *Hennebond*; the Lord *John Striveling*, and the Lord *William Fitz-Warine le Frere*, who upon their return encouraged him to attempt the Place. But they knew not, how the City was now in an Extraordinary manner provided with all things neceſſary, and many good Souldiers were there under the Command of the former Captains, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, and the Lord *Henry du Leon*, to whom were added the Lord of *Lomine*, and the Lord of *Loeheair*, with another Valiant Gentleman, who had now left his Miſtreſs the Counteſs for the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and his name was Sr. *Geoffry de Maleſtroit*.

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[n] *Knighton p.* 2582. *n.* 40.

King *Edward* having inveſted the Place, [o] gave them a very brave and vigorous Attack, which endured half a day; but yet little good was done thereby; the City was in ſuch good Caſe at this time. The Counteſs of *Montford* hearing that King *Edward* was come into *Bretagne*, and lay now before *Vannes*, went from *Hennebond* accompanied with the Lord *Walter Manny* (who lately was return'd unto her from the King) and divers other Knights and Eſquires, to ſee his Majeſty, and his Lords, and to diſcourſe about her Matters of Neceſſity and Weight, as well as to bid them welcome into her Country: In which viſit having ſpent four Days, ſhe then took her leave, and returned back to *Hennebond* with all her Company, excepting the Lord *Walter Manny*, and two or three Lords more, of *England* and *Bretagne*. And all this while, ever ſince a little after the firſt taking of *Vannes* by the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Pembroke*, and *Suffolk* lay at Siege before *Rennes*.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 94.

Wherefore the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, when beſide thoſe great Forces that came from *England* before, he underſtood alſo, how King *Edward* was come now after them himſelf with another great Army, ſends word thereof unto his Uncle, *Philip* King of *France*; declaring, that he muſt be inevitably ruin'd, without a very ſpeedy, and very conſiderable ſupply: Whereupon King *Philip* commanded his Eldeſt Son, *John* Duke of *Normandy* to addreſs himſelf effectually to Succour his Kinſman.

The mean while King *Edward* finding the ſtrength of the City of *Vannes*, and being informed, that ſo great an Army as his, could not be ſupply'd in that place, by reaſon the Country round about was ſo greatly waſted and haraſſed, that it was difficult to get any Forage for Man or Beaſt; upon theſe accounts he reſolved to divide his Army: And firſt the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord of *Triguier*, and Sr. *Gerard* of *Rochefort*, with 600 Men of Arms, and 6000 Archers were to carry on the Siege before *Vannes*, and to ravage, and feed on the Country all about: He himſelf with the Reſidue of the Army reſolv'd to go unto *Rennes*, to ſee how the Siege went on there; and ſo he did, being highly welcomed by the Lords that lay before that place.

When King *Edward* had been before *Rennes* about five Days, he heard how Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* made great Preparations to raiſe a ſufficient Army at *Nantes*: Wherefore leaving thoſe whom he had found at *Rennes* (except the Earl of *Oxford*) to carry on the Siege there ſtill, he marched forth to *Nantes*, with a Reſolution to give Battle unto the Lord *Charles*, or to hold him Beſieged within the City. He could not here furniſh his Siege quite round, becauſe of the Extent of the place, and of the River of *Loire*, that ran beſides it: Wherefore he pitch'd his Tents on a little Mountain without the Town, and ſet his Men in Battle Array thereby, hoping ſo to provoke the Valorous young Lord *Charles*, to come forth and accept of a deciſive Battle. But having ſtood thus from Morning till High Noon, and found not the leaſt offer of a Sally from the Town, he ſent his Van-Currours to skirmiſh at the Barriers, and to ſet the Suburbs on fire; which being done accordingly, he withdrew his Men into their Entrenchments.

While thus King *Edward* lay before *Nantes*, the Earl of [p] *Northampton* Marſhal of his Hoſt rode forth every day, ravaging and fetching in Prey out of the Country round about, and taking of Caſtles, Towns, and Fortreſſes, as *Pont de Launay*, and others: Wherefore now the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* repeated his Letters every Day to the *French* King, laying open the great Neceſſity he ſtood in, and requeſting Succour with all ſpeed. The Duke of *Normandy*, having before received Orders from the King his Father; was at that time at the City of *Angiers*, near the Borders of *Bretagne*, where he made his Rendezvous, and was now again call'd upon by his Father to make all Expedition poſſible.

[p] *Knighton p.* 2582. *n.* 50.

King *Edward* this mean while had given many Aſſaults to the City of *Nantes*, but was

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was not able to gain any great Advantage, nor could by any means oblige the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* to make a Sally: Wherefore being displeased, that he lay so long and lost so many Men to so little purpose; he again divides his Army, resolving himself to go before *Dinant*, leaving still 600 Men of Arms and 2000 Archers to maintain the Siege before *Nantes*, and to ravage the Country round about. With these he left the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, the Lord *William Ros* of *Hamlake*, the Lord *John Moubray*, the Lord *John Delaware*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *John Lisle* and Others; to whom *Froisard* adds the Lord *Henry* Vicount *Beaumont*: But the [q] Elder *Henry* who bore this Title, had been now Dead above two Years before; and his Son and Heir *John* died also a little before this, leaving behind him his Son *Henry* the Younger, who was at that time but two Years of Age, and whom we shew'd to have been born in *Flanders*: So that this Mistake of that Ancient Historian is to be excus'd, as well as this short Digression of ours, which was made only to witness our Diligence, and not in the least design to expose an Author, from whom I have borrowed so much my self.

[q] *Dugd. 2. Vol. p. 52. a & b.*

These Lords being left before *Nantes*, King *Edward* himself [r] went and laid Siege to the strong Town of *Dinant*, between *Rennes* and St. *Malo*, upon the River of *Rance*; having in his way thither taken the strong Towns of [f] *Ploermel* and *Malestroit*: So that now at one time he held Siege before three strong Cities, as *Vannes*, *Rennes* and *Nantes*, besides one good Town called *Dinant* in *Bretagne*. The Captain of *Dinant* at that time was Sr. *Pierce Portbeufe*, a valiant and worthy Gentleman, who for a while maintained the Place maugre all the fierce Attacks of the *English*; so that he worthily gain'd the Reputation of a Noble Knight. But after four Days, King *Edward* having got together a competent number of Boats and Barges, filled them with Archers and Others, commanding them to row up to the Pales, wherewith the Town was enclosed toward the Water, only; having on that side no other Walls or Fortifications. This piece of Service the Archers performed so well, that none of the Inhabitants durst look over the Pales at their Defence, so that while the Archers shot thus, certain Men of Arms in the Boats, who were appointed for that purpose, hewed down the Pales with their Axes, and so enter'd on that part by Force. The Inhabitants upon this fled to the Market-place with those of the Garrison, but not with much Discretion: For thereupon those few, who enter'd by the Pales, marched up to the Chief Gate and set it open for the King to enter. Thus all was lost in a Trice, the Besieged put to the Sword, except their Captain Sr. *Pierce Portbeufe*, who was taken to Mercy, the Town utterly sack'd and plunder'd of all its Riches; for it was very considerable in Merchandise: Soon after which the King return'd to the Siege before *Vannes*, leaving the Town of *Dinant* waste and Desolate.

[r] *Froiss. c. 94. f. 48. & c. 96. &c.*

[f] *Knighton p. 2582. n. 60.*

[t] *Froiss. c. 95.*

XV. Now the mean [t] while, that King *Edward* was thus busied about *Dinant* and other Parts of *Bretagne*, his Captains, whom he had left before *Vannes*, gave many gallant Assaults to that City, and especially at the Barriers and the chief Gate. One Day in particular there was a very warm Attack made, and many proper Feats of Arms done on both Sides: So that at last the Besieged boldly set open their Gates and came to the Barriers, because they saw there the Banners of the Earl of *Warwick*, and of *Arundel*, of the Lord *Stafford* and the Lord *Manny*, whereupon they hop'd for some Advantage, seeing the chief Lords of the Host adventur'd themselves rashly, as they thought, being so far from the Camp. Wherefore the Lord *Cliffon* and Sr. *Henry du Leon* came forth couragiously to the Barriers, and there began a very notable Skirmish with the Enemies: In the end the *English*, hoping to allure them to come forth of their Barriers, or really unwilling to stand longer at such Disadvantage, retired back in much seeming Confusion. Then the fond Desire of Glory blinded the Eyes of the two valiant Lords of *Bretagne*, for having appointed six other Knights to keep the Gates, they open'd the Barriers and sallied forth upon the Lords of *England*, who retired back on purpose, now and then making a faint Offer of Resisting. But when they had train'd them far enough, they all together made a stop, faced about and gave so vigorous a Shock to their Pursuers; that seeing themselves deceived, they now began to take their turn of Retiring; but immediately they were charged home, and many of them hurt, slain and taken: Which when the Besieged observed, fearing to loose all, they closed the Barriers in so unlucky a time, that the Lord *Cliffon* and the Lord *Henry du Leon* were shut out, and so both taken Prisoners, [u] together with *Alard du Leon*, Brother to the Lord *Henry*, and 5 other Persons of Quality, and 30 Men of Arms, Knights and Esquires. On the other [x] side the Lord *Ralph Stafford* had pursued so far, that he at the same time was shut in among his Enemies between the Gate and

[u] *Knighton p. 2581. n. 30. & 40.*

[x] *Froiss. c. 95.*

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the Barriers, and so was taken Prisoner, with several of his Company, some few being slain. Upon this the *Bretons* retired into the City, and the *English* to their Camp: But there were no more Sallies after that. AN. DOM. 1343. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVII. *Franciæ* IV.

It would be but superfluous to busie our Pen about what was done before *Rennes* or *Nantes*, since, as we shall shew by and by, those Sieges were both raised before they came to any Effect, by the Kings own Command, upon his expecting a General Battle with the Duke of *Normandy*. But we shall take occasion to mention one thing [y] concerning Don *Lewis* of *Spain*, Sr. *Charles* of *Germaulx*, and Sr. *Otho de Rue*, the three Admirals of *Charles* of *Blois*, who were at this time upon the Sea with 8 Galeons, 13 good Barks, and 30 other Ships of *Genoua* and *Spain*, and kept the Coasts between *England* and *Bretagne*, doing much harm to those who brought Provision to the Army before *Vannes*. Once among the rest they adventur'd on the Kings Navy, lying at Anchor in a little Port beside *Vannes*; at which time they slew many of those who kept the Ships, and had done much more Mischief, if a good Detachment from the Besiegers had not been sent thither in all haste to their Assistance: However by that time they came to the Port, Don *Lewis* had taken four Ships laden with Provision, and had sunk three other Vessels with all that was therein. Upon which loss King *Edward* was advised to send Part of his Navy to *Brest*, and the other Part to *Hennebond*; which was done, and the Sieges still continued before the Cities of *Vannes*, *Nantes* and *Rennes*.

[y] *Froiss. c. 96.*

XVI. And now 'tis time to look out and see what Succour the Duke of *Normandy* hath raised for his Cousin *Charles* of *Blois*. [z] He well enough knew, what the King of *England* had done in *Bretagne*, what Towns he had taken, and what he had besieged, and made all the haste he could to stop his Proceedings. So now at last all things being ready, he began his March from the City of *Angiers*, and took the High-way to *Nantes*, being conducted by the two Marshals of *France*, the Lord *Charles Monmorency*, and the Lord of St. *Venant*. His Army consisted of more than 3000 Men of Arms, Knights and Esquires, and above 30000 others; the chief Captains whereof were *Charles* of *Valois* Earl of *Alenson*, the Duke of *Normandy* his Uncle, *Guy Castilion* Earl of *Blois*, Father to the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, his Cousin, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Ponthieu*, the Earl of *Boulogne*, the Earl of *Vendosme*, the Earl of *Dampmartin*, the Lord of *Craon*, the Lord of *Coucy*, the Lord of *Suilly*, the Lord of *Fresnes*, the Lord of *Roye*, and many other Lords, Knights and Esquires of *Normandy*, *Auvergne*, *Berry*, *Limosin*, *Poictou*, *Xantogne* and *Anjou*.

[z] *Froiss. c. 97.*

First of all Tidings came to the Earl of *Oxford*, and the rest of the *English* Captains, who lay before *Nantes*, that the Duke of *Normandy* was coming directly upon them with 40000 Men of War: Whereupon they presently dispatch'd away Word to the King their Master, who lay then before *Vannes*. King *Edward* having studied a little upon the Matter, presently told his Lords, that he thought it would be best to raise two of his Sieges, this before *Vannes* and the other before *Rennes*, and so go and joyn his other Forces lying before *Nantes*, and then to meet the *Frenchmen*. But his Council were of another Opinion, and made it appear in this manner: "Sir, your Majesty "is now in a good sure place, nor only so, but near to your Navy, the greater Part "whereof lies at *Hennebond*: Wherefore it seems better, that You command those "who lie before *Nantes*, to quit the Siege and come hither to You; and those who "lie at the Siege of *Rennes* may tarry still there, for they are not so far off, but they "can come hither at any time upon your Command: But surely the Commodity of "the Place, wherein you are now encamped, ought not easily to be quitted. This Counsel taking, the Siege was raised from before *Nantes*, and the *English* Lords came back to the King before *Vannes*: Within a day or two of their Departure, the Duke of *Normandy* [a] came with all his Host to *Nantes*, where he was extreamly welcom to the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*; and Himself with his Lords and chief Captains lodged in the City; but their Men were quartered about in the Country; for both the City and Suburbs were unable to hold them, and besides the Suburbs had been lately burnt by the *English*.

[a] *Froiss. c. 98. fol. 49.*

While the Duke of *Normandy* lay thus at *Nantes*, The Earl of *Salisbury* and the other Lords of *England* who were still before *Rennes*, made one Day above the rest a fierce and terrible Assault upon the City, which endured with all possible Animosity for all that Day; and yet, thô they had also divers Engines and Instruments to batter and shake the Walls, they gain'd no Advantage, but lost many Men in the Assault. Those that so well defended this Place were (besides the Bishop of *Rennes*) the Lord of *Ancenis*, the Lord of *Pontrieux*, Sr. *John de Malestroit*, Sr. *Owen Charnells*,

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and a young *Breton* named *Bertram de Clequin*, who afterwards became the most considerable Captain of his Days, and was in time Constable of *France*; of whose notable Exploits this Work will not be silent. Nor let any Man wonder, that these Cities of *Vannes*, *Rennes* and *Nantes* should hold out so stifly now against the Forces of King *Edward*, when as we shall find them all to have changed their Lord more than once within the space of two Years: For when *Bretagne* only fought against *Bretagne*, the People were divided, some enclining to one side and some to the other, and easily altering their Minds again: But now they look'd upon the *English* as a common Enemy, and beside the Lord *Charles* was better provided at this time than formerly. However the Earl of *Salisbury* continued his Siege before *Rennes* for all this, and daily wasted and ravaged the Country round about.

Now when the Duke of *Normandy*, who had well consider'd of the Business he had in hand, was certainly informed how *Rennes* was in little or no danger, but that *Vannes* was in much hazard of being lost, it was so mightily prest by the King of *England*, thither he resolv'd first to bend his Course, and either by Battle or otherwise to raise the Siege. The two Marshals of the Host, the Lord *Charles* of *Monmorency* and the Lord of St. *Venant* led the Van, the Duke himself was in the Main Body, and the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, with the Earl of *Guisnes*, brought up the Reer. In this Order they came before *Vannes*, and lay over against the King of *England* in a fair Meadow between the Rivers of *Claye* and *Vilaine*, and made a great and deep Ditch round about their Host: but the Marshals and Van-currours of each Army met often and skirmished together.

XVII. King *Edward* upon the news of their Approach had sent for the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Pembroke* to break up their Siege from before *Rennes*, and come strait to the Camp to him, which they did; for he expected to have Battle with the *Frenchmen* at this time without fail. His Forces, both *English* and *Bretons*, made up but about [b] 2500 Men of Arms, and 6000 Archers, and about 6000 Others on Foot, beside those who were left to keep the Navy, and Others in Garrisons, and with the Countess at *Hennebond*. But these few were all select Men under good Leaders, strongly entrench'd in their Camp: So that the *French* could not without Disadvantage to themselves oblige them to a Battle, thô they on the other hand were four times their Number at least, together with the Reinforcement of the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* from *Nantes*, and all well appointed for the War.

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 98.

Thus these two Armies lay fronting one another for several Days, without any Action further than some light Skirmishes: For the *French*, as was shew'd, could not force the *English* to a Battle, nor durst they attempt them in their Camp; and King *Edward* thought it not Wisdom to leave his Defences and attack the Enemy at such odds, to so great a Disadvantage as he knew the Aggressor must needs submit himself unto; especially since he must then leave so strong a City at his back to second the Enemy: Nor yet did he give any more Assaults to the Place, because of keeping his Men fresh and entire, against the time a Battle should be offer'd, which then he resolv'd to accept. Wherefore different Considerations deterring both Armies from Engaging, the Winter began to incommode them not a little; when it pleased God to incline the Heart of Pope *Clement* the VI. to labour earnestly for a Peace between them. He had now sent thither two Cardinals [c] *Peter* of *Palestrina* or *Præneste*, and *Annibald* of *Tusculum*, who rode daily between both Parties: But as yet neither of them would accept of any equal Conditions. For the *French* thought to keep the King there in manner of a Siege, till he should even be forced to come forth and give them Battle to his great Disadvantage; and the King expected, that at last they must adventure to force him, considering he was inferiour in Number, and more conveniently encamp'd for the Weather than they. Yet to say Truth, both Armies endur'd their Inconveniences; the *French* found much vexation with Wet and Cold, for it rain'd upon them Night and Day, whereby many of their Horses died, and at last they were obliged to dislodge and remove into the plain Fields; their Tents were so full of Water in the Meadow. And the *English*, thô they were more dry and warm, durst not go a Foraging, but in very considerable Bodies, for fear of the *French* who infested the Country; and Don *Lewis* of *Spain* so narrowly watched the Sea-coasts with his Fleet, that little Provision could be brought to the Kings Army but with great Danger. These difficulties prepared the Minds of both Princes, and rendred them more susceptible of the Cardinals Offers: Wherefore they were at last both brought to allow of a Peace for *Bretagne*, and because the Cardinals urged that Point also; to appoint a Time for a Treaty of a final Accommodation between *England* and *France*: But only here the

[c] *Rot. Parl.* 17. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 8. *vid. Clauſ. de eod. an. p.* 1. 25. *Dorſ. & Victorell. p.* 892. *& Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc an.* §. 24.

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King protested, that he would never allow the Pope any Power to determin of his Quarrel, but added, "That unless a Treaty might be had both honourable to Himself, "and profitable for his Allies, he would never consent to have the same brought before "the Pope, nor then neither, but only as before[d] an indifferent Friend and no Judge; "otherwise he would pursue his Quarrel. However at last these Holy Men labour'd so effectually, that they obtain'd a Truce between *England* and *France*, and their Allies to hold for three Years, during which time, the whole Controversie then depending should be weigh'd and impartially consider'd, and some equal Method of Peace devised by the Pope (* not as a Judge) but only as a Friend to the common Peace of *Christendom*.

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[d] *M. S. p.* 48. & §. 8 & *Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 37. §. 8. & *Ashmole p.* 653. & * *Gaguin l.* 8. *p.* 139.

This Truce being sworn to by King *Edward* of *England* in his own Name, and by the Duke of *Normandy*, in the Name of the King of *France* his Father, a Time was appointed in *January* following to treat more fully thereof at *Malestroit* in *Bretagne*, where the Plenipotentiaries of either King were then to meet. And so for that time both Armies brake up, and King *Edward* having first made an Exchange between the Lord *Ralph Stafford* of *England*, and the Lord *Oliver Clisson* of *Bretagne*, went with his other Prisoner, the Lord *Henry du Leon* to *Hennebond*, where shortly after he took Shipping for *England*, with the said Lord *Henry*, and seven other Noble *Bretons* his Prisoners.

Upon his Return it is said, that for five Weeks together he was tossed about with Tempests upon the Sea, as we observ'd it to happen usually unto him; so that he expected no less than inevitable Death. Being at [e] last cast upon the Coasts of *Spain*, King *Alphonso's* Fleet, that lay cruising about those Parts, made up to him, but beholding the Banner Royal of *England*, they humbled themselves to Him and begg'd his Pardon: For however Don *Lewis* of *Spain* of his own head assisted *Charles* of *Blois*, there was Friendship between the two Crowns at that time. The [f] Dutchess of *Bretagne* with much ado got safe to Land in *Devonshire*, Sr. *Peter Vele* and his Son *Henry Vele*, and Sr. *John Reyner* were cast away, together with their Ships and all therein; the King himself after much difficulty landed at *Weymouth*, and came safe to *London* to the Queen soon after; where he set forth a Proclamation to give publick Notice of the [g] Truce late taken in *Bretagne*.

[e] *Knighton p.* 2583. *n.* 10. &c.

[f] *Holinshead Engl. Chron. p.* 920.

[g] *Ashmole p.* 653.

XVIII. In the mean time the [h] Commissioners on both Sides met in the Priory of St. *Mary Magdalene* in *Malestroit*, a Town of *Bretagne*, where by the Mediation of the Cardinals aforesaid, these Points following were fully ratifi'd, agreed, sign'd, seal'd and sworn to, *viz.*

[h] *Walsing. hist. p.* 147. *n.* 40. & *Holinsh. Engl. Chron. p.* 920.

1. "*Imprimis*, That certain Nobles of the Blood of both the Kings of *England* and "of *France*, with others, having full Power and Instructions to ordain, confirm and ratifie a Peace, shall be sent to the Court of *Rome*, there to treat about all and singular the Controversies and Dissentions, then impending between the said Kings, by the "Mediation of our Lord the Pope, and of the said Nobles of either Party: And the "Parties shall say and propose their Reasons before our Lord the Pope, but not as to "any final Determination of the Controversie, or Pronouncing of Sentence, but only "in order to make a firmer Treaty and Peace.

2. "*Item*, That the foresaid Nobles, who shall be sent to the Court of *Rome*, shall "be in the said Court before the Feast of St. *John Baptist* next ensuing, and that "the foresaid Negotiations with the Divine Assistance concurring, and the Popes earnest "Diligence, be fully dispatched and agreed on, with the Assent of the said Nobles, "before the Nativity of our Lord, that Term by no means being prolonged: Saving, "that if our Lord the Pope be hindred, or shall not be able to reform the Peace be-"tween the said Kings, however the Truce [lately taken and sworn before *Vannes*] "shall remain firm to the Term hereunder appointed, and be kept inviolably by all. "And to the end the foresaid Negotiation shall take fuller Effect, let the Truce be "granted unto the Feast of St. *Michael* next ensuing, and from the said Feast to the "full End of Three Years next to come after, between the foresaid Kings of *England* "and of *France*, and also the King of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Hainalt*, the Dukes of "*Brabant* and of *Gueldre*, the Marquess of *Juliers*, the Lord *John* of *Hainalt*, and the "Nation of *Flanders*, and all their Adherents, in all their Lands, from the time of "the Date of this present Truce, during all the Time aboveſaid.

3. "*Item*, that the King of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Hainalt*, and other Noblemen, "Allies of the said Kings, shall send their Envoys to the said Court, with full power "of Assenting and Confirming, according to the Treaty, to be had before our Lord "the Pope, in what belongs unto them, against the foresaid Feast of St. *John Bap-*

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"*tiſt*; ſaving, that if any of the ſaid Noblemen, Allies of the ſaid Kings, ſhall neglect "to ſend their Envoys (as is Premiſed) to the Court of *Rome*, the ſaid Negotiation ſhall "by no means be deferred upon that account.

4. "*Item*, The foreſaid Truce ſhall be kept in *Bretagn* between the ſaid Kings, and their "Adherents, even thô both Parties claim a Right to that Dukedom: But that du-"ring the Truce, the City of *Vannes* ſhall be detained in the Hands of the Cardinals, "in the Name of our Lord the Pope; and the Truce ended, they may do what they "pleaſe with the ſaid City.

5. "*Item*, The Cardinals ſhall diligently do their parts toward the Abſolution of the "*Flemings*, by taking off the Interdiction, which they had (again) incurred, and ſhall "curiouſly ſtudy and labour, that a good and rational way be found out therefore. The "Earl of *Flanders*, as Lord without an Umpire, and as Umpire without a Superior, du-"ring the Truce, ſhall remain in *Flanders*, yet ſo, as that it be done with the Aſſent of "the People of *Flanders*.

6. "*Item*, If any in *Gaſcoigne*, or elſewhere, during the Truce, do raiſe War againſt "their Neighbours, or Enemies of either Party; the ſaid Kings ſhall by no means, either "by themſelves, or others, directly or indirectly intereſt themſelves; nor ſhall the Truce "be broken for this. But the ſaid Kings ſhall diligently apply their endeavours with-"out fraud, that the Subjects of the one Party, during the Truce, ſhall not any way "move War againſt the Subjects of the Other, either in *Gaſcoigne* or *Bretagne*; and "that the Subjects of the One, during the Truce, ſhall not be permitted to make "League, or Friendſhip with the other Party; and that during the Truce, nothing "be either given or promiſed for the raiſing or maintaining of War directly or in-"directly: But that this Truce be firmly kept of all, as well by Land, as by "Sea: And that in *Gaſcoigne*, and in *Flanders*, the Truce ſhall be Proclaimed "within fifteen Days after the Date hereof; and in *England* and *Scotland*, within "40 Days after.

7. "*Item*, That all Priſoners of either part, who have been taken from between "the *Sunday* before the Feaſt of St. *Vincent* laſt paſt, unto this preſent Day, ſhall "be Releaſed, their Goods taken, reſtored, and themſelves as Reaſon requires, ſet free.

8. "*Item*, That no Damages or Invaſions, during the Truce, ſhall be made between "the Parties, in prejudice or deſpight of the Truce.

9. "*Item*, That the ſaid Kings and their Allies, during the Truce, ſhall remain in the "ſame Poſſeſſion and Seiſin, as they have at this Day, in all thoſe Goods, Lands, and "Poſſeſſions which they hold, or have any way acquired.

10. "*Item*, That they ſhall go from one Country to another, as well Merchants "with their Merchandiſe, as any other Subjects, either by Land, or by Water, only "paying their uſual Cuſtoms, freely and ſecurely, as they were wont to go and come "in the time of the Predeceſſors of the ſaid Kings: Except ſuch as are baniſhed the ſaid "Realms for other cauſes, than for the Wars of the ſaid Kings. But the Barons of *Gaſcoign*, "and others baniſhed out of the ſaid Dukedom, are contained in the ſaid Truce, and may "come and go, during the Truce ſo often remembred: Only the Baniſhed and Fugitives "of the Country of *Flanders*, who have been on the part of the King of *France*, ſhall not, "during the Truce, return into *Flanders*.

11. "*Item*, The ſaid Truce ſhall contain and compriſe *Spain*, *Catalaunia*, *Ge-"noua*, *Provence*, the Biſhop and Chapter of *Cambray*, the Caſtles of *Cambreſis*, the "Lord of *Albret*, the Vicount of *Fronſac*, the Lord of *Tricouleon*, the Lord *John de "Vernon*, and the Lord of *Roye*.

12. To all which Articles and Agreements, the Lord *Otho* Duke of *Burgundy*, the Lord *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, with the Earls of *Boulogne*, *Auxerre*, *Sancerre*, *Foigny*, and *Porcien*, the Lords *Milo de Nogheres*, and *Ingelram de Coucy*, upon the Soul of the Lord *Philip* King of *France*, and the Lord *Henry de Lancaſter* Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *William Montagu* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, *Bartholomew* Lord *Burwaſh*, *Nicolas* Lord *Cantilupe*, *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, *Walter* Lord *Manny*, *Maurice* Lord *Barkley*, and Doctor *John Hufford* Archdeacon of *Ely*, on the Soul of the Lord *Edward* King of *England* (according to a Commiſſion by the ſaid Kings to them made) have taken their Corporal Oath, by laying their Hands upon the Holy Goſpel. Given in the Priory of St. *Mary Magdalene*, in *Maleſtroit*, of the Order of St. *Benedict*, in the Diœceſe of *Nantes*, 19 *January*, 1343.

Thus the Articles of the Truce being ſolemnly confirmed by the Oaths of the Lords abovemention'd, the Cardinals cauſed a Charter thereof to be drawn up in the form afore-

aforesaid, to which all the said Persons set to their Hands and Seals, on the Day and Year above written, in the presence of the Cardinals themselves, and many great Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of either Nation. And thus We end the Transactions of this Year, relating to the Wars of *Bretagne*, and shall therewith conclude this Chapter also, when We have after our usual Custom added two or three Occurrences, which could not be properly ranged in any other place, or method. AN. DOM. 1343. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVII. *Franciæ* IV.

This Truce thus taken [i] many great Lords and valiant Knights of *England*, *France*, and *Bretagne* took their journey with all haste into *Spain*, to help King *Alphonso* against the *Saracens* of *Granada*; among whom are reckon'd the Noble Lord [k] *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, Sr. *Maurice* Son to the Lord *Thomas Berkley*, with a goodly Band of young Gentlemen Voluntiers: They found King *Alphonso* at the Siege of *Algezira*, before which he had now layn a long time; and here among others, the Earl of *Darby* and his *English* Troops, who had fought twice with the *Pagans* (who came to relieve the place) to their great Honour, behav'd themselves so well, together with the other *Christian* Worthies; that now at length after a Siege of three Years, the City was yielded up to the King of *Spain*; and *Jutzeph* King of *Granada* who had held the place against him, became [l] thenceforth his Vassal, and paid him a Yearly Tribute of 12000 *Florens*. The Pope [l] hearing of the taking of this City, made it an Episcopal Seat, and subjected the Bishop thereof, as a Suffragan to the Metropolitan Church of *Hispalis*, or *Sevil*.

But the two *English* Earls went not only this time in Quality of Champions of *Christ*, but also of [m] Ambassadors from the King, their Master, to treat with *Alphonso* King of *Castille*, for the composing of certain differences betwixt the Subjects of that King, and the Subjects of King *Edward*; especially Mariners and Citizens of *Bayonne*. All which Matters both of War and Peace, being happily by them performed, they shortly after return'd home with great Glory.

On the [n] 28, or as others say, on the * 20 of *January*, this Year 1343, that most Noble and Learned Prince *Robert*, King of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Jerusalem*, departed this Life, after he had Reigned 33 Years, 4 Moneths, and 24 Days. He was, as *Mazzella*, *Collenutius*, and other *Neopolitan* Writers testifie, a Wise and Learned King, and much Renowned for his Skill in Astrology, as We have more then once intimated. He made Honourable Wars with *Henry* the VII, Emperour of *Germany*, and Father to *John* of *Luxemburgh* King of *Bohemia*; also with *Frederick* King of *Sicily*; and lastly in *Tuscany*, in behalf of the *Florentines*, where in the Famous overthrow of *Montacatino* (in a Battle fought between the *Guelphs* and the *Gibellines*) he lost *Philip* Prince of *Tarentum*, and *Peter* Earl of *Gravina* his Brothers. He sent his Son *Charles*, sirnamed *Sans-Terre*, against *Frederick* King of *Sicily*; and went himself against *Castruccio Castricani*, the Head of the *Gibellines*, at what time the Dominion of *Florence* was given unto *Charles Sans-Terre*. He was a Religious Prince, and a Lover of Learned Men, as who could best judge of them; whereof We shall produce but two instances; the One, That Marvellous stately Church, and other things, which he builded in *Naples*; and the Second, may be the Great Familiarity which he constantly held with those bright Lights of *Tuscany*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccace*. Our Stories do mention a Son of his slain at *Southampton*, when that Town was fired by the *French*; but I find no other Son, that he had except *Charles Sans-Terre*, whom being Famous for his Prowess and Valour, I dare not avouch to have died then. However he left his Kingdom to *Joan*, the sole Daughter of his Son *Charles* aforesaid, who [o] being enslaved with the Love of her own Cousin *Lewis* Prince of *Tarentum*, and not satisfied with the cold embraces of her Husband *Andrew*, Son to the King of *Hungary*, caused him to be hanged in a silken Sash out of her Chamber Window. But his Father *Charles Humbert* in Revenge hereof did so much interrupt her unlawfull Pleasures; that ever after she lived in no less disquiet, than Disgrace; till at last she also was caused to be hanged by *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who succeeeded her in the Kingdom: As may be seen at large in the Histories of *Italy* and *Naples*.

On the 16 of *September* this same Year, [p] *Philip* King of *Navarre* Deceased, whose Son *Charles*, by the *French* sirnamed the Wicked, succeeded to the Crown, being then under Age, and in the Tuition of his Mother, Queen *Joan* of *France*. He was a Prince of extraordinary parts of Mind and of Body, of exquisite Beauty, Courage, and Address; but his Inconstant Nature, his unseasonable Ambition, and his inveterate Envy to the House of *France*, to which he was so nearly ally'd, rendred him low and vile in the Eyes of all Men.

Walsingham [q] reports a strange and almost (but that it is attested with such Circumstances)

[i] *Hocsemius in Alphonso c.28.*
[k] *Knighton p. 2583. n.20. & Hocsem. ibid. ubi pro* Darby *legit* Arbidi *& pro* Salisbury, Soluz beri, *satis imperitè.*
[l] *Walsing. hist. p.154. n.20. & Odoric. Rainald. ad an. 1344. §.51. ad §.53.*
[m] *Rot. Fran. 17. Ed.3.m.12.ex Dudg. 1 Vol. p.784.*
[n] *Mezeray p. 21.*
* *Scipio Mazzella's* Hist. of *Naples. p. 157.*
[o] *Giovanni Villani l.12. c. 50. & 51.*
[p] *Mezeray p. 21.*
[q] *Hist. p. 153. n.30. &c.*

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stances) incredible Story of an Accident that happen'd about this time in the *North*-parts of *England*, to a certain Young Man of the Lord [r] *William* Baron of *Greyſtokes* Family. As this Young Man (ſays my Author) was riding thrô Corn-fields, and beheld the Corn waving like the Sea (growing thereby perhaps giddy) he thought, he ſaw a certain Ruddy-complexion'd little *Pygmy*-fellow to raiſe his Head by degrees above the Corn, till the more he conſider'd him, ſtill the more he ſeem'd to encreaſe in Stature; who coming towards the Young Man took hold of his Bridle, and whether he would, or no, led him into the corn, to a place, where it ſeem'd to him, there ſat a moſt Beautifull Lady among many young Damſels, like her ſelf. This Lady commanded him preſently to be taken from off his Horſe, and to be torn and mangled over all his Body, and after all to be flead. Whereupon ſhe her ſelf, as he thought, having diſſected his Scull in the middle, took out his Brains, and then clos'd up the empty Scull again. This done, ſhe order'd him to be ſet again upon his Horſe, and ſo let him go: Immediately upon which, being wholly void and deſtitute of underſtanding, he began to fall mad, and to make furious geſtures, as it appeared, when he came to the next Town. Hereupon a certain young Damſel, who alſo belonged to his Lords Family, and had loved him moſt tenderly, came to him with ſome Aſſiſtants, and took care of him, and leſt he ſhould do any Miſchief to himſelf, or thoſe who tended him, cauſed him to be lock'd in Fetters. This Maid carried him to many Holy places beyond Sea, for the recovery of his Wits; but having found no Remedy there, ſhe at laſt returned with him into *England*, and ſtill he complain'd of being haunted by the little Red fellow, who at firſt appeared unto him: At whoſe preſence, thô bound with three or four Chains, he would always break them. Having remain'd in this condition for ſix Years, he was then at the Shrine of St. *John* of *Beverley* in *Yorkſhire*, made whole again in this manner. Being fallen into a gentle ſlumber, it ſeem'd to him, that another moſt Beautifull Lady did again open his Scull and reſtore his Brains, (which had been taken away by the former Lady) to their right place. Accordingly upon his waking, being perfectly recover'd of his ſenſes, he Married the foreſaid Damſel, who had ſo lovingly taken Care of him in his Madneſs; of whom in time he begat 15 Sons. After which his Wife dying, he went into Holy Orders, and was made Prieſt, and promoted to the Church of *Thorp-Baſſet* in *Yorkſhire*. But while one day he was celebrating Maſs with Great Devotion, and as the Cuſtom was, elevated the Hoſt for the People to behold; the foreſaid Red Fellow appear'd unto him again, ſaying, "From "henceforth let him whom You hold in your Hand be your Keeper: For he knows better "how to keep you than I do.

[r] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 741.

As I give no credit, ſo neither do I deſire to gain any, to this Story; But I muſt needs Remark, that with a ſtrong Conſonancy thereto, *Arioſto* the *Italian* Poet, acccording to the Tradition of the Church, hath made St. *John* the Preſident, and Healer of Madmen. And [t] *Mezeray* tells us of a certain Plague of Frenzy, which was called St. *John*'s Dance.

[t] *Ad an.* 1373.

This Year died [u] Dr. *Anthony Beck* Biſhop of *Norwich*, being, as was ſuppoſed, poiſon'd by his own ſervants, for his boiſterous and turbulent Humour; for his ſeverity to the Monks of his Church, and for his Appealing to the Court of *Rome* in oppoſition to *John Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: Who by a ſtrange miſtake in *Godwin* [x] is called *Robert Winchelſey*; when he himſelf in the Title of *Canterbury* acknowledges *John Stratford* Archbiſhop of that See, and no where mentions the other after the ſixth Year of *Edward* the *Second*. In his ſtead *William Bateman* [x] Doctor of the Civil Law, and a *Cambridge* Man of *Corpus Chriſti* College, Born at *Norwich*, and Archdeacon of the ſame Church, was now elected Biſhop by the general Conſent of the whole Convent. He is acknowledged the Founder of *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and to have given certain Lands to the Maintenance thereof: Which College is now Worthily Governed by the Worſhipfull Sr. *Thomas Exton* Knight, Doctor of the Laws; a Man in our Days Renowned for his Loyalty, Wiſdom, and Generoſity. He alſo Founded the Hall of the Annunciation of our Lady, and gave one of the Univerſity Cheſts. Nor content to have done good himſelf, he perſwaded one *Gonwell*, or *Gonvill*, to Found another Hall in the ſame Univerſity, which many Years after, being much enlarged at the Coſt and Charges of a Learned Phyſician, named *John Key*, or *Caius*, is now called *Gonvill* and *Caius's* College, in Reſpect of both the Founders: And the Maſter hereof at this time is the Learned and Worſhipfull *Robert Brady* Dr. in Phyſick, and a ſtout Aſſerter of the Rights of *Engliſh* Monarchy in the worſt of times: Wherefore, together with the forementiond'd Sr. *Thomas Exton*, our Loyal Univerſity hath more than once choſe him for her Burgeſs in Parliament.

[u] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 154. *n.* 10.

[x] *Catal. Bps p.* 425.

[x] *Godw. Catal. Bps p.* 426.

This

This Year also the Lady *Mary de Valence*, Daughter of *Guy de Chastillon*, Earl of St. *Paul*, Kinswoman to King *Edward*, and Third Wife of *Emery de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, being [y] desirous to advance Learning, Founded a *College* in *Cambridge*, called by her Title, *Pembroke*-Hall, Endowing it with Large Possessions: From which Princely Seminary many notable Lights of Learning and Piety have continually been brought forth; and many more are daily expected; it being at present under the Care and Custody of the Reverend *Nathaniel Coga*, Doctor in Divinity, a Person of great Loyalty, Judgement, and Candour.

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[y] *Mill's Catal. of Nobility p.* 1096

CHAPTER the TWENTY SECOND.

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I. NOW it is to be remembred, that whereas in the Articles of the Truce, it was agreed; that each Party should send their Commissioners to the Court of *Rome*, in order to hold a Treaty of Peace, before the Feast of St. *John Baptist* or the 24 of *June* following; King *Edward* upon more mature Deliberation and Advice wrote unto the Pope, [a] desiring the Term to be prolonged unto the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, or the 8 of *September*: That in the mean while the Earl of *Montford*, who in the beginning of the Wars of *Bretagne* had been taken Prisoner at *Nantes* might be restored to his Liberty; and that King *David* of *Scotland* might be admonished to keep the Truce Religiously. But whatever King *Edwards* Meaning hereby was, the Pope being jealous that he had his thoughts upon War, [b] wrote earnestly unto him in the beginning of this Year, taking occasion from the late Winning of *Smyrna* from the *Turks* by the *Christians*, to exhort him to turn his victorious Arms against the Enemies of *Christendom*, where he should find such matter for his Sword, as would crown his Name with Immortal Honour: And that he would seriously resolve on Peace with *France*, in order to distress the *Pagans*. Dat. *Avin.* Kal. *Februarii, An°. Pontificatûs nostri* III. To the same purpose also he wrote to

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[a] *Odoric. Raynald. ad an.* 1343. §. 24.

[b] *Tom.* 3. *Secr. Epist.* 718. *extat etiam in M.S. Arch. Vat. de rebus transmarin. p.* 63. & *Odoric. Raynald. ad an.* 1344. §. 4.

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to the *French* King; who according to the First Agreement made in the late Truce, ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Court of *Rome* at *Avignion*, where they were punctually met by King *Edwards* Commiſſioners; [c] who were *Hugh le Deſpenſer* or *Spencer*, Lord of *Glamorgan*, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, *William de Norwich* Dean of *Lincoln*, Sr. *William Truſſel*, and *Andrew Hufford* a Civilian. Their Commiſſion bearing Date 20 *Maii*, gave them Authority to treat in Preſence of the Pope, not as a Judge, but private Perſon and Friend to both Parties, with the Agents of his Couſin the Lord *Philip de Valois*, upon the King's Right to the Crown of *France*; as alſo upon whatſoever Dominions, Dignities, Honours, Lands, Poſſeſſions, Places and Rights appertained to Him, concerning which any Controverſie had riſen between them, or was like to ariſe. And [d] on the 19 of *Auguſt* following another Commiſſion iſſued forth, containing the ſame Powers, to *Henry* of *Lancaſter* Earl of *Darby*, *Thomas de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *Robert de Vfford* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Hugh le Deſpenſer* Lord of *Glamorgan*, *Ralph de Nevil*, *Bartholomew de Burgherſh*, *John le Grey de Ruthyn*, *Reginald de Cobham*, and *Thomas de Bradeſtan*, Barons of the Realm, *William de Norwich*, Dean of *Lincoln*, *John de Hufford* Archdeacon of *Ely*, *Robert Herward* Archdeacon of *Taunton*, *and Andrew de Hufford* Profeſſor of the Civil Law, or to any 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, or 3 of them; who were to treat before his Holineſs, of the King their Maſter's Right to the Crown of *France*; not as before a Judge, but only as a Private Perſon and Common Friend, not in Form or Judicial Manner of Proceeding. Here again was the Kings Right ſtated by the *Engliſh* before the Pope and ſeveral Cardinals, with all the Arguments, which may be ſeen at large in the M.S. of the Reverend and Learned Dean of St. *Paul's*, at the Title, *De jure & titulo Regis* Angliæ *ad Coronam & Regnum* Franciæ: *Primò factum præſupponitur & ſequuntur Rationes & Argumenta pro utrâque Parte.* It begins thus, Philippus *Filius ſancti* Lodovici, *Rex* Francorum *genuit* Philippum *dictum Pulchrum*, & Carolum *de* Valois: *Eidem* Philippo, *filio ſancti* Lodovici *ſucceſſit in Regno* Philippus *Pulcher ipſius Primogenitus, qui deceſſit relictis tribus Filiis, videlicet* Lodovico, Philippo & Carolo, *& unâ Filiâ, videlicet Dominâ* Iſabellâ, *Reginâ* Angliæ; *quæ vivente Patre ſuo peperit Dominum* Edvardum, *tunc Regem* Angliæ, *&c.* And ſo it goes on, propounding Arguments, and ſolving Objections of all ſorts, by the Laws of the Tables, by Reaſon, by Example and Scripture; but becauſe moſt of theſe things have been touched before, we ſhall only inſtance a little in the Objection of his Homage done to the King of *France*, and in the Famous Queſtion of the Salique Law, which latter was yet little on either Side inſiſted on in thoſe days: *Nec Homagium, quod fecit Rex* Angliæ *Poſſeſſori Regni* Franciæ, *ſibi nocebit, quia præſtitit Homagium, ut Dux* Aquitaniæ; *ergo ſi veniat alio jure, ut proximior Maſculus in gradu, & non ut Dux; ſibi non nocebit: Quia dicitur in Textu, ei, qui alio jure venit, quàm eo quod amiſit, non nocet id, quod perdidit; ſed prodeſt id, quod habet, &c. Prætereà præſtitit Homagium, ut Ducatum integrum conſequeretur; & non obtinuit, quod ſperavit, ergò non nocet ſibi Homagium: Quia ſi Patroni filius petat Legatum relictum in teſtamento liberti, excluditur, &c. Sed ſi non obtinuerit Legatum, quod ſperavit, petitio Legati ſibi non præjudicat. Prætereà, indubiò non videtur quis juri ſuo tacitè renunciare, ubi ſcit jus ſuum ubique durare, &c. Sed hìc ſcit Rex* Angliæ *jus ſuum ubique durare; quare non videtur indubiò Regno* Franciæ *renunciare: Sed & Rex* Angliæ *ſcit Jus ſuum ubique durare, quod apparet, quùm de Jure ſuo proteſtabatur, quæ proteſtatio conſervat Jus proteſtantis, &c. Prætereà dictus* Philippus *Poſſeſſor Regni* Franciæ *admiſit Homagium ut Rex* Franciæ *de facto, qui Titulum in Regno non habuit, Rege* Angliæ *exiſtente in proximiori Gradu; ergò admiſſio Homagii non valuit, cùm ea, quæ geruntur in Perſonâ illius, qui Titulum non habuit nec habet, nec valent, nec præjudicant, &c. Prætereâ, tunc quando præſtitit Homagium, in minori ætate erat conſtitutus, &c.* As to the other Point, the *Engliſh* Agents pleaded, that not only the Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, with the Counties of *Maine* and *Anjou*, were by Lineal Deſcent belonging unto the King their Maſter, but that now alſo the whole Realm of *France* was his in Right of his Mother, Daughter and now Heir of King *Philip* the Fair; for thô the King doth not directly oppoſe their Salique Law, as claiming not for his Mother, but for himſelf as her Heir; yet neither doth he want Arguments to invalidate the Authority of that Cuſtom; for as to the Words, --*In terram Salicam Mulieres nè ſuccedant*, he can prove againſt the *French* Gloſſers; that the Realm of *France* was not to be underſtood thereby, and that *Pharamond* was not, as they pretend, the Author of this Law: For that the Land *Salique* is in *Germany* between the Rivers *Elbe* and *Sala*, not far from *Kuninghofen*; and that when *Charles* the Great, who began his Reign 343 Years after the Death of *Pharamond* had overcome

[c] *Aſhmole's Garter p. 653. Walſingh. hiſt. p. 153 Holinſhead p. 921.*

[d] *Aſhmole ibid.*

[c] § *Dr.* Stillingfleet's *M.S. n.* 8.

come the *Saxons*, he left there a Colony of *Frenchmen*; who either in deteſtation of the diſhoneſt Manners of the *German* Women, or rather becauſe a Maſculine Government was more neceſſary for Souldiers, made a Law, that Females ſhould not ſucceed to any Inheritance within that Land, which is now called *Miſnia* or *Meiſſen* by the *Germans*, a Province in the Upper *Saxony*. And further, that this which now they call a Law, was but a wicked and Uſurpatious Cuſtom firſt of all introduced by [f] *Clotaire* the Firſt, to the Excluſion of his Nieces *Chrotherge* and *Chroteſinda*, Daughters of his Elder Brother *Childebert* the Firſt: And further, that even this ſuppoſed Law had not always been obſerved in *France* it ſelf, which was proved by ſeveral Inſtances. As that King *Pepin* the Father of *Charles* the Great, who depoſed King *Childeric* the Third, and laſt of the *Merovean* Race, claimed the Crown of *France* of Pope *Zachary* as Heir General, being deſcended of *Blithildis*, Daughter of King *Clotaire* the Firſt: Further, that *Hugh Capet*, who upon the Death of *Lewis* V. uſurped the Crown, which was challenged by *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, the ſole Heir Male of the Line of *Charles* the Great; to make his Title good, pretended to come of the Lady *Lindgardis* Daughter of King *Charles* II. ſirnamed the Bald, who was Son of *Lewis Debonnaire* the Emperour, and Grandſon to *Charles* the Great. Alſo that *Lewis* the IX (who was Canonized but [g] 45 Years before, and hath been ſince called St. *Lewis*) becauſe he deſcended in a direct Line from the Uſurper *Hugh Capet*, could never be throughly ſatisfied in his Conſcience, how he might juſtly keep and enjoy the Crown of *France*, till he was well informed, and at laſt fully perſwaded, that Queen *Iſabell*, or *Elizabeth* his Grandmother, Daughter to *Baldwin* of *Hainalt*, was lineally deſcended from the Lady *Ermingardis*, Daughter and Heir to the foreſaid *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, by which Marriage the Blood and Line of *Charles* the Great was again united and reſtored to the Crown of *France*: So that it is manifeſt as day to thoſe who are not wilfully blinded with Prejudice, that the Title of King *Pepin*, the Claim of *Hugh Capet*, the Right of St. *Lewis*, and conſequently of the Royal Houſe of *France* to that day, were derived and conveyed from the Heir Female: Thô now under pretence of ſuch a Law they would debarr the King of *England* of his Right and Lawfull Inheritance. Nor was Scripture forgot to be quoted in an Aſſembly, where ſuch Eminent Perſons of the Clergy of both Nations, beſides the Head of the Church himſelf, were preſent; eſpecially that fully deciſive [h] Text ſo often upon this Occaſion uſed, wherein God himſelf declares, "That when a Man dies without a Son, the Inheritance ſhould deſcend to the "Daughter: *If a Man die and have no Son, ye ſhall cauſe his Inheritance to paſs unto "his Daughter*. Which was made a ſtanding Law by God himſelf in the Caſe of the Daughters of *Zelophehad*. Much to this purpoſe was urged in King *Edwards* Behalf by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, but the *French* alledged many things to the Contrary, as the expreſs Words of the *Salique* Law, which they attributed to *Pharamond*, and make to belong to the whole Realm of *France*, and therefore it is matter of Fact, that never any Woman was admitted to the Crown of that Kingdom: And if no Female have any Right in her ſelf, much leſs can ſhe transfer to another; for *nemo dat quod non habet*; alſo that he was a Stranger, and ſo not to be admitted to the Government of that Realm, which once before refuſed *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* aforeſaid upon that very Account, thô he was unqueſtionably the next Heir: They further urged the Judgment of the Twelve Peers of *France*, who agreed the Crown to be King *Philips* Right; alſo King *Philips* preſent Poſſeſſion, and long and peaceable Enjoyment, and even King *Edwards* own Acknowledgment, when he rendred Homage to him, as to the true and lawfull King of *France*. Thus on both ſides Arguments were bandied with equal Facility; the Judgment of the Law, and the Opinion of the Doctors quoted, the Niceties of Diſtinctions explained, and the Strength of Objections foiled; as may be ſeen at large in the foreſaid MS. of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, which Authentick Work was at the Command of King *Henry* V, upon his renewing the Claim to the Crown of *France*, collected and compiled by the venerable Father, *Thomas Beckington* Dr. of Law and Dean of the Arches, and afterwards Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*. So nothing could be ſaid on either ſide, but an Anſwer was ready for it; and to conclude this matter, nothing as to a final Peace could be agreed, but only the Triennial Truce to endure as before, without violation.

II. At this Treaty it is ſaid, that the Pope, thinking to terrifie King *Edward*, ſpake to ſome of his Agents to this purpoſe; [i] "That *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who had been be-"fore Excommunicate, having now entirely ſubmitted himſelf unto the Arbitration of "the Apoſtolick See, had therefore merited at his Hands the Benefit of Abſolution: "And that now he had juſtly and graciouſly reſtored unto him the Empire, which be-"fore he had unjuſtly uſurped. Which when King *Edward* heard, being as full of

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[f] *Mezeray Eng. fol. p. 27. vid. de his omnibus Franciæ Hiſtorias & Mich. Draytons* Battle of Agincourt *Stanza* 19 & 20. *p.* 5.

[g] *Vid. Labbe Chron. Techn. ad ann.* 1327.

[h] Numbers c. 27. v. 8.

[i] *Fox Acts and Mon. p.* 502. ex *Chron. Alban. & Walſing. hiſt. p.* 154.

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Courage as Indignation, he ſaid aloud, "If the Emperour alſo ſhall agree and combine "with *Philip* of *Valois*; I am ready to fight with them both in Defence of my "Right. That the Pope might ſay thus much *in terrorem*, or as a piece of Bravery, I will not deny; and that *Lewis* of *Bavaria* made more than one Offer of Submitting himſelf to the Popes Diſcretion, is [k] moſt apparent. But it is not ſo evident, by what I can find in *Rainaldus* his Collections; that he was ever wholly Reſtored and Abſolved; thô not a few Authors averr ſo much.

[k] *Vid. Odoric. Rain. ad an.* 1344. §. 10. &c. *ubi illius Literæ ad Papam & Card.*

However at this time it appears, that the Pope, having received by the Hands of Dr. *Andrew Hufford* another Letter from King *Edward* concerning the matter of Proviſions, return'd him his Anſwer thereto, [l] wherein among other things he ſhews, "That "the Ordinance of Parliament, which was made in Oppoſition to Reſervations and the "like, was too raſh and contrary to the Holy Conſtitutions; and that the Dignity of "the Primacy of the *Roman* Church was not to be queſtion'd; and that by endeavour-"ing to reſpect, and honour and advance it, he would engage the Grace of God unto "himſelf: But that otherwiſe he for his part ſhould find himſelf obliged no longer to "diſſemble thoſe Affronts done to Holy Church, but to apply a Remedy according to "his Duty. Dat. *Avin.* v. *Id. Jul. Anno Pontif.* 3. And on the [m] Kalends of *October* following he ſent *Nicholas* Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, and *Peter* Biſhop of *Aſtorga*, his Nuntio's into *England*, with Power to call a Synod of the *Engliſh* Prelates, in order to remove all Innovations againſt the Apoſtolick See: And by repeated Letters he exhorted King *Edward* to revoke what he had done againſt the Liberties of the Church: He alſo excited the two Queens, *Iſabella* the Kings Mother, and *Philippa* his Conſort, *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, and the Chief Peers of the Realm, to move the King to reſtore Matters to their Priſtine State. *John* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was ſuſpected by the Pope to have been the Occaſion of all this Controverſie, who when he attempted to waſh away this Opinion with many plauſible Excuſes, was required by the Pope to clear himſelf by his Actions, and to induce the King to reſcind what had been done: And *William de la Zouch* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Richard Bury* Biſhop of *Durham*, and ſeveral other Prelates, were urged to uſe their utmoſt endeavour in this Affair. But whether upon this I cannot tell, however the Pope from henceforward gat ground in what he aim'd at, thô not without a Check now and then from the King.

[l] *Odoric. Rain. ad hunc annum* §. 55. *uſque ad* 60.

[m] *Odoric. Rain. ibid.*

III. Althô I am ſenſible, that this Great *Engliſh* Monarch did not inſtitute the Famous Order of the Garter till Five years after this Time, or the 23 Year of his Reign, yet becauſe now he began the Order of the Round Table at *Windſor*, which gave occaſion to that of the Garter, I ſhall in this place once for all take leave to ſay ſomething concerning ſo ſolemn and Royal a Subject.

The Caſtle of *Windſor*, [n] Scituate at the Eaſt point of the County of *Berkſhire*, being Anciently called *Windleſhore*, from the Windings of the ſhore thereabouts, is by ſome [o] reported to have been built by the Famous King *Arthur* of *Britain*; thô ſurely the preſent Name is of [p] *Saxon* Original. It is [q] certain, that King *William* the Conquerour; being greatly enamoured of the pleaſant ſcituation of the Place, which appeared exceeding Commodious, becauſe it lay ſo near the *Thames*, the Wood ſo fit for Game, and the Country yielding other Opportunities both proper and convenient for the Pleaſure and Exerciſe of Kings, and therefore a place very fit for his Reception; made an Exchange with *Edwin*, then Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and his Monks (for King [r] *Edward* the Confeſſor had made a Donation of *Windleſhore*, and all its appurtenances to the Monaſtery of St. *Peters* at *Weſtminſter*) of certain Lands in *Eſſex*, and elſewhere in lieu thereof: And ſo *Windſor* revolved to the Crown again; where ever ſince it hath remained. The Conquerour being thus Lawfully poſſeſt of *Windſor*, forthwith built a Fair Caſtle upon the Hill, containing half a Hide, or Carucate of Land, being parcell of the Mannor of *Clure*. After him King *Henry* the Firſt, reedified the ſaid Caſtle, beautifying it with many goodly Buildings, and as it were to experience the Pleaſure thereof, in the [s] Eight Year of his Reign, having overcome his Enemies, kept his *Eaſter* there with great Triumph and Glory; as alſo two * Years after he ſummon'd thither all his Nobility, where he held his *Whitſuntide* with Princely State and Magnificence.

[n] *Aſhmole p.* 127.

[o] *Froiſ. l.* 1. *c.* 100.

[p] Wyndle-ſhora.

[q] *Aſhmole p.* 127. & *Speed Maps* Berkſhire, §. 8.

[r] *Monaſt. Angl. Tom.* 1. *p.* 61.

[s] *Hen. Huntingd. l.* 7. *p.* 379. *n.* 40. *Francof.* 1601.

* *Id. ibid. n.* 50.

This [t] Caſtle from an high Hill, which riſeth with an eaſie and gentle Aſſent, yields a moſt delightfull proſpect round about, for from the Front it overlooks a fruitfull Vale, which lying out far and wide, is adorned with Corn-fields, flouriſhes with delightfull Meadows, is flanked on each ſide with pleaſant Groves, and water'd with the Calm and Wealthy Streams of the Royal River of *Thames*: Which haſting with a nimble, but ſmooth ſpeed from *Oxford*, runs along on the Edge of *Barkſhire*, as if reſol-

[t] *Cambden. in Atrebat.*

reſolving to viſit this Capitol of our *Engliſh* Kings. Behind the Caſtle ſeveral Hills ſhoot up, which being neither too rough, nor over high, are ſo bedecked with frequent Woods, as if Nature had even dedicated them to the game of Hunting. AN. DOM. 1344. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVIII. *Franciæ* V.

Within this place was our King *Edward* born, (whence he was commonly called *Edward* of *Windſor*, as his Father was of *Caernarvon*) whereby the Affection he bore thereto, became ſo great, that he ſeem'd to prefer it by much to all his Royal Palaces and Manſions. For this Year firſt he began to hold a Round-Table therein (of which by and by) and after that he Inſtituted the Honourable Order of the Garter here; and even until the Fourty Eighth of his Reign (thô not without ſome intermiſſion by Reaſon of his many Wars) continued to augment and adorn it with moſt Magnificent Buildings and Fortifications, making it alſo the perpetual Seat of the foreſaid moſt Noble Order: So that even in his Days it became a very Famous and Illuſtrious Structure. But ſince that in Memory of ſo Renowned a Conquerour, and in reſpect to the Commodious Scituation of the Place, as alſo for the greater Honour of the foreſaid moſt Glorious Order, ſucceeding Kings, as *Edward* IV, *Henry* VII, and *Henry* VIII, the Queens *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, King *James* I, and King *Charles* I, have enlarged its Buildings, Beautified its Proſpect, ſupply'd it with Water, deriv'd from *Blackmore* Park into a Fountain of Curious Workmanſhip, and made it more freſh and gay with conſtant Repairs, pleaſant Terraſes, and other Ornaments: After all whom the late King *Charles* II, out of a particular Reſpect to this Illuſtrious Place, and in Imitation of all theſe his Royal Progenitors, laid out vaſt Sums of Money upon its Repair, and furniſhed it with a Curious and Gallant Magazine of Arms, ſo well order'd and kept; that it both Entices and Rewards the Curioſity of every Traveller that comes that way. And thô the Seat be chiefly deſign'd for pleaſure, yet is it nevertheleſs, beſide the ſtrength it receives from the foremention'd Arſenal, fortify'd with deep Grafts and high Towers, which command all its Avenues.

It is Scituate ſome twenty Miles from *London* upon the Banks of the *Thames*, that furniſhes it with Waters, which embelliſh its Gardens with Fruitfull Currents: Its circumference and extent is now ſo conſiderable, that it may ſeem to vie with ſome Cities. In ſhort, the Air is pure and ſerene, the Architecture regular, and well contrived, all its Apartments Royally furniſhed, its Gardens and Walks full of Diverſion, its Parks of Game; and all things Worthy the Preſence of the moſt Fortunate of Mankind.

The Scituation of this Place, with its moſt Royal Fabrick, thô Poetically, is truly deſcribed by Sr. *John Denham's* ingenious * Muſe after this Manner: * In *Cooper's* Hill.

Windſor *the next* (*where* Mars *and* Venus *dwells*,
Beauty *with* Strength) *above the Valley ſwells*
Into mine Eyes, and doth it ſelf Preſent
With ſuch an eaſie and unforc'd Aſcent,
That no ſtupendious Precipice denies
Acceſs; no Horror turns away our Eyes:
But ſuch a Riſe, as doth at once invite
A Pleaſure and a Reverence from our ſight.
Thy Mighty Maſter's Emblem! In whoſe Face
Sat Meekneſs heightned with Majeſtick Grace:
Such ſeems thy Gentle Height, made only Proud
To be the Baſis of that Pompous load;
Than which a Nobler weight no Mountain bears,
But Atlas *only, that ſupports the Spheres.*

In this Place King *Edward* at this time [u] began to Erect a certain Houſe, called the Round-Table, the Semidiameter of whoſe Floor, *viz.* from the Center to the Circumference, contained one 100 Foot, ſo that the Diameter being 200, the whole Circumference comes to 600 Foot, and about three quarters more: For the Circumference exceeds the Diameter in like proportion, as 22 bears to ſeven. Towards the finiſhing of this Noble Work, the King allowed an 100 *l.* Sterling to be expended Weekly; thô afterwards by reaſon of his Wars, he retrenched that allowance to 20 *l.* *per* Week. But here it will not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomething of the Original, Uſe, and Meaning of theſe Round-Tables: And ſurely, thô *Arthur* the Famous King of *Britain*, is generally held to have been the Author of this Invention; yet, as we obſerved before in the Second Year of this Hiſtory, We find by *Athenæus*, that it was Cuſtomary for the Knights of *Gaul* to ſit at Round-Tables, to avoid Contention a- [u] *Walſing. Hypod. p.* 117.

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bout Priority. This Custom was renewed by King *Arthur*, who from among [x] all those both *Brittish* and Foreign Worthies, who came to his Court, as to a Seminary of Military Discipline, to give Evidence of their Skill in the Exercise of Arms, selected certain of the most Noble and Expert Knights, to the Number of 25, besides himself, (thô some say but 24) whom he united under him, into a Fellowship, or Order, who sitting in their Chapters at a Round-Table, were called Knights of the Round-Table. The Place where the Founder first Instituted this Order, was, as [y] *Froisard* witnesses, *Windsor*, thô not then called by that Name, but by a *Brittish* Title, *Kaerguent*. And yet other Places were upon occasion allowed for the Assembly of the Society, as [z] *Wincheſter* in *Hantshire*, *Camelot* in *Somersetshire*, and *Caer-leon* in *Monmouthshire*: To one of these every *Whitsuntide*, these Knights made their repair, where they held their Chapters, and gave a due Relation of all their Actions and Adventures, still attributing the Praise of all to God, and the Virgin *Mary*.

[x] *Ashmole p.95.*
[y] *Froiſ. l. 1. c. 100.*
[z] *Vid. Selden's notes on Poly-Olbion* Song IV.

[a] *Ashmole f.96.*

We find these Round-Tables to have been renewed long after him [a] by King *Stephen*, and *Richard* the First, called for his couragious Soul *Cœur du Leon*, or *Lyon-Heart*, and We have also intimated before, how in the Days of *Edward* the First, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, Lord of *Wigmore* (but not Earl of *March*, as both Sr. *William Dugdale*, and Esquire *Ashmole* inadvertently call him) held the Celebration of a Round-Table with Tilting and Tourneaments; which consisted of an 100 Knights, and as many Fair Ladies of the Highest Quality. And now King *Edward* the Third, in like Manner, designing [b] to recover the Memory of King *Arthur*, and to restore the Honour of the Round-Table; that he might inflame the Minds of his own Lords with Military Glory, and invite also to his side the bravest Sons of Valour from Foreign Parts, resolved to hold a Solemn Justs at *Windsor*, and caused this his Resolution to be [c] Proclaimed, not only in his own Dominions, but also in *Scotland*, *France*, *Burgundy*, *Hainalt*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and the Empire; offering by his Heralds to all Knights and Esquires, that would come to the said Feast, his Royal Conduct for fifteen Days before, and for as many after the Solemnity: Which was to begin at *Windsor* on St. *George's* Day, or the 23 of *April*, as *Froisard* says, then next ensuing: But We shall prove hereafter, that the appointed time was the 19 of *January*, 1344, the full Institution of the Order, of which that Saint was made the Patron, not being till five Years after. And in the Proclamation it was signified, that King *Edward* himself would be there with the Chiefest of his Nobility, Knights, and Esquires, and the Queen also to be accompanied with 300 of the Fairest Ladies and Virgins in their Richest Attire, all of Noble and Honourable Families. According to this Proclamation there came at the time appointed many Worthy and Valiant Knights from all the Parts aforesaid, except *France* only; For there King *Philip* gave a strict command to the Contrary, and in hopes to render this High Design of his Adversary of *England* less effectual, He [d] also at the same time set up a Round-Table at *Paris*; to which many Knights came from *Bohemia*, *Luxemburgh*, *Germany*, and *Italy*. And at the same time also he gave [e] free leave to any of his Subjects, to fell down Timber for making of Ships, and encreasing his Navy: Whereby no little Dammage was afterwards done to the Sea-Coasts of *England*. But however, as for the Round-Table he Erected, it proved of no great Advantage to him; for King *Edward* here gain'd the Point of him most notoriously by adding to his Round-Table a peculiar Device of the Blew-Garter: With which he Honoured his Order. For thô the whole Design was not as now consummated, more time being Requisite to settle so substantial a Society, together with all its Laws, Ordinances, and other Circumstances, yet because at least the Design was now formed, and this Years meeting did certainly give Occasion for the Foundation of that most Noble Order, which in the [f] 23d. of this King received its full Establishment, I shall, to clear my self once for all of this Subject, take leave in this place to discourse of the Institution and Original of the Knights of the Garter.

[b] *Ut* Arturi *memoriam refricaret.* Vincent. Lupani *de Magistratib.* Francorum *l.* 1.
[c] *Froiſ. c.* 100.

[d] *Walsing. Hypod. p.* 117. *Daniels hist. p.* 223 *Speed, &c.*
[e] *Fox Acts & Monum. ad an.* 1344. *ex Walsingh. Hypod. p.* 117. *ad hunc an.*

[f] *Ità expresse Statuta ipsius Fundatoris, Ad honorem Omnipotentis Dei, Sanctæ* Mariæ *Virginis gloriosæ, & Sancti* Georgii *Martyris, Dominus noster supremus* Edvardus *post Conquestum Tertius Rex* Angliæ, *anno Regni sui* 23^tio *Ordinavit, Stabilivit, & Fundavit, quandam Societatem, sive Ordinem Militarem, infra Castrum suum de* Windesore, *in hunc modum, &c. Idem affirmatur in Copiâ* Hattoniana, *in Statutis per* Henricum V. *reformatis, ut & in Statutis per* Henricum VIII. *Latinis apud* Ashmole *in Appendice*, Anglicis *in M. S. penes me. Vid.* Ashmole's *Garter p.* 187.

IV. It has been a Common and current Opinion; that *Joan Plantagenet*, called by some Countess of *Salisbury*, by chance letting fall her Garter in a Dance, the Amorous King snatching it up for the sake of the Beautifull Owner, contrived thus to make it Honourable to all Ages: but this we have already shew'd to want Authority, when We overthrew the very occasion of it, by proving, that King *Edward* was not in love with this Lady; to which We now add, that even *Froisard*, who makes him to have been in love with her, yet when he comes to the Order of the Blew-Garter, takes no Notice, that it

was

was ever intended as an Honour or remembrance of this, or any other Ladies Garter. *Polydor Virgil*, a Man of indifferent Reputation, being the First that ever mention'd such a thing, brings it yet but as founded upon *Fama Vulgi*, Publique Rumor only. Besides, of all those that hold this Opinion, there are different judgements as to the Name, and Person of the Lady; some calling her *Joan*, some *Alice*, some *Katherine*; others making her Countess of *Salisbury*, and others again saying, 'twas Queen *Philippa* her self, who once departing from the Kings presence to her own Apartment, he soon after following, happen'd to espy a Blew-Garter on the ground, which his Attendants slightly passing by, the King, who knew the Owner, commanded it to be taken up and given to him; at the Receipt whereof he said, "You make but small account of "this Garter, but within a little while the very best of You shall be glad to Reve- "rence the like: And that the Motto of the Garter, HONI SOIT, QUI MAL Y PENSE, was the Queens Answer, when the King asked what she thought, Men would conjecture of her, upon dropping her Garter in such a Manner. This Mr *Ashmole* [g] quotes (thrô lapse of Memory) as from *Du Chesne*, who yet [h] in the place alledged has no such matter; but only speaks of the Countess of *Salisbury*, whose Garter he says, when the Lords seeing the King take up, smiled, he said in *French*, as aforesaid, which signifies, *Let him be ashamed, that thinks any Evil.*

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[g] *Ashmole Garter p.* 180.
[h] Du Chesne *Histoire Generale D' Angleterre, D' Escosse, & D' Ireland p.* 670.

Now thô all must acknowledge our King *Edward* to have been the first Founder of this Order of the Garter; yet some have sought higher for the Original, even up to the time of King *Richard* the First, who began his Reign, *Anno Domini* MCLXXXIX.

This valiant Prince say they, [i] after he had Conquer'd the Isle and Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and lay now before *Acon* or *Ptolemais*, a famous City of *Phœnicia* on the Borders of *Palestine*, held then by the *Sarazens*; being much wearied with the Tediousness of the Siege, at last thrô some secret Impulse, at the intercession and mediation of St. *George* (as he imagin'd) was inspired with fresh Courage, and bethought himself of this Device, to tie about the Left Legs of a select Number of Knights a Leathern Thong or Garter (for no better were then at hand) whereby being put in mind of the Glory, that should accrue to them in vanquishing their Enemies, together with an Assurance of proportionable Rewards if they succeeded, they might be roused up to behave themselves gallantly, and with more vigour in those *Christian* Wars. Which Fact of his was done in Imitation of the Ancient *Romans*, among whom were various Crowns invented, for the honour and encouragement of those, who had, or should do well in the Service of their Country. Some of the Names of which Knights, as many as I have met with, for Antiquity sake I shall here remember: Sr. [k] *Michael Carrington*, King *Richard's* Standard-Bearer, from whom Sr. *Francis Smith* Lord *Carrington* is descended: Sr. *John* [l] *St. John*, Sr. *Frederick* [m] *Tilney*, who received the Order of Knighthood at *Acon* or *Ptolemais* aforesaid, Sr. *William Waterville*, Sr. *Rob. Sackville*, Sr. *Richard* [n] *Camville*, who leaving his Fellow Sr. *Robert Turneham* in the Government of *Cyprus*, without the Kings Leave waited upon him at the Siege of *Acon*, but died there. These and some other valiant Knights being thus encouraged, were soon after by their Emulous Valour, chief Instruments of Winning that Great City from the Pagans: Whereupon King *Richard*, after his Return home from the Wars and his Imprisonment in *Germany*, determin'd with himself to institute and settle this most Noble Order of St. *George* and the Garter, by the Patronage of which Saint, and the Emblem of which Badge, the *English* Nation had atchieved such Honour. As for King *Arthur*, thô the Original of the Round Table in this Nation is by many attributed unto him, yet none, as I can find do carry up the least Notion of the Garter so far: Wherefore the Summ of all that hath hitherto been deliver'd upon this Subject is, that althô King *Edward* III must be allowed to have been the First Founder of this Order of the Garter; yet some say, that King *Richard* gave the First Occasion in this Manner, as we have related; others as to one Part of the Ceremony at least go higher, and make King *Arthur* the Founder of the Knights of St. *George* and the Round Table. But higher than this hath no one sought, as to the Original and Antiquity of the *Blew Garter*: Now as I allow not that vain Report, that *Garter* being King *Edward's* Watchword in some Great Battle wherein he succeeded, was the first Occasion of Instituting this Order; because in the Battle of *Cressy*, the King himself stood by only, as a Spectator of his Sons valour, as we shall see; and all his other Great Battles were either too long before the Institution, or too long after; so neither on the other hand doth it seem to me, that either a Ladies Garter or that Leathern Thong could be a sufficieut Motive (especially considering what we have heretofore said as to that Point) to so solemn a Matter. Nor that

[i] Black-Book *Preface p.* 13.
[k] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 470.
[l] *Weevers Fun. Mon.* 318. & 319.
[m] *Id. p.* 818.
[n] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 627. & 662.

King

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King *Arthur* (whom in part our *Edward* follow'd) could without some Mystery dedicate his Order to St. *George*. After much study, once by chance I met with some Hints, which seem'd to me to bear a near reference to this matter; and if so, will make its Original much more Ancient, than perhaps any other Knightly Order in the World could ever boast of.

It is well known to those, who have read any thing of the ancient Heathen Learning, [o] that among the *Samothracians* (who inhabit an Island of the *Ægæan* Sea, near unto *Thrace*, and retaining unto this day the Name of *Samandrachi*) it was a Custom to initiate certain Great and Honourable Personages, whether Natives or Strangers, into the Ceremonies of the *Cabiri* or Potent Gods, whose Names were *Axierus Axiocersa*, and *Axiocersus*: These it was piacular for any, but those who had been initiated, so much as to name. The manner of the Initiation was to tie a Blew or Purple Fillet, or Bordure about the Body underneath the Paps: The profit and Effect of these Ceremonies, was to be perpetually secur'd against the most turbulent Tempests of the Sea; and therefore *Casmilus*, that is *Mercury*, was added to those other Gods; because the skill of Astronomy, over which *Mercury* presides, is necessary for Sailers. And thus we read, [p] that when the *Argonauts* were in great peril by a Tempest, *Orpheus* the *Thracian* Priest, who also was an Heroe of the Royal Blood, initiated himself after this manner to the *Samothracian* Gods, in the Name of all the Princes and Knights, his Fellow-Adventurers. Whereupon the Winds ceasing and the Seas lying still, at which time also two bright Stars appear'd upon the Heads of the Sons of *Tyndarus*, the Heroes all wondred, as believing themselves deliver'd by the Power of those Gods, to whose protection *Orpheus* had committed the Vessel and all therein: Whence even among the *Grecians* it became a Custom to invoke the *Samothracian Cabiri*, and to use their Ceremonies in Storms and Tempests. Nay, we read, that [q] *Agamemnon*, and *Achilles*, and *Ulysses* (and afterwards * *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander* the Great) were all initiated in *Samothracia*, only *Ulysses* would needs make use of a [q] white Fillet, instead of one of Purple. Upon which presumptuous Transgression of the Ancient Usage he afterwards fell into those distresses and Miseries at Sea, which the King of Poets describes at large in his *Odysseia*. *Cælius* [r] *Rhodiginus* also affirms, that when the *Grecians*, being commanded after the Taking of *Troy* to go on board in boisterous Weather, murmured against their Leaders; as fearing to be destroyed by Tempests, *Agamemnon* by shewing this Purple Cincture about his Belly under his Coat of Male, quieted their Sedition: And that by this means even *Ulysses* himself escaped finally perishing at Sea. Nor is *Homer* himself silent in this Matter; for upon the great peril wherein *Ulysses* was at Sea, he makes *Leucothea* a *Samothracian* Goddess also, and together with her Son [s] *Palæmon*, Patroness of Ships at Sea, to deliver the distressed Heroe a Blue Garter or Fillet with these Words,

[o] *Natal. Comes l. 5. c. 5. p. 447. ex Scholiast. Apollonii Rhod. ad l. 1. p. 93. &c.*

[p] *Natal. Comes ibid. & p. 607.*

[q] *Natal. Comes p. 445.*
* Plutarch *in vit.* Alexandri *M. p. 665.*

[r] *Cæl. Rhod. Antiq. Lect. l. 16. c. 20.*

[s] *Orpheus Hym. in Palæm.*

Τῆνδε τόδε Κρήδεμνον ὑπὸ στέρνοιο πανύσσαι
Ἄμβροτον. Οὐδέν τι παθέειν δέος, οὐδ' ὀπιθεύσῃ.
Hom. Odyss. ε. v. 345, &c.

Behold this Sacred Azure Fillet here:
Bind this beneath thy Paps, and never fear
To drown or suffer harm, thô Storms appear.

Now all this being thus premised, we first suppose the Opinion of [t] a late Writer very probable, who in his Book called *Antiqua Britannia Illustrata*, proves the old *Brittains* or *Welch Natives* of this Land to have been a Colony of *Phœnicians*, both for their Manners, Laws and Ceremonies, as also for other strong Arguments, which he there produces. Now if the Intelligent Reader will but take the pains to consider all this, and withall how many Heathen Customs have been brought into *Christianity* with some little Change, as we could frequently instance; but that we know the Learned readily grant the same, we may easily imagin, that King *Arthur*, who was crowned in the Year of our Lord DXVI, when it may be supposed, that the Memory of their *Pagan-Fathers* Traditions was not wholly worn out, and from him King *Edward*, might by Changing their Patrons from *Heathen* to *Christian* [u] Saints, and the Carnal intent of the Ceremony to a Spiritual, retain, or renew this ancient and significative Institution of the *Samothracian* Rites, wherein now the World is emblematized by the tempestuous *Ocean*, by the *Blew-Garter*, Heavenly Mindedness or Unity of Faith, and Concord or Amity, because it is but one, and knit close together with a Buckle of pure Gold about the Leg. And as for St. *George*, he might very well be made the Patron of this Order, as who was Martyr'd [x] above 200 Years before, and was already in those days of high Renown over all the *Christian* World: Especially since the *Christians* attributed unto him the same Protection of sea-faring Men, as the old *Phœnicians* did to their *Cabiri*; which will evidently appear from these two following Passages, the

[t] *Aylett Sammes ex* Bocharto *hæc rettulit in l. Antiq. Brit. Illustrat. Quanquam* Herodotus *& ex eo Dr.* Stillingfl. *in Orig. Sacr.* Cabiros *non* Phœnicibus, *sed* Pelasgis *tribuunt.*

[u] *K.* Arthur *us'd St.* George *v. Harding c. 72*

[x] *D. Georgius Martyr. coronat. An. Dom. 290. An. Diocletiani Imperatoris 6°. Selden's Titles of Hon. p. 795. ex* Baron. *Collat. cum Labbæo ad hunc annum.*

the one of an old *Saxon* MS. and the other of an old *Engliſh* MS. Legend in Verſe, both which I ſhall here make bold to produce in a Language ſomething more intelligible, becauſe the very Words are to be ſeen in their Primitive Obſcurity in the Learned *Seldens* Titles of Honour, [y] "And St. *George* (upon the Point of his Martyrdom in "the Days of *Dioclesian* the Emperour) prayed to the Lord and ſaid, *Jeſu Chriſt* re- "ceive my Soul! And I beſeech thee, that whoſoever ſhall commemorate me on "Earth, all Fraud, Peril, Hunger and Sickneſs be far from his Houſe; and that "whoſoever ſhall in any danger ON THE SEA, or elſewhere make uſe of "my Name, Thou wilt be mercifull unto him. Then came a Voice from Heaven, ſay- "ing, Come thou Bleſſed, and whoſoever ſhall in any Danger or Place, call on my "Name thrô Thee, him will I hear. The ſame Senſe is thus expreſſed in the other [z] MS. in Meeter,

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[y] *Saxon M.S. apud Selden Titles of Honour p.* 812.

[z] *Apud Selden ibid. p.* 813.

His Hands he held up on High, adown he ſet his knee,
Lord, he ſaid, Jeſu Chriſt, *this only thing might I ſee;*
Grant me, if it is thy Will; that whoſo in fair manere,
Holds well my Day in [a] Aperil, *for my Love on Earth here;*
That there never fall in his Houſe no Harm in all the Year;
Nor great Sickneſs, nor Famine ſtrong, that thereof there be no fear.
And WHOSO IN PERIL OF SEA, thrô me ſhall make his Boon,
Or in other Caſes Perillous, heal him thereof full ſoon.
Then heard he a Voice from Heaven, that to him ſaid, I wis,
Come forth to me, my Bleſſed Child, thy Boon heared is:
Then his Head was off y-ſmitten, &c.

[a] April 23d St. George's Day.

Some ſmall Account of this ancient Original I gave about ten or eleven Years ſince to that Learned Antiquary, Eſquire *Aſhmole* in the Lodgings of my worthy Friend and Maſter Dr. *Goad*, then at Merchant-*Taylors* School in *London*, who ſeem'd not a little pleas'd at the probable Authentick Occaſion of this moſt Noble Order. But I leave the Judgment of all to the Candid Reader, being content with thoſe Reaſons, that induced me to make theſe Conjectures, as I readily allow others to follow what may ſeem more Rational to them.

V. And having thus at leaſt endeavour'd to find out hidden Truth from among the groſs Rubbiſh of Antiquity, we ſhall now proceed. When this Mighty Prince had formed in his Head this moſt Honourable Deſign, and had begun to hold his Round Table at *Windſor*, upon [b] New-years Day this Year (1344.) He iſſued out his Royal Letters of Protection, as we ſhew'd before, for the ſafe Coming and Return of Foreign Knights, their Servants and what belonged unto them, who being deſirous to try their Valour, ſhould come to thoſe ſolemn Juſts, by him intended to be held at *Windſor*, on the [c] *Monday* next after the Feaſt of St. *Hilary* next enſuing (which happen'd then to be on the * 19 Day of *January*.) And theſe Letters of ſafe Conduct continued in Force till the Octaves of the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, being in the 18 Year of his Reign.

[b] *Aſhmole p.* 186 *b. c.*

[c] *Pat.* 17. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 2. *m.* 2. * Dom. Lit. D. C.

The Time appointed being come, the King provided a Royal Supper to open the Solemnity, and then firſt Ordained, that this Feſtival ſhould be annually held there at *Whitſuntide*. The next Day and during all this ſplendid Convention from before *Candlemas* unto *Lent*, the Lords of *England* and of other Lands exerciſed themſelves in all kind of Knightly Feats of Arms, as Juſts and Tourneaments, and Running at the Ring: The Queen and her Ladies, that they might with more Convenience behold this Spectacle, were orderly ſeated upon a firm Baluſtrade or Scaffold with Rails before it, running all round the Liſts. And certainly their extraordinary Beauties, ſet ſo advantageouſly forth with exceſſive Finery and Riches of Apparel, did prove a Sight as full of pleaſant Encouragement to the Combatants, as the fierce Bucklings of Men and Horſes, gallantly armed, was a delightfull Terrour to the Feminine Beholders.

During theſe Martial ſports, *William Montagu*, the Great Earl of *Salisbury*, King of the Iſle of *Man*, and Marſhal of *England*, thrô his immoderate Courage and Labour for 3 or 4 Days together, was at laſt ſo bruiſed and wearied with thoſe boiſterous Encounters, that falling [d] into a Feavour thereby, he died within 8 Days after, in the [e] 43d. Year of his Age, on the 30 of *January*, being then a *Fryday*, to the infinite regret of the King, and all the Court, as well Strangers, as *Engliſh*; and was afterwards Honourably buried in the *White-Fryers* at *London*. This Mans Father, named *William* Lord *Montagu*, [f] Son of *Simon* Lord *Montagu*, and being deſcended of

[d] *Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p.* 924.

[e] *Vid. Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 640. *ubi Anno* 13. *Ed.* 2. aged 18. *& vid. Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 647. *Aſhmole* 690.

[f] *Mills Catal. Honor. p.* 1041.

Drû

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Drû, or *Drogo*, who was branched from the Lines of the Ancient Kings of *Man*, did Marry *Aufric* Daughter of *Fergus*, and Widow of *Olaus* King of *Man*; or as others report, she was [g] Sister of *Orry* King of *Man*, who was descended from *Orry*, Son to the King of *Denmark*: Which Lady, discerning her Brother and all his Blood to be overcome, and ruin'd by *Alexander* King of *Scots*, fled into *England* with the Charter of that Isle, and being there Honourably received of King *Edward* I, was by him given in Marriage to *William* Lord *Montagu* aforesaid, who in her Right, by Aid of the said King *Edward* I, recover'd the said Isle, till at length he mortgag'd it for seven Years to *Anthony Beck*, Bishop of *Durham*; from whom it should seem to have been taken by the *Scots*: Till this Earl *William*, as we shew'd before, reconquer'd it from the *Scots*, and was by King *Edward* III made King of the said Isle, as was also his Son after him, till the 16 of *Richard* II, when he sold the Crown thereof to *William* Lord *Scroop*, as some say, thô 'tis certain, that even [h] to his Death he retain'd the Title of Lord thereof; as appears by his Will, bearing Date at *Christ-Church-Twynham* 20 *April*, *Anno* 1397 (20 *Richardi* 2) where he calls himself Earl of *Salisbury*, and Lord of the Isles of *Man* and *Wight*: Within 6 Weeks after the Date whereof he departed this Life. But now at the Death of his Father, the first Earl, he was found to be but 15 Years old and an half, thô in time, he became no less renowned, than his Father, and was One of those 25 whom King *Edward* chose together with himself, Founders of the Order of the Garter. But of his Heroick Father, who died at this time, [i] *Walsingham* takes his leave in these Words, "This Year, says "he, departed this Life, the Lord *William Montagu* Earl of *Salisbury*, King of *Man*, "and Marshal of *England*, of whose Valorous Acts worthily to write, would be a Work of great Commendation.

[g] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 633.

[h] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 648.

[i] *Hypod. p.* 117. *ad an.* 1344.

And thus died this Valiant Worthy in the strength of his Age, full of Glory, and even by those Martial Exercises, which he ever principally affected: But the Solemnity notwithstanding was continued to its appointed End; and all the while, as the Men of War thus spent the Days in Sports more agreeable to their Robust Nature; so were a great part of the Nights devoted to Publique Balls, Masquerades, and Dancings with the Ladies, which attended the Queen thither. And perhaps this gave occasion to some, who could not penetrate into the true Original of the Garter, to conjecture, that at some of these Balls, either the Queens, or the Countess of *Salisbury's* Garter slipping off, might afford the First hint of this Devise.

VI. Immediately after these First Martial Exercises were over (to the end better accommodation might be had for the Knights that should afterwards come thither) the King caused [k] Carpenters, Masons, and Carriages to be impress't for the Erecting the foresaid Building of the Round-Table in the Castle; four Years after by his Letters [l] Patents, bearing *Teste* at *Westminster* on the VI Day of *August An°. Regni* 22. he new Founded the Ancient Chappel of *Windsor* to the Honour and Praise of the Omnipotent God, of the Glorious Virgin *Mary*, of St. *George* the Martyr, and of St. *Edward* the Confessour, and ordained that to the Eight *Canons* of King *Henry* the First, there should be added One *Custos*, fifteen *Canons* more, twenty four Alms Knights, together with other Ministers, all under the Command of the said *Custos*; and these to be maintained out of the Revenues, wherewith this Chappel was, and should be endowed. And thus what as to the College, Chappel, and Castle, We find him the most part of his Reign after this, Augmenting, Building, Repairing, and Endowing this Darling Seat of his, as may be seen more [m] particularly in the IV Chapter and the first Section of Esquire *Ashmole's* elaborate History of the Garter.

[k] *Pat.* 18. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 39. *Dorso.*

[l] *Extant apud* Ashmole *Appendix, N.*

[m] *Ashmole p.* 128. & *p.* 129.

From this Seminary of the Round-Table begun thus, as We have seen, five Years after he reared that Illustrious and Solemn Order of the Garter, [n] consisting of 26 Knights in all, whereof himself was Sovereign and Chief: All whose Habits in token of Fellowship, Amity and Concord, were alike; and first the *Collars*, each consisted of 26 *Garters*, every one enclosing a *Rose*, united with the *Buckle*, each Garter interchangeably divided with a *Knot*, all Emblems of Amity; saving that at the end of the Middle Garter before, hangs down the great *George*, representing an Armed Knight on a barbed Horse, tilting at a Dragon, who is thrown on his Back. Then the *Caps*, *Mantle*, *Surcoat*, and *Hood*, are all alike, saving, that the Number of Garters, Embroider'd on the Surcoat, varies according to the different Degrees of the Knights Companions. And lastly the *Garter*, the Chief Ensign of the Order, being of blew Velvet, is richly Embroider'd with these Letters and Stops of Gold, HONI. SOIT. QUI. MAL. Y. PENSE. all Garnished with Diamonds and other precious Stones: The Buckle and Pendant whereof are all of pure Gold, as also the Plate next the Hinge,

[n] *V.* Ashmole's Garter, *ubi & harum rerum descriptiones & imagines fusius & ob oculos habentur.*

Hinge, whereon the Sovereign's Picture to the Breast is Curiously cut in flat-stitch, Crown'd with a Laurel, and vested in the Military Habit of the First *Roman* Emperours: As also on the back side of the *Tab* or *Pendant*, is engraven a *George* on Horseback, as before. There is also a lesser *George*, enclosed in Diamonds, and appointed to be worn pendant, first on a Golden Chain, and since that, on a *Blew-Ruband*, upon more ordinary occasions. We must yet confess, that all this Splendour was not at first, (every thing usually gathering growth by Degrees) for it appears, that the Material of the first Founders Mantle was only *most* [o] *fine Woollen-Cloth*, Blew-Colour; and it is not unlikely, as Mr. *Ashmole* well observes, that the Founder made choice of Cloth for the Robes of the Order (rather than any other Richer Stuff) to the end he might thereby give a Reputation to that our homebred, and Native Commodity. Albeit, we find in the Statutes of Institution, a Permission for the Proxies of Foreign Princes, to bring over with them Mantles of [p] Silk or Velvet, at their coming to receive the Possession of their Principals Stalls; either because other Countries were better furnished with such Commodities, than with our *English* Cloth, or that it might rather stand with the liking or esteem of foreign Princes, as accounting Silk or Velvet the more Honourable Material. Some also have deliver'd, that at the first Institution the Habit consisted only of the *Garter*, *Mantle*, *Surcoat*, and *Hood*, and that the *George* and *Collar* were afterwards added by *Henry* VIII. It is certain, that at the Original there was more simplicity in all; the Materials both of Surcoat, Hood, and Mantle, were at first all the same, and of the same Colour, all garnished, or powder'd all over with little Garters, embroider'd with Silk and Gold Plate, in each whereof was neatly wrought the Motto, Honi soit qui mal y pense. Besides the Buckles and Pendants to these small Garters were Silver Gilt: And it is Recorded, that of these Embroider'd Garters, there were laid upon the first Surcoat and Hood made for the Founder, no less than an Hundred Sixty Eight. The left Shoulder of each of the Mantles, from the very Institution, hath been adorned with one Large, Fair Garter, containing the Motto, Honi soit qui mal y pense; which were distinguished from the other lesser Garters, by the Name of *Garters gross*. Within this Great Garter were embroider'd the Arms of St. *George*, namely Argent a Cross Gules; which of old was wrought upon *Sattin*, with Gold, Silver, and Silk; but in succeeding times more cost was bestow'd upon this Salutary Ensign; the Embroidery being curiously wrought upon Velvet, with Damask, Gold and sundry sorts of Purls, Plates, *Venice*-twists, and Silks, and the Letters of the *Motto*, and Borders of the Garter, composed of fine Oriental Pearl. To which, lastly, King *Charles* the First added the Rays, or Glory, as 'tis commonly called, darting out thrô the Garter from all parts of the Sacred Cross, till without the Garter, it self also terminates Cross-wise. But leaving the minuter Prosecution of these things, with all the particular Mutations, Statutes, and Circumstances thereto belonging, to that Learned and Authentick Work of Esquire *Ashmole's*, wherein he has most accurately and fully handled all things relating to this Order, I shall only add, what yet remains of our Subject;

1. That King EDWARD himself first took this Habit in the Chappel of St. *George* from the hands of *William Edington* Bishop of *Winchester* (which Bishop by Statute is always Prelate of the Order) and then he proceeded to give the same Habit to the other 25 Knights Companions, as in Order they follow;

2. His Eldest Son, *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, now but in the 14, then in the 19 Year of his Age.

3. His Noble and Valiant Cousin, *Henry*, at that time Earl of *Lancaster*, and afterwards Duke of the same Title.

4. *Thomas Beauchamp*, the thrice Noble and Valiant Earl of *Warwick*.

5. *John* [q] *de Greilly*, Captal of *Buch*, which is a great Lordship in *Aquitain*, the Governour whereof is stiled *Captal*, and the Country it self is called *le Captalat de Buch*, or *Busch*; the chief Town whereof, called *la Teste de Buch*, is about seven Leagues Westward of *Bourdeaux*: This Gentleman was a Mighty Man of Valour, and most firm of all others to the *English* side; so that after many Renowned Exploits, whereof this History will not be silent, being at last taken Prisoner by the *French*, he chose rather to die in Prison, than to swear never more to bear Arms for *England*.

6. The next Knight in Order was *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, Earl of *Stafford*.

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[o] *Ashmole p.* 209. *ex Rotul. Comp. Jo. Coke Cler. Mag. Garderob. ad an.* 21. & 23. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 8. *penes Remem. Regis in Scaccario.*

[p] *Ed.* 3. *Statut. Art.* 20. *vid. Hen.* V. *Stat. Art.* 20. *in Appendic. ad Ashmole.*

[q] Here Mr. *Ashmole* is stagger'd, because whereas he finds it on Record, that *John de Greilly*, Son of *Peter*, was *Captal* of *Buch*, from the 5 to the 29 of King *Edward* the III; as indeed he was from the 5 to the 50. Yet notwithstanding upon the Original Plate of his Name, set up in the Chappel at *Windsor*, it is engraven *Piers* Capitow *de la Bouch*, as if his Name also was *Peter*: When as it is evident, that these Plates were not set up at the Foundation; but many Years after, perhaps after King *Edward's* Death; as may be made manifest to any strict enquirer: And his Father being of the Name of *Peter* might cause a mistake at least in the Engraver: From whence afterward Authority grew also even to other writings. Nay, I shall hereafter prove, that as great a Mistake as this was engraven upon Queen *Philippa's* Tomb; thô done in King *Edwards* Life.

7. William

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7. *William Montagu*, the hopefull young Earl of *Salisbury*.

8. *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, Grandſon to *Roger* Earl of *March*, who five Years after obtain'd a Revocation of the Judgement againſt his Grandfather, and thereupon was reſtored in Blood, and to the Earldom of *March*, and to all his ſaid Grandfathers Lands, Honours, and Poſſeſſions: Being for his Valour and Worth highly meriting to be inſerted into this moſt Noble Order.

9. After him was inveſted the Couragious Knight *John* Lord *Liſle*.

10. Then *Bartholomew* Lord *Burgherſh*, aliàs *Burwaſh*, Junior, at that time but twenty Years old; but every way Worthy of this Honour.

11. *John* Lord *Beauchamp*, younger Brother to *Thomas* Earl of *Warwick*; a Noble Martialiſt of that Age.

12. *John* Lord *Mohun* of *Dunſtor*, a Conſtant Attendant of the *Black-Prince* in all his Wars.

13. *Hugh* Lord *Courtney*, Son to *Hugh Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*.

14. *Thomas* Lord *Holland* of *Holland* in *Lancaſhire*, who about the time of this his Creation, or the 23d. of King *Edward*, was Married to the Beauty of *England*, *Joan* Siſter to the Earl of *Kent*.

15. *John* Lord *Grey* of *Codonore* in *Derbyſhire*.

16. Sr. *Richard Fitz-Simon*, whoſe Services in War rais'd him to this Honourable Title.

17. Sr. *Miles Stapleton*, a Man of Great Nobility, and Integrity, and Expert in Martial Affairs.

18. Sr. *Thomas Wale*, a Knight of great Vertue and Worthineſs; but one, who thô by his early Valour he merited ſo High a Rank, yet by his too early Death, which happen'd within three Years after the Inſtitution, left his Stall void the Firſt of all theſe Founders.

19. Sr. *Hugh Wrotteſly* of *Wrotteſly*, in the County of *Stafford* Knight, from whom in a direct Line is Sr. *Walter Wrotteſly* of *Wrotteſly* in the foreſaid County Baronet, now [r] living deſcended.

[r] Aſhmole *ità An°. Domini* 1672.

20. Sr. *Nele Loring*, a Knight of great Valour and Nobility; and whom we have ſhewn to have been firſt Knighted for his ſignal Courage in the Naval Fight at *Sluce*.

21. The Lord *John Chandos*, a moſt Illuſtrious Hero, of whoſe Generoſity and Valour to write ſufficiently, would require a large Volume.

22. The Lord *James Audley*, a moſt Adventurous and Fortunate Commander, and Couſin to *Nicolas Audley*, Earl of *Glouceſter*.

23. Sr. *Otho Holland*, Brother to the Lord *Thomas Holland* aforeſaid.

24. Sr. *Henry Eam* of *Brabant*, commonly by *Hiſtorians* called Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders*; a Valiant and Loyal Servant to King *Edward*.

25. Sr. *Sanchio Dambreticourt*, a Valiant Knight of *Heinalt*, now Naturaliz'd in *England*.

26. Sr. *Walter Pavely*, who was Famous for his Exploits in ſeveral Warlike Expeditions.

Theſe were the Names, and this the Order, of the Firſt Knights of the Garter, whom the thrice Noble King *Edward* choſe to be his Companions and Fellows, in this Honourable Society: All Men of moſt ſignal Valour and Conduct, of High Birth and untainted Loyalty; So Generous and Heroick, that they might all ſeem Worthy to be Kings; and their Perſeverance in Vertue to the laſt, as it partly declares the ſharp Judgement the King uſed in their Election; ſo it ſhews of what Power and Efficacy that Honourable Tye was, and what Obligations to Vertuous Behaviour it laid upon them. But methinks it may juſtly be Wonder'd, how it came to paſs that this Great Honour being confer'd on ſo few, thoſe other Worthy Barons, who deſerv'd it no leſs, being laid aſide, ſhould notwithſtanding never ſhew the leaſt diſguſt at the Matter. For certainly the Noble and Heroick Lord *Walter Manny*, the Valiant and Daring Lord *Reginald Cobham*, *Richard Fitz-Alan*, the Great Earl of *Arundel*, *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Lawrence Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntingdon*, *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, and his Warlike Brother, *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Ralph Baſſet* of *Sapcote*, the Lord *Roger Delaware* and many more for Birth, Wiſdom, Loyalty, Wealth, Vertue, or Valour, were well Worthy of the Higheſt Honours. But this Prudent Prince would not make his Inſtitution cheap, by communicating it to many; nor have any of his Succeſſors to this Day exceeded the Number of 26. The mean while 'tis highly probable, that the other Lords thought it more Noble to grow emulous, who of them ſhould be moſt Worthy to

aſcend

ascend the first vacant Place, and we find by Degrees, that most of them did, as the Stalls fell void, atttain to that Dignity; as the two Earls of *Essex* and *Northampton*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Suffolk*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, and *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, and others; but the Rest either died, or were decrepit, and past Action almost, before their turns came, and so found no Room at all. AN. DOM. 1344. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVIII. *Franciæ* V.

VII. The Order being thus well-stockt at the beginning, has since that obtain'd such an High Esteem thrô all the *Christian* World; that divers [f] Emperours, Kings, and Sovereign Princes, have reputed it among their greatest Honours, to be chosen and admitted thereunto; insomuch as some of them have with Impatience Courted the Honour of Election. And we find remaining upon this Registry of True Glory, no less than Eight Emperours of *Germany*, Five *French* Kings, Five Kings of *Denmark*, Three Kings of *Spain*, Two Kings of *Scotland*, before the Realms were happily United Five Kings of *Portugal*, Two Kings of *Sweedland*, One King of *Poland*, One King of *Bohemia*, One King of *Aragon*, Two Kings of *Castille*, Two Kings of *Naples*, Two Arch-Dukes, One Duke of *Guelderland*, One Duke of *Holland*, Two Dukes of *Burgundy*, Two Dukes of *Brunswicke*, One Duke of *Milain*, Two Dukes of *Urbin*, One Duke of *Ferrara*, One Duke of *Savoy*, Two Dukes of *Holstein*, One Duke of *Saxony*, and One Duke of *Wertemberg*, Seven Count *Palatines* of the *Rhyne*, Four Princes of *Orange*, One Marques of *Brandenberg*, all Strangers; besides many other Worthies, and Persons of the Highest Rank and Vertue, both at home and abroad, to the Number of well near 500, since the First Institution: All whose Names, together with the Escutcheons of their Arms are still remaining Engraven on Square Plates of Mettal affixed to their several Stalls in the most Beautifull Chappel of St. *George*, and every Knights Banner is set up over his Head, during his Natural Life. So that We may justly conclude with our Learned *Selden*; *that it exceeds in Majesty, Honour, and Fame, all Chevalrous Orders in the World.*

[f] *Ashmole p.* 189.

VIII. No less Designs, than these, busied the Active Mind of this Illustrious Monarch, when he met with any Respit from War; which now is hasting on apace: For while by the Device of his Round-Table He was thus laying a Foundation for this Royal and Heroick Institution; King *Philip* of *France*, who already had begun to countermine him with another Table of his Erecting at *Paris*, and was extreamly offended with whatever King *Edward* went about, began to be jealous of certain of his Lords and others, who hitherto had served him faithfully; as if they secretly for all that favour'd King *Edwards* cause. Whether that was True, or no, whereof they were suspected, is no where made appear; but however King [t] *Philip*, under pretence of a Solemn Tourneament, which he then held at *Paris* in imitation of King *Edwards* at *Windsor*, as we shew'd; train'd thither the Lord *Oliver Clisson*, with ten or twelve other Lords of *Bretagne* in company of the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and there the most Loyal and Valiant Lord *Clisson* was suddenly by the jealous Kings Order apprehended, and clapt up in Prison, no Man being able to imagine for what reason; unless, that because King *Edward* had chose rather to release him by Exchange for the Lord *Stafford*, he was therefore suspected to be a secret Friend to the *English*. And notwithstanding, that he had so gallantly recover'd *Vannes* from the *English*, and at the same time had rid King *Philip* of the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*, one of his most mortal Enemies, now without any Process or hearing, he was adjudged to be drawn thrô the City to the Place of Execution; where [u] he lost his Head; and after that, his Body was hanged in Chains upon a Gibbet, and his Head sent to *Nantes* in *Bretagne*; where it was advanced upon a Pole over the Gates of the City, To the great [x] Astonishment of all Men and the infinite Regret and Indignation of the Nobility; whose Blood, till now, was not used to be shed; but in Battle for that Cruel Princes quarrel. This Lord *Clisson* left behind him a young Son, named *Oliver*, as his Father was; him his Relations, upon this Disaster, took up presently, and carry'd unto the Countess of *Montford*, where he was bred up with her young Son *John*, who was just about the same Age with him. Soon after there died in the same manner, and for as little matter, Sr. *John*, and Sr. *Godfry de Malestroit*, the Father and Son, two Valiant and Worthy *Bretons* also, Sr. *John de Montauban*, Sr. *William Bruce*, Sr. *John Cablet*, and Sr. *John du Plessis* Knights, and *John Malestroit*, Nephew to the foresaid Sr. *John* the Elder, Esquire, as also *Robert Bruce*, *John* and *David de Sennes*, Esquires. Shortly after there were also Executed in *Paris*, or as some say, [y] starved to Death, three Valiant Knights of *Normandy*, Sr. *William Bacon*, Sr. *Richard Percy*, and Sr. *Rouland de la Rochetessone*, all whose Heads were sent to *Carentan*, a Chief City in *Normandy*, which afterwards proved the utter Ruine of that Place; as we shall shew. Sr. *Godfry* of *Harecourt*

[t] *Froiss. c.* 99. & *Mezeray p.* 21.

[u] *Fabian p.* 272.

[x] *Mezeray p.* 21.

[y] *Froiss. c.* 99.

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court himſelf, who was Lord of St. *Saviour le Vicount*, and Brother of the Lord *Lewis* Earl of *Harcourt*, had been ſerved in no better manner; but that he wiſely kept aloof; nor would he by any means obey King *Philips* Summons, but at laſt deſpairing of any tolerable ſecurity in thoſe parts, he came over into *England* to King *Edward*; who received him gladly, and made good uſe both of his Valour and Counſel in the following War, whereof he became a ſecond Firebrand, as the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* had been before him. And King *Philip* after his old manner to enflame the buſineſs the more, proceeded againſt him with an High Hand, and openly proſcribed him as a Traytor, and Enemy to the Crown of *France*; but King *Edward* on the other hand, being then again at Enmity with *Philip*, called him Couſin, allowed him an Honourable Maintenance, and made him one of the Marſhals of his Hoſt: But this happen'd after the Death of the Lord *Cliſſon* [z] almoſt a Year. Thus King *Philip*, when he ſhould rather have endeavoured of Enemies to make Friends, by his raſh ſeverity, and want of Princely connivence, and temporizing a little, rendred even many of his own Subjects Enemies unto him.

[z] *Froiſ. c.* 114.

IX. Of the firſt part of this Tragedy, King *Edward* had News immediately; for while [a] at *Windſor* he was buſied in preparing his Round-Table, of which we have ſpoken; Mr. *Henry* [b] *Maleſtroit*, a Deacon in Holy Orders, Maſter of the Requeſts to King *Philip*, and younger Brother to Sr. *Godfry* of *Maleſtroit*, whom the ſaid King had unjuſtly put to Death, came over to *England* in deep diſpleaſure; and told the King, complaining unto him moſt lamentably, "of the Death of his Father, Brother, and Couſin, "and how cruelly, and without all Reaſon King *Philip* had Executed ſeveral other Lords, "Knights, and Eſquires, and eſpecially the noble Lord *Cliſſon*, who had ſo faithfully and "valiantly ſerved againſt the *Engliſh*; only becauſe he had a jealouſie, that they were "ſecretly King *Edwards* Friends: Wherefore he exhorted him earneſtly, that ſince the "*French* King had thereby broken the Truce, he would renew the War againſt him, "and Revenge the Blood of thoſe his Innocent Friends. How King *Edward* reſented this News, We ſhall ſhew, when we have firſt diſpatch'd what concerns this Meſſenger, Mr. *Henry Maleſtroit*: To him the King preſently aſſigned a place of good Authority in the City of *Vannes*, in *Bretagne*, which was then held of *England*; but ſhortly after when the Truce was broken, was deliver'd up to the *French* by the two Cardinals, who were Guaranties of the Truce. There this poor Gentleman being found was ſent away Priſoner to *Paris*; where he was ſoon after put in a Tumbrell, or Dung-Cart, to which he was faſtned with Chains of Iron, and ſo convey'd bare-headed with great noiſe and outcries of the People, from the Caſtle down thrô the High-ſtreet of *Paris*, till he came to the Biſhops Palace; where they deliver'd him up to the Biſhop; and he by vertue of a Commiſſion purchas'd by King *Philip* from the Pope, then and there degraded and deprived of all Degrees, and holy Orders, the ſaid Maſter *Henry*, and ſo deliver'd him back again to the Secular Power. Then he was judged to ſtand in the Pillory at ſuch an hour, for three Days together in the moſt Publique place of the City; but he was ſo cruelly pelted with rotten eggs, apples, and other filth and ordure of the City; that on the third Day he was found dead, and afterwards had no better burial, than a Dog.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 101.

[b] *Fabian. p.* 273.

King *Philip* not content with theſe ſeverities to cool the affections of his Grandees, at the ſame time (beſide thoſe notable Subſidies, which his Subjects of *France* had freely granted him to the maintenance of his Wars) [c] levied ſtrange and unheard of Taxes, and which was worſe ſettled a *Gabelle* upon Salt, for which cauſe our *Edward* by way of *Raillery* called him *the Author of the Salique Law*. This Impoſt, which makes the Sun and Water to be ſold, was the Invention of the *Jews*, Mortal Enemies to the *Chriſtian* Name, as the word *Gabelle* denotes, which comes from the [d] *Hebrew*.

[c] *Mezeray ad an.* 1344. *Fabian p.* 271.

[d] גָּבַל *terminavit.*

X. But to return; when King *Edward* had received the News which Mr. *Henry Maleſtroit* brought him, how the Lord *Cliſſon* and others had loſt their Lives for his Sake, he took deep [e] Indignation at this Inveterate Malice of the *French* King's, and was once in mind to have ſerved the Lord *Henry du Leon*, who was now his Priſoner, in the ſame manner. But his Couſin the Generous Earl of *Darby*, ſhew'd to him and his Council ſuch Reaſons as alter'd his furious Intention, and ſomething calm'd his Paſſion, "Sir ſaid "he, thô King *Philip* being ſtung with mortal Jealouſie, hath raſhly done ſo baſe an "Action, as unjuſtly to put to Death ſuch valiant and worthy Knights: Yet for Gods "ſake, let not the bright Splendour of your Name be ſullied with any ſuch black and "ſhamefull Deed. And to ſay the Truth, your Priſoner Sr. *Henry*, as he was no way "acceſſary to his Maſters Fault, ſo methinks ought not to find any harder Uſage for "the ſame; but rather to be put to a reaſonable Ranſom, as a Man of Honour taken "in the Wars.

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 101. *& Mezeray ad hunc annum.*

Here-

Hereupon the King, who always was inclinable to hear Reaſon, became ſomething more pacified, and ſent for the Lord *Henry du Leon* to come before him, at which time he ſpake thus unto him, ſhaking his Head for anger: "Ah! Sr. *Henry*, Sr. *Hen-* "*ry*! Mine Adverſary, *Philip de Valois* hath ſhew'd in a moſt cruel manner his extream "Tyranny, unjuſtly to put to death ſuch Worthy Knights: Wherewith I am infinite- "ly diſpleaſed (althô I never held any Correſpondence with any of them) becauſe I "queſtion not but he did it in deſpight of Us. And therefore, if I would contend with "him in Malice, I could now ſerve you in like manner; for you have done to Me and "mine more diſpleaſure in *Bretagne* than any other. But this I will paſs by and (let "*Philip* do his worſt) to our Power we ſhall preſerve our Reputation, and not care "to imitate him in his ignoble and unprincely Actions. Wherefore for my Couſin of "*Darby's* ſake, who hath entreated me in your Behalf, I am content to deliver you "for a ſmall Ranſom, on Condition you will do as I ſhall require you. The Knight an-ſwer'd, making a low Reverence, "Sir, I ſhall readily do what you ſhall pleaſe to com- "mand me. Then the King proceeded, "I know well you are one of the moſt ſub- "ſtantial Knights in *Bretagne*, and (if I would be ſtrict with you) that you are well "able to pay me thirty or fourty thouſand [f] *Scutes*: But if you will engage upon your "Honour to go to mine Adverſary, *Philip de Valois*, and to ſhew him from me, that "ſince he hath ſo cruelly and unjuſtly put to Death ſuch valiant Knights in Spight of "Me, I ſay and will prove, that he hath broken the Truce taken between Me and "Him; wherefore alſo I renounce it utterly on my Part, and from this Day forward "mortally defie him: This Meſſage if you will truly perform, your Ranſom ſhall be "but 10000 *Scutes* which you ſhall truly pay, and ſend to *Bruges* within 15 days af- "ter you have croſt the Seas. And moreover you ſhall ſay to all Knights and Eſquires "of thoſe Parts, that for all this they forbear not to come to our Feaſt at *Windſor*, for "they ſhall be welcome to Us, and enjoy the benefit of our ſafe Conduct as We have "declared. "Sir replied the Knight, to the beſt of my Power I ſhall perform your "Commands; and God reward your Majeſty for the Great Clemency You are pleas'd "to ſhew unto me: And I heartily thank my Noble Lord of *Darby* for his Good word "in my Behalf. So Sr. *Henry du Leon* took his leave of the King, and within a few days went on Board at *Southhampton*, with intent to go to *Harfleur* in *Normandy*, and ſo to *Paris* to deliver King *Edwards* Defiance: But a ſtorm took him in ſuch a manner, that being forced among other things to fling all his horſes overboard, he was beſide ſo toſſed and haraſſed, that he never after recovered his Health; thô at laſt he gain'd land at *Crotoy* in *Picardy*, at the mouth of the River *Somme*. From thence both he and all his Company were fain to foot it to *Abbeville*, about five *French* miles journey, where they gat Horſes: But Sr. *Henry* was ſo ſick, that he was fain to be carried in a Litter to *Paris*, where he did his Meſſage to King *Philip* very punctually; but as he was returning homeward into *Bretagne*, he died by the way at the City of *Angiers*, juſt upon the Borders of his own Country: A very noble and valiant but unfortunate Gentleman, who never had any reſt or comfort after he had betray'd his Maſter, *John* of *Montford*, in the City of *Nantes*, as we have related.

[f] A *Scute* is 6 s. 8 d. *Sterling*.

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XI. In this very ſeaſon, before the Solemnity at *Windſor* was over, King [g] *Edward* heard News from *Gaſcoigne* by the Lord *De le Sparre*, the Lord of *Chaumont*, and the Lord of *Mucidan*, who were ſent into *England* by the Lord *De la Brett*, *aliàs de Albreth*, the Lord of *Pamiers*, the Lord of *Montferant*, the Lord of *Duras*, the Lord of *Craon*, and the Lord *John Greilly* with Others, who held of the King of *England*, to ſhew unto him the State of the Countreys thereabout. And other Meſſengers alſo at the ſame time came from *Bayonne* and *Bourdeaux* to the ſame purpoſe. All theſe were highly entertained by the King, to whom they diſtinctly ſhew'd the weak Condition of his Country of *Guienne* and *Gaſcoigne*, and eſpecially of his good Cities of *Bourdeaux* and *Bayonne*; wherefore they deſired him to ſend thither ſuch Commanders, and ſuch Forces as might be able to keep the Field againſt the *French*, who were already preparing for the next Campagne; and both ſecretly attempted to debauch the Loyalty of his Friends, and other ways alſo to run counter to the expreſs Form of the Truce. And moreover a little before, Pope [h] *Clement* the VI. had in the Publique Conſiſtory created *Don Lewis* of *Spain*, Prince of the Fortunate Iſlands, he being then Earl of *Cleremont*, and one of the *French* Ambaſſadors: Upon which Occaſion his Holineſs took this Text, [i] "*I will make Thee a Prince over a Great Nation.* Theſe Iſles are the ſame with the *Canaries*, which are ſeven Iſlands of *Africa* in the *Atlantick* Sea, and which as [k] one ſays, would have proved a gift worthy of Acceptance, had his Holineſs alſo given a peaceable and quiet Poſſeſſion thereof. But the Inhabitants were *Ma-*

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 102.

[h] *Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc ann.* §. 39. *ad* §. 50. *&c.*

[i] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 155.

[k] *Walſing. ibid.*

hometans,

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hometans, and must first be conquer'd, before they would accept of a *Spanish* Prince; wherefore the *English* [l] Ambassadors who were then at *Avignon*, and understanding hereof concluded, that his Holiness had design'd him to be Prince of *Great Britain*, as which was one of the most Happy and Fortunate Islands in the World; not to say, that among the [m] Ancients it was so accounted indeed. When they saw that Don *Lewis* began thereupon to raise Men of War, in his own and the Pope's Name over all *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*, they no longer doubted, but that all these Preparations were design'd against *England*, wherefore they secretly left *Avignon*, and made all speed home they could, where they related these Matters to the King their Master, which yet ought to be imputed rather to their Zeal, than their so gross Ignorance of Topography, [n] as some suppose. And *Du Chesne* himself confesses, that all this was really intended against King *Edward*, thô being a *Frenchman* he qualifies the Matter, saying, it was only in order to resist the New War, which was lately threatned by the Mouth of Sr. *Henry du Leon*. But then I cannot see what need there should be of all this Dissimulation, unless these Preparations were begun before that Defiance, and so consequently could not but give just matter of Jealousie to *England*. However upon these frequent Alarms, King *Edward* resolv'd not to be taken napping, but to provide for the Defence of his own Land, and to keep the War on foot in *Bretagne*, *Gascoigne*, and where else there should be occasion.

[l] *Du Chesne p. 660. ex R. Avesbury, &c.*
[m] *Tzetzes in Lycophr.*
[n] *Dr. Hakewills Apology, &c. l. 3. c. 3. p. 280.*

XII. First therefore [o] by his Letters Patents he constitutes his Noble Cousin *Henry Plantagenet* Earl of *Darby*, and *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, his Lieutenants in the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and the Countries adjoyning, with power to govern and defend those Territories, to demand and receive the Possession of the Castles, Places and Rights, unjustly detained from him, and to receive such as should return to their Obedience, to the Grace and Favour of the King, as also the Homage and Fidelity, from whomsoever in those Parts due; and generally to do all things for the Defence and Recovery of the King's Rights, and the good Government of those Countries and his Subjects, with Command to all Archbishops, Bishops and other Officers both Spiritual and Temporal, to yield Obedience to these Earls in his Name.

[o] *Ashmole p. 679. ex Rot. Vasc. 18. Ed. 3. m. 9. & Knighton p. 2583. n. 60.*

And whereas the King upon false Suggestions had been deceived in many of his Grants and Donations in that Dukedom; by other Letters Patents, he now gave Power to the Earl of *Darby* to seise into his Hands all the Castles, Lands, Liberties and Profits, formerly granted by him; and those that should appear to have been obtained upon untrue Suggestions, to retain without Restitution, but if otherwise, to restore entirely. The Earls had also a like Commission, extending to those Grants, which were made by his Father King *Edward* II. upon the same Pretences, as well as by himself. Besides this they had a General Commission, to treat and conclude with all Persons of whatsoever State or Condition, Kingdome or Nation, for the Settling of Alliances and mutual Assistance between the King and them; to retain Men for the Kings Service, and to agree about Fees, Wages and Rewards to be paid unto them.

By other Commissions they had Power to treat and conclude with *Alphonso*, King of *Castille* and *Leon* (there stiled *Alphonsus Rex Castiliæ & Legionis, Algeziræ, Toleti, Gallœciæ, Seviliæ, Cordubæ, Murciæ, Giennii, & Algarbiæ, Comes Molinæ*) or his Deputies, upon all differences arising between their Subjects, especially Mariners and Citizens of *Bayonne*, amicably to compose them; as also about a perpetual League of Friendship between them, their Friends and Subjects, and to afford each other their mutual Assistance, with Power to make Substitutes in their stead.

The like Commissions they had with the same Powers to treat with Don *Alphonso* sirnamed the *Brave*, King of *Portugal*, and Don *Pedro* King of *Aragon*, both Neighbours also to *France*, on the side of *Navarre* and the *Pyrenæan* Mountains. All which Commissions bare Date 24 *March* 18 *Edw.* 3.

About this time also the King [p] order'd a Noble and Valiant Knight of *England*, named Sr. *Thomas Dagworth*, who was afterwards a Baron of the Realm, to go into *Bretagne* with an 100 Men of Arms and 200 Archers to reinforce the Countess of *Montford*; for he doubted not, but King *Philip* would renew the War there too, because of the Defiance lately sent him by Sr. *Henry du Leon*.

[p] *Froiss. c. 102. fol. 50.*

The Young [q] Earl of *Salisbury* and Others to the number of 600 Men of Arms, and 2000 Archers, he sent under the Leading of *Edward Baliol* to look to the Motions of the *Scots*, and to guard the Marches beyond the *Trent*. And thus did this vigilant young Monarch send forth his Men of War into divers Parts, according to the exigence of Affairs, as he either found or foresaw a Storm, and he deliver'd to all the Captains Gold and Silver sufficient to pay their Wages, and to retain Souldiers.

[q] *Froiss. ibid. & Knighton p. 2584. n. 30.*

XIII. But

XIII. But yet at the ſame time, that he was thus taking up Arms, to let the *Chriſtian* World know, that he did not without great Provocations thus again go about to diſturb the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, he ſent [r] his Letters to the Pope, ſhewing how King *Philip* had deſpightfully ſlain, and put to Death Good and Loyal Knights and Gentlemen upon his Account, and for hate of his Perſon; whereby he had notoriouſly violated the Truce lately taken between them; which as he could not but highly reſent, ſo he was preparing to revenge it: But yet if King *Philip* would according as Reaſon requireth, retract for what he had done amiſs, and offer Satisfaction for theſe injuries, he would at the time appointed ſend other Ambaſſadors to the Apoſtolick See, and give them Inſtructions for making Peace. The Pope having heard thus much, return'd an Anſwer to this Purpoſe, "After having manifeſted to King *Edward* in how "great Dangers the whole Chriſtian World was toſſed, and that this Mortal War thus "kindled between *France* and *England* did grievouſly afflict the Church; he then told "him that King *Philip* had granted Letters of ſafe Conduct, as the *Engliſh* Ambaſſa"dors had required; and as to the Death of the Lords, Eſquires and Others, King *Phi*"*lip* had wrote unto him, that they for their enormous Crimes, Murders and Rapines, "had been juſtly put to Death by him, not thereby to break the Truce, but by the "fear of their Puniſhment to terrifie others from the Breach thereof; and that he had "added, how the King of *England's* Garriſons had attempted many things againſt the "Truce. Then he begg'd the King, to let him know his Secret Reſolutions, for that "he would never divulge them, but uſe his utmoſt to make a final Peace, which was "ſo profitable and advantagious to the Expedition againſt the *Turks*. And he aſſured him, "that hitherto he had defer'd to diſpence with the Canon-Law, for the Marriage be"tween his Eldeſt Son and the Duke of *Brabant's* Daughter, in hopes that by that Bond "of Affinity tied in *France* a ſure Peace would enſue, *&c.* Thus the Pope neglected not to heal theſe Wounds of Bleeding *Chriſtendom*, but King *Edward* was too much exaſperated by his Adverſary to ſtop now, ſince nothing of Satisfaction was offer'd, but only frivolous and falſe Excuſes. Wherefore in order to enable himſelf the better to carry on this War, he now held his High Court of Parliament at *Weſtminſter* on the 7 Day of *June*, being the [f] *Monday* next after the Octaves of Holy *Trinity*. On which day in preſence of the King, certain of the Lords and Commons being then aſſembled in St. *Edwards* Chamber, otherwiſe called the Painted Chamber, and the Lord Chancellor at the Kings Command declared, how ſundry things of the laſt Parliament were left to be done at this. And that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had againſt the time of the ſaid Parliament called a Convocation of his Clergy: At which Parliament and Convocation ſundry of all Eſtates were abſent, *&c.* Whereat the King did no leſs muſe than he was thereat offended. Wherefore he charged the Archbiſhop for his part to puniſh the Defaults of the Clergy, and he would do the like touching the Parliament.

Hereupon Proclamation was made, that none ſhould wear Armour or Weapons in or about *London* and *Weſtminſter*, during the Seſſion of the Parliament.

Receivours of Petitions for *England*, *Gaſcogne*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, *Bretagne*, *Scotland*, and the Foreign Iſles and other Places beyond the Seas: Sr. *Thomas Drayton* appointed Clark of the Parliament, and this is all was done that Day, being *Monday*.

On the *Tueſday* the Names of the Lords of the Parliament were examined before the King, that ſuch as made default in being abſent might abide the Kings Order.

On *Thurſday* after, the Chancellour in full Parliament, in Preſence of the King, and of his Son the Prince of *Wales*, declared the Cauſe of the ſame Parliament, *viz.* The Articles of the Truce, and the Breaches of the ſame by the *French* King, which were there particularly inſtanced. Whereupon the Three Eſtates were willed to adviſe upon the Premiſes, and to ſhew their Opinion of them by *Monday* next enſuing. The ſame *Monday* they had their time enlarged untill *Wedneſday* in the Week of St. *John*, being the 23 of *June*, on which day every of the Lords and Commons by themſelves with one Aſſent, required the King to end the ſame War, either by Battle or Honourable Peace. And if the King ſhall attempt War eſtſoons, that he do not ſtay the ſame at the Letters or Requeſts of the Pope, or of any whomſoever, but to end the ſame by Dint of Sword.

Whereunto the King agreed; but foraſmuch as the ſame could not be atchieved without Aid, the Clergy of *Canterbury* granted unto the King a *Deſme* Triennial: And the Commons granted unto him Two Fifteenths of Counties, and Two Deſmes of Cities and of Towns; on Condition, that the ſame be leavied in ſuch manner as the laſt was; that the Commons Petitions be Granted, and that the ſame may be imployed upon the Wars with the Aſſent of the Lords: That the Prince and Sr. *Edward Bailiol* may

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[r] *Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc annum* §. 61. & 62.

[f] *M.S. Rot. Par. p.* 56. 18 *Ed.* 3. §. 1. *Sr. Rob. Cottons Abridgment p.* 44, *&c. v. Statute Books.*

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may lie on the North-Marches: And becauſe the King ſhould paſs over the Seas in Perſon to end this Quarrel, they further grant unto the King a Third Fifteenth.

Then after the Petitions of the Commons and Clergy, with their Anſwers; the Commons by their Petition recite the Act of *Proviſion* made in the laſt Parliament, and becauſe no Penalty was provided therefore, requeſt; that ſuch as incurr the breach of the ſame, by receipt, procuring, or Counſel in ſtay of any temporal judgement, ſhall lie in perpetual Priſon, or be forejudged the Land: And that all Juſtices of Aſſiſes, Goal-Delivery, and *Oyer* and *Terminer* may determine the ſame: And that the Act of *Proviſion* may continue for ever. That if any Archbiſhop or other Perſon, *Religieux*, or other, do not preſent within four Moneths ſome able Clerk to any Dignity, whereof any Perſon hath obtained from the Court of *Rome* any Proviſion, but ſurceaſe the ſame; that then the King may preſent ſome able Clerk himſelf. That if any Biſhop Elect ſhall refuſe to take ſuch[t] Biſhop, other than by ſuch, then ſuch Clerk ſhall not enter, nor enjoy his Temporalities without the Kings ſpecial Licence. That the King ſhall diſpoſe of all ſuch Benefices and Dignities of ſuch Aliens his Enemies, as remain in ſuch Countries of his Enemies; and employ the Profits thereof to the Defence of the Realm. That Commiſſions be ſent into all the Kings Ports, to apprehend all ſuch Perſons, as ſhall bring in any ſuch Inſtrument from the Court of *Rome*; and to bring them forthwith before the Council to anſwer thereto. That the Deanery of *York*, which is recoverable by Judgement in the Kings Court, may be beſtowed upon ſome Able Man within the Realm, who will maintain the ſame againſt him, who holdeth the ſame by Proviſion from the Court of *Rome*, being the Common Enemy to the King, and to the Realm, and that the Main Profits may be employed upon the Defence of the Realm.

[t] *Ità M.S. ſed* Brother, *in Sr. Rob. Cotton.*

To all which Petitions Anſwer was made in form following; It is agreed by the King, Earls, Barons, Juſtices, and other Wiſe Men of the Realm; that the Petitions aforeſaid be made in ſufficient form of Law.

According to the Petitions aforeſaid, certain Proceſſes made againſt Sr. *William de la Pole*, and *Reginald at Conduit* out of the Exchequer, are revoked as Erroneous: And that they ſhall be charged anew to accompt for Moneys received for the Kings Wooll, notwithſtanding any Letter of Acquittance to them made. The which Accord was ſent to the King, to know his Pleaſure therein.

The Petitions of the Clerks of the Chancery; that whereas the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper for the time being, ought to have the Cogniſance of all Pleas of Treſpaſſes, done by the ſaid Clerks, or other Servants, where the Chancery ſhall remain: Yet notwithſtanding, the Sheriffs of *London* had attached one *Gilbert de Chriſhull*, a Clerk of the ſaid Chancery in *London*, at the Suit of one *Killingbury*, a Draper, upon a Bill of Treſpaſs: Which *Gilbert* brought a *Superſedeas* of Priviledge to the ſaid Sheriffs; which they would not allow, but drew him to find ſureties: The Clerks pray Remedy therefore and maintenance of their Liberties.

The Parliament doth confirm their Liberties, and reciting the Contempt for neglecting the Proceſs, conclude; that Writs be ſent to the Mayor of *London*, to attach the Sheriffs, and others, who were Parties, and Maintainers of the Quarrel, by their Bodies, to appear before the King in Chancery at a certain day, to anſwer, as well to the Contempt of the proceſs, as to the Breach of the Liberty, and Damage of the Party.

At the Petition of the Commons of *Nottingham*, it is enacted; that as well the Goal of *Nottingham*, which the King hath granted to Sr. *John Brocas*, during his Life, as all other Goals in the like Caſe, ſhould be annexed to the Sheriffwick of every County, according to an Act made *An°.* 14. *Ed.* 3.

That no man within Cities, or Towns, or elſewhere, do carry Maces of ſilver, but only the Kings Serjeants; but that they carry Maces of Copper only, and of no other Mettal.

It was anſwer'd, the ſame ſhould be ſo; excepting, that the Serjeants of the City of *London*, may carry their Maces of ſilver within the Liberties of *London*, before the Mayor, in the preſence of the King.

It is to be obſerved, that of the Oaths of Juſtices, and of the Clerks of the Chancery, expreſſed in the [u] Printed Statutes, there is no mention made in the Record. And this is the Sum of this Seſſions of Parliament; the reſt being to be had in the Statute Books of this Year.

[u] *An°.* 18. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 88.

[x] *Froiſ. c.* 102.

XIV. And now the [x] Earls of *Darby* and *Arundel*, with the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Oxford*, the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, Sr. *Frank van Hall*, an *Almain* Lord of great Valour and Fidelity to the *Engliſh*, Sr. *Henry Eam* of *Brabant*, Sr. *Richard Fitz-Simon*, Sr. *Hugh Haſtings*, Sr. *Stephen Tombey*, Sr. *Richard Haydon*, Sr. *John*

John Norwich, Sr. *Richard Radcliff*, Sr. *Robert Oxenden*, and others, to the Number of 500 Knights and Eſquires, and 2000 Archers, were ready to paſs the Seas. The King upon taking leave of his Couſin the Earl of *Darby*, ſaid unto him, "Take with you "Gold and Silver enough, and beſtow it freely among thoſe that do well; for in ſo "doing, You will win their hearts, which is beyond all Worldly Treaſure. The Earl took ſhipping at *Southampton*, and on the 6 of *June* Landed at *Bayonne*, a good and ſtrong City of *Gaſcogne*, that held of King *Edward*. There he tarried ſeven Days, and on the Eighth marched to *Bourdeaux*, having largely encreaſed his Forces: At this City he was received with Solemn Proceſſion; and here alſo he tarried a while, being lodged in the Stately Abbey of St. *Andrew*.

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At this time there was a Valiant *French* Lord, called *Gaſton* Earl of *Laille*, Deputy for the *French* King in *Guienne*, who excepting the loſs he ſuffer'd at *Bourdeaux* by the Lord *Oliver Ingham*, of which we * ſpake, had hitherto kept footing in that Country very well, having taken divers Towns and Caſtles from the *Engliſh*. He was endued with Abſolute Power, as the Kings Lieutenant, that he might be render'd more able to reduce and defend thoſe parts: Wherefore underſtanding now of the Earl of *Darby's* arrival at *Bourdeaux*, he ſent for the Earls of *Cominges* and of *Perigord*, the Vicount of *Carmain*, the Earl of *Valentinois*, the Lord of *Mirande*, and the Lord of *Duras*; for the Viſcount of *Villemur*, for the Lord *De la Bard*, the Lord of *Picornet*, the Viſcount of *Chaſtillon*, the Lord of [y] *Chaſteauneufe*, the Lord of *Leſcun*, the Abbot of St. *Salvin*, and all other Lords thereabout, that held for *France*; of whom the Earl of *Laille*, demanded, "what they thought as to the coming of the Earl of *Darby*? They "anſwer'd, how they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to defend the Paſſage at *Berge-* "*rac*. This anſwer ſatisfied the Earl, and thereupon he ſent for Men from all Parts, to reinforce his Troops, and ſo went and kept the ſuburbs of *Bergerac*, which were ſtrong and of large extent, and encloſed with the River of *Dordogne*.

* *C.* 15. §. 1. *p.* 163.

[y] *Ita Du Cheſne.*

The [z] Earl of *Darby* had been now at *Bourdeaux* about 15 Days, when hearing what Proviſion was made to reſiſt him at *Bergerac*, he reſolved firſt of all to march thitherward. The Marſhals of the Hoſt were Sr. *Walter Manny*, and Sr. *Frank van Hall*, who rode the firſt Morning three Leagues to a Caſtle of their own, called *Monlieu*, where they tarried the Remainder of that Day, and all that Night. The next Morning early the Marſhals Forerunners rode up to the very Barriers of *Bergerac*, and having there well view'd the Demeanor of the *French*, return'd and told the Lord *Manny*, that they found nothing formidable in what they had ſeen. That Morning the *Engliſh* dined betimes, becauſe they deſign'd the reſidue of the Day for Action; and as they ſat at dinner, Sr. *Walter Manny* applying himſelf to the Earl of *Darby*, ſaid merrily, "My Lord, if We were good Men of Arms, We ſhould drink this evening "with the *French* Lords in the Suburbs or City of *Bergerac*. The Earl reply'd, "it "ſhall not be my fault if we fail, I'll aſſure you. When the Captains heard that, they ſaid to one another, "Let us haſte to Arms, for we are now for *Bergerac*; and accordingly every Man was Armed, and on Horſeback, and the Captains ranged them in Order of Battle, without any other command given. When the Earl of *Darby* ſaw the great Ardour and Alacrity of his Souldiers, he took great Pleaſure thereat, and ſaid aloud, "Let us then ride on to our Enemies in the Name of God and St. *George*. Thus they rode forth with their Banners diſplayed in the heat of the Day, till they came before *Bergerac* to the Barriers, which were not eaſie to be won, becauſe part of the great and rapid River of *Dordogne* runs about them. But ſometimes the raſhneſs of Men themſelves contributes more to their own Ruine, than either the Force or Malice of their Enemies: For when theſe *Frenchmen* ſaw the *Engliſh* come ſo forward to aſſail them in leſs Numbers than they had expected, they iſſued out againſt them in very good Order, ſaying among themſelves, how they ſhould ſoon be driven back again with a Vengeance. But they did not conſider, that moſt of their Foot were Country Bores, and poor-ſpirited Peaſants, of ſmall Courage, and leſs Skill, undiſciplin'd, and but ill-armed; Who when now they ſaw the *Engliſh* approaching them undauntedly, and felt, and ſaw how fiercely the Archers ſhot among them, and beheld the dreadfull appearance of ſhining ſteel, glittering Banners, and Standards waving in the wind, to which they had been but little accuſtomed, they preſently turned their Backs and fell foul among their own Men of Arms; the *Engliſh* at the ſame time with a terrible ſhout falling in upon them, and beating them down on every ſide. As for the *French* Men of Arms, they could neither move forward for the Confuſion of them that fled, nor backward for others of their own Footmen, who were behind, and recoyled now without any Array. The Archers of *England* were on each Wing, and ſhot ſo thick together

[z] *Froiſ. c.* 103. *fol.* 50. *b.*

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on the Flank of the Enemy, that neither was there any ſafety on that part; and the mean while the Men of Arms in very good Order, made a terrible havock among the confuſed Ranks of the *Frenchmen*. So that with wonderfull loſs, and in much diſorder, they were utterly beaten back into the Suburbs of *Bergerac*; but ſo unfortunately, that the firſt Bridge and Barrs were won by fine force, for the *Engliſh* fell in with them pell mell; and there upon the Cauſey were many Knights beaten down, ſlain, and wounded, and not a few taken Priſoners of them, who hoped in that narrow Paſſage to beat the *Engliſh* back. Among others the Lord of *Mirepoix* was ſlain under the Banner of Sr. *Walter Manny*, who purſuing the matter, was the firſt that enter'd the Suburbs. When the Lord of *Laille* ſaw the *Faux-bourg* enter'd, and that his Men were broken, diſorder'd, and in utter confuſion, then he thought it high time to Retreat into the City, and ſave himſelf, and as many as he might: So in haſte he paſſed the ſecond Bridge; thô not without much difficulty; for before the Bridge there was a fierce Skirmiſh, the Lords and Knights on both ſides fighting there Hand to Hand; and ſtill the Lord *Manny* advanced himſelf with ſingular Courage among the thickeſt and the foremoſt, that he was in great Danger of being taken, or ſlain: But his Incomparable Valour, and the terrour that poſſeſt the *French*, together with his good Fortune, preſerved him to more Honourable Actions. There the Lord of *Chaſteauneufe*, the Lord of *Chaſtillon*, the Lord of *Bouquentine*, and the Lord of *Leſcun*, and many other Perſons of the greateſt Rank and Valour were taken, others ſlain, and the reſt with much adoe were brought off into the Town; when preſently they let down their *Portcullis*, cloſed their Gates, and ſo mounted the Walls to defend them. This Bickering was not ended, till late in the Evening, when the *Engliſh* being very weary and tired with the heat of the Day, and of the Action, drew back into the Suburbs, which they had entirely won. And here they found ſuch plenty of Wine, and other Proviſion, as was ſufficient to ſerve their whole Army for two Moneths.

The next Morning the Earl of *Darby* ſounded his Trumpets, order'd his Battails, approached the Town, and began a terrible Aſſault, which laſted till Noon: When ſeeing nothing was to be got that way (for the place was ſtrong and well defended) the Aſſault ceaſed, and the Lords of *England* went to Council. There they determin'd to Aſſault the Town by Water; for they found, that on that ſide, it was only cloſed with Pales, whereupon the Earl of *Darby* ſent to the Navy at *Bourdeaux* for Ships; and had accordingly 60 Ships and Barges brought to him. The next Day in the Evening, they order'd their Land Battails, and the Morning following by Sun-riſe, the Navy was ready under the Command of *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, to begin the Aſſault by Water. The *Engliſh* Men of Arms adventur'd themſelves boldly under the Protection of the Archers, and came to the great Barrs before the Pales, which they preſently began to hew down with Axes; and then the Townſmen ſent to the Earl of *Laille* and his Captains, deſiring them well to conſider their Condition, for they were all in Danger to be loſt. "And that if the Town was once enter'd by force; their Lives were "all forfeited: Wherefore they conceiv'd it better to yield to the Earl of *Darby*, than "to put all to the hazard by remaining obſtinate too long. "Well, ſaid the Earl of "*Laille*, let us then go where this great Danger is: For we will not yield up this "Place ſo tamely; and ſaying ſo, with a choice Company of Men of Arms, and 200 Croſsbows of *Genoua*, he went to defend the Pales. The *Engliſh* Archers ſhot ſo cloſe together, that none could appear at the Defence of the Pales, without imminent Danger; but the *Genoueſe* Croſsbows, who were all fenced with Targets againſt their ſhot, held them hard at Work all that Day; ſo that many were hurt on both ſides. But at laſt in the very cloſe of the Day, the *Engliſh* reſolving to overcome all Difficulties, contended ſo Couragiouſly, that they brake down a great Pane of the Pales; at which the Beſieged retiring back deſired to come to a Treaty. Whereupon becauſe it was late, a Truce was granted for the Remainder of that Day, and the Night following, on Condition, that the Men of *Bergerac* ſhould not fortifie, or mend up their Pales in the mean time. So either Party withdrew, but the *French* Lords went together to conſult, what was beſt to do in this exigence: And the Reſult was, that about Midnight they truſſed up bag and baggage, and ſecretly left the Town, taking the way to *la Reole*, a ſtrong Town upon the *Garonne*, about 11 *French* Miles from *Bergerac*. The next Morning early the *Engliſh* came again in their Barks and Boats, under the Command of the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, before the Pales of the Town, where they had broken down that large Pane the Day before. Here they found certain of the greateſt Burgeſſes in a Suppliant Manner, who deſired of the Lord *Stafford*, and the other *Engliſh* Captains, that they would intreat the Earl of *Darby* of his wonted Goodneſs to receive them

them to Mercy, granting them their Lives and Goods; and that from thenceforward they would be good Subjects to the King of *England*. The Earls of *Oxford* and *Pembroke* promiſed to do their beſt for them, and ſo leaving the Lord *Stafford* there ſtill with his Veſſels, went to the Earl of *Darby*, and ſhew'd him the Requeſt of the Burgeſſes. Then ſaid the Earl of *Darby*, "He that deſireth Mercy, ought to have it: Bid them "open their Gates immediately, and they ſhall ſuffer no harm from Me or Mine. The two Earls returned, and related what the Earl of *Darby* had ſaid, whereupon the Burgeſſes Aſſembled all the Inhabitants, rang their Bells, open'd wide their Gates, and went forth Men and Women in Proceſſion, and humbly met the Earl of *Darby*, preſenting him the Keys of the Town, and ſo they went back with him into the Chief Church, where they ſware unto him Faith and Homage, in the Name of the King of *England*, by Vertue of a Commiſſion which as we ſhew'd before, he had for that purpoſe.

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That ſame day [a] the Earl of *Laille* being eſcaped with all his remaining Forces from *Bergerac* to *Reole*, reſolv'd to ſeparate his Company, becauſe he was not able as then to keep the Field againſt the Earl of *Darby*, and to ſend ſome into one Fortreſs and ſome into another, to hold Frontier War againſt the *Engliſh*. The Seneſchall of *Tholouſe*, and the Viſcount of *Villemur* went to *Auberoche*, Sr. *Bertram du Pleſſis* to *Peligrue*, the Lord of *Montbrandon* to *Mandurant*, the Lord *Philip* of *Dijon* to *Montagret*, a chief Town belonging to the Earl of *Laille*, and Sr. *Arnold* of *Dijon* to *Montgiſe*, Sr. *Robert* of *Malmore* to the great Town of *Beaumont en Laillois*, which was part of the Earl of *Laille's* Poſſeſſion, and Sr. *Charles* of *Poictiers* to *Pennes* in *Agenois*. Thus were theſe Knights diſperſed into ſeveral Garriſons, but the Earl of *Laille* himſelf remained ſtill in *Reole*, and repaired the Caſtle and ſtrengthned the Fortifications, and gather'd ſtore of Proviſions, as one that expected a ſudden Siege.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 104. *& Du Cheſne p.* 661. *Aſhmole p.* 680. *Holinſhead, &c.*

Now when the Earl of *Darby* had tarried at *Bergerac* the ſpace of two days to ſettle Affairs there, he demanded of the Seneſchal of *Bourdeaux* Sr. *Oliver Ingham*, what way was beſt for him to take further; for he ſaid, he would not looſe the Summer without Action. The Seneſchal told him, he thought it beſt to march toward *Perigord*, and into High *Gaſcogne*. Accordingly the Earl of *Darby* began his March that way, having left a Valiant and Loyal Knight, named Sr. *John St. John* his Captain in *Bergerac*: The firſt Place the Earl met with in his March was the Caſtle of *la Linde* upon the *Dordogne*, Captain whereof was the [b] *Viguier* of *Tholouſe*; and this the Earl thought not reaſonable to leave behind him, wherefore he gave Order to attack it; but the firſt Attempt proved wholly fruitleſs. But the next day the Souldiers brought thither Faggots, Timber, Turf and other Stuff, wherewith they filled the Ditches; So that now they might come cloſe to digg at the Walls, or to ſcale them. Things being in this Readineſs, Sr. *Frank van Hall* exhorted the Beſieged to yield in time, for if they continued obſtinate a little longer, it would be too late: For the Earl was already not a little incenſed againſt them, becauſe they thus protracted his other Deſigns. Hereupon after Reſpite demanded and given for Conſultation, they yielded on Condition of receiving no Corporal Dammage, but to go whither they would, bearing nothing with them. So they were all permitted to go away to *Monſac*, and the Earl left in their Place 30 Archers, and a few Others under the Command of an *Engliſh* Eſquire called *Timothy Lyon*.

[b] It ſignifies an ordinary Judge of a Town.

Thence He rode to a Town called *le Lac*, but he was met with in the way by the Townſmen, who brought him their Keys, and made their Homage to him in the Name of the King his Maſter. Having ſettled Affairs here, he paſſed on to *Mandurant*, which he took by Aſſault, and when he had regulated Matters there alſo, he proceeded and came before the Caſtle of *Mongiſe*, which alſo he carried by Force, and only ſpar'd the Captain Sr. *Arnold* of *Dijon*, whom he ſent away Priſoner to *Bourdeaux*. Thence he rode to *Punache*, and the Caſtle *de la Lewe*, which he wan ſucceſſively, but tarried at the latter three days. On the Fourth he went to *Forſaithe*, which he got eaſily, as alſo the Tower of *Pondaire*, where he found but ſmall Oppoſition. Thence he proceeded to the Great Town of *Beaumont en Laillois*, part of the Earl of *Laille's* Inheritance, which Place held out againſt all his Aſſaults very well for three days, but at laſt that alſo followed the Fate of the reſt, and moſt of the Defendants were put to the Sword. Having furniſhed this Town with new Captains and Men of War, the Earl paſſed on to *Montagret*, the chief Town belonging to the Earl of *Laille*, whereof the Lord *Philip* of *Dijon* was Captain. The firſt Day the Bars of the Town were won by reaſon of the thick Shot of the Archers, whereby they were not ſuffer'd to keep at their Defences. The next Morning the Aſſault was renew'd in many places at once, and carried on ſo furiouſly, that the Defendants knew not which way to turn themſelves;

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wherefore in all haſte they deſired Peace. Upon this the Earl of *Darby* ſent unto them an Herald to proffer them one Days Reſpit, wherein they might make an Agreement: which being gladly accepted, the Earl himſelf, being accompanied with the Lord *Manny* and the Lord *Stafford*, went to the Bars to ſpeak with them. The Earl firſt would have them yield abſolutely, but upon earneſt Suit, at laſt he allow'd to take them into his Protection, they ſwearing perpetual Fidelity to the King of *England*, and to give him Twelve of their chief Burgeſſes as Hoſtages, to remain in the City of *Bourdeaux*. Thus was *Montagret* taken, and the Lords and Knights of *France* departed under ſafe Conduct, and went to the Earl of *Laille* at *Reole*.

[c] *Ita Froiſ. & Aſhmole p.680. ſed* Bounal *apud Du Cheſne.*

After this Succeſs the Earl of *Darby* went to [c] *Bonu*, which after a vigorous Aſſault, thô not without ſome Loſs, he took and ſet therein a Garriſon of his own: Thence he paſſed forward into the Country of *Perigord*, and thô he was adviſ'd to go forward to *Bourdeilles*, he reſolved firſt to attempt the City of *Perigeux*. The Earl of that Name was then in the City, and the Lord *Roger* of *Perigort* his Uncle, and the Lord of *Duras*, with Sixſcore Knights and Eſquires of the Country, beſides other Men of Arms and common Soldiers. The Earl of *Darby* having diligently view'd the Scituation and Strength of the Place, concluded at laſt not to hazard the Lives of his Men before a Town ſo well provided, and of no abſolute Importance. Wherefore he went and encamped about two Leagues off by a little River, with intent next day to attack the Caſtle of *Peligrue*. But about Midnight there iſſued out of *Perigeux* 200 Spears, who before Dawn came ſuddenly into the *Engliſh* Camp, where they ſlew and hurt many, and diſturbed the whole Hoſt; and ſome of them going in to the Earl of *Oxford's* Tent, thô they found him putting on his Arms, attacked him ſo ſharply, that they took him Priſoner, with three more Knights his Servants. And by that ſeeing it high time to retire, they drew back and with great ſpeed made homeward, but they were ſo hotly purſued; that had not their Gates been kept open for them they had all been either ſlain or taken. However being with much ado got all ſafe in at the Bars, they alighted and defended the Paſs, and came to Handy-ſtroaks with the *Engliſh*; ſo that they had no dammage for all that daring Enterpriſe. The *Engliſh* not being able therefore to do any good here return'd to their Camp before *Peligrue*, where they tarried ſix days continually aſſaulting the Caſtle, thô to little purpoſe. All this while the Earl of *Darby*, who deſired at any rate to redeem the Earl of *Oxford* and the three Knights with him, offer'd by his Meſſengers to the Earl of *Perigord*, to make an Exchange of Priſoners with him. So that at laſt the *Engliſh* Earl and the three Knights were deliver'd for the Vicount of *Bouquentine*, the Vicount of *Chaſtillon*, the Lord of *Leſcun*, and the Lord of *Chaſteauneufe*, who had all been taken in the Suburbs of *Bergerac* as we ſhewed before, with this Condition moreover (for the Earl of *Oxford* countervail'd all theſe Diſadvantages) that the Lands of *Perigort* being on their Side obliged to make no War upon the *Engliſh* for three Years, only the Lords and Knights of thoſe Parts might take which Side they pleaſed, the *Engliſh* during that Space ſhould make no War nor Deſolation in that Country. By this Agreement the Earl of *Darby* was obliged preſently to riſe from before *Peligrue*, for that was belonging to the Earldom of *Perigord*, and ſo he marched on to *Auberoche*, a very beautifull and ſtrong Caſtle, not above 5 *French* Leagues from *Perigeux*, but yet belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Tholouſe*. Here the *Engliſh* began to meaſure out their Ground, to mark out their Lodgings and to ſet up their Tents, as if they intended to hold a long Siege there; and having inveſted the Town ſent Word by their Heralds, "That it behoved them to think of Yielding in "time, for if they ſhould be taken by Force, they were all but Dead men without "Mercy. This peremptory Meſſage and this dreadfull Appearance ſo terrified them within, eſpecially ſince they knew the Earl of *Laille* durſt not keep the Field, and they could hope for no Succour but from him; that forthwith they ſubmitted and ſwore Fidelity to the King of *England*.

The Earl of *Darby* took Poſſeſſion of the Place, and after a Day or two, having left the Lord *Frank van Hall*, Sr. *Alan Finefroid* and Sr. *John Lendal*, with a convenient Garriſon to maintain the Town, he drew back deſigning for *Bourdeaux*, within 9 *French* Leagues whereof he met with a good Town called *Libourne*, which he thought ſo ill a Neighbour, that he declar'd, "He would not ſtirr thence, till he had it in his Power. The Inhabitants hearing his Reſolution took Advice, ſo that all things conſider'd, they concluded to yield, and make their Homage, and ſwear themſelves Subjects to the Crown of *England*. Here the Earl tarried three Days, and having left a Garriſon in the Place under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Stafford*, Sr. *Stephen Tombey*, and Sr. *Alexander Huſſey*, he himſelf with the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Walter Manny* and the reſt rode ſtraight to *Bourdeaux*.

XV. He

XV. He was [d] received with great Triumph, and met on his way in ſolemn Proceſſion by the Clergy and People of that City; where they offer'd Themſelves, their Lives and Fortunes to his Diſpoſe: And thô Winter was far off (for it was but about the End of *July*) yet becauſe he judged it vain to take more ſtrong Holds, unleſs he ſhould Man them well againſt the *French*, and that his Forces were already ſo diminiſhed, that he could not ſpare any more of his Men into Garriſons, without making himſelf too weak to keep the Field; on theſe Conſiderations he concluded to ſtirr no more abroad that Year, but to ſtand by and look to what he had already won, being always in a readineſs to aſſert what the Enemy ſhould once offer to recover. At *Bourdeaux* therefore he tarried and feaſted, and took his pleaſure with the Chief Burgeſſes and Ladies of the City; thô all the while he had a vigilant Eye over what he had won, and kept Spies abroad thrô all the Country; his Deſign being ſhortly to paſs over into *England* to augment his Forces (which as we ſaid, were much diminiſhed by Furniſhing ſo many Garriſons) that he might purſue the War more vigorouſly at the opening of the next Campaigne. AN. DOM. 1344. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVIII. *Franciæ* V.

[d] *Froiſ. c.* 106. *fol.* 52.

Now the Earl of *Laille*, who was yet at *Reole*, when he had underſtood, that the Earl of *Darby* lay ſtill at *Bourdeaux* without any Appearance of taking the Field again that Year, wrote immediately to the Earl of *Perigord*, the Viſcount of *Carmain*, the Earls of *Cominges* and *Bouquentine* and the reſt of the Lords of *Gaſcogne* who held of *France*, that they ſhould all ſecretly aſſemble their Forces, and meet him by ſuch a day before *Auberoche*: For he reſolved to attempt that Place. His Command was obey'd, for he was Viceroy for King *Philip* in thoſe Parts of *Gaſcogne*; and *Auberoche* was formally beſieged. The Lords and Knights of *England* were not in the leaſt aware of any ſuch Matter, till they ſaw themſelves actually Inveſted, and the Siege laid round, ſo that none could paſs out or in without being in danger of the Enemy. The *Frenchmen* brought with them Four great Engines from *Tholouſe*, with which they caſt mighty Stones againſt the Caſtle Day and Night, reſolving to make no other Aſſault, but thus to beat down the Walls and Towers about their ears, or to make them yield abſolutely to their Diſcretion: By which means they had within ſix Days batter'd down the Roofs of their Lodgings at ſuch a Rate, that the Beſieged durſt not repoſe themſelves but in low Vaults, or Cellars under ground. The Earl of *Darby* had knowledge that *Auberoche* was beſieged; but he knew not that his Friends were ſo ill handled by this ſevere way of Battery: For as for Aſſaults he doubted not, but they were well able to hold out a conſiderable time againſt greater Forces, than the Enemy now had. However as became a wiſe and carefull General, he had his Spies abroad continually, by whom he received due Information of Matters as they fell. When Sr. *Frank van Hall*, Sr. *Alan Finefroyd* and Sr. *John Lendal*, who were the Captains of *Auberoche*, ſaw in what a Condition they were, and that unleſs the Earl of *Darby* ſhould come to their Reſcue, they muſt yield at Diſcrétion, or be beaten to pieces with Engines, or all ruſh out deſperately againſt more than ten times their Number, they demanded among their Servants and Valets, if any one of them would for a good Reward undertake to convey a Letter to the Earl of *Darby* at *Bourdeaux*. Immediately one of them ſtept forth and ſaid, that he would venture to carry it, not ſo much for the lucre of Reward, as the hope he had to ſerve thoſe Gallant Men his Maſters in ſuch an imminent Danger. In the Dark night this Valet took the Letter, ſealed with the Seal of the Lord *Frank van Hall*, which was [e] Gules, a Golden Dragon Crown'd, with his Wings Expanded, and his Dexter Paw raiſed, a Spread Eagle Sable in a Shield Gules upon his Breaſt, the Whole ſurrounded with an Azure Bordure, intermixt with a Lion and Flower *du Lis* Or, mutually ſucceeding one another. This Seal with thoſe of the other *Engliſh* Knights was affixed to the Letter, with which this Daring Fellow, being let down into the Ditch adventur'd, ſince there was no other Remedy to paſs thrô the Hoſt. He was met by the firſt Watch and eſcaped them well enough, for he ſpake good *Gaſcogne* and named a Lord of the Army, to whom he ſaid he belonged: But yet after this he was taken among the Tents, and ſo brought into the Heart of the Camp, where being narrowly ſearched the Letters were found about him: So he was kept ſafe till the Morning, at which time the whole Matter was declared to the *French* Lords aſſembled in Council. The Earl of *Laille*, and thoſe that ſat with him having read the Letters, and thereby underſtood, that the Beſieged were not able to hold out much longer, were very well pleaſed with their Diſcovery. Then they hung the Letter about the Valets Neck, and put the poor Fellow into one of their Battering Engines, and ſo cauſed him to be ſhot into the Town. The Valet fell down ſtone Dead in the Streets, at which Diſmal ſight, as well as their Diſappointment, the Beſieged were caſt into a great Con-

[e] *Aſhmoles Garter p.* 709. *Plate* 50.

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Consternation. And at that very instant the Earl of *Perigord*, and Sr. *Roger* his Uncle, Sr. *Charles* of *Poictiers*, the Viscount of *Carmain*, and the Lord *Duras*, being on Horseback, rode about the Walls of the Town as near as they durst, and scoffingly cry'd out to them within, "Gentlemen, pray ask your Messenger, where he found the "Earl of *Darby*, since he went out but last Night to carry Letters to him and is come "back again unto you already. To this Jeer Sr. *Frank van Hall* replied saying, Mes- "sieurs, thô now we are here Besieged, we shall Sally out well enough, when it shall "please God and the Earl of *Darby*. And I would to God the Earl did but know, in "what Condition we are, for if he did but know it, the Proudest of you All durst not "tarry here. And if you dare send him Word thereof, one of the Chief of Us shall "in requital of that Kindness yield himself a Prisoner unto you, to be ransomed accor- "ding to his Quality. The *French* said, "Nay, nay, Sirs, the Earl of *Darby* shall have "perfect Intelligence of all these Matters, when with our Engines we shall have beaten "down the Castle to the ground, and you shall be buried in these Ruines, or yield your "selves up simply to save your Lives only. Certainly, said the Couragious Sr. *Frank* "*van Hall*, that we shall never doe: We will all rather die here, or upon heaps of "*Frenchmen*, than make so ignoble a Bargain. Therewith the *French* returned to their Camp, and the three *English* Knights continued in great trouble, for the Stones that fell in the Town made such a terrible Noise, as if it had been Thunder falling from Heaven.

[f] *Froiss. c.* 107. *fol.* 52. *b.*

Now for all this insulting of the *French* Lords, the whole Story [f] of the Messengers being taken with the Letters, and the great Distress of the *English* in *Auberoche* was brought presently to the Earl of *Darby's* Ears by a spie that had been in the *French* Camp. Whereupon immediately he sent to the Earl of *Pembroke* (who having been remanded from *Liburne* was now at *Bergerac*, as being a Place of more Consequence) to come back and meet him at *Liburne* with his Forces the next Day, or that Night; if he could: He sent also to the Lord *Stafford*, and Sr. *Stephen Tombey*, who were still at *Liburne*, to be ready there against his coming: And that Night the Earl himself, with the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, and the rest that were with him, went from *Bourdeaux* towards *Auberoche*: They rode so secretly, and with such Guides, that knew all the by-ways, that they came unperceived to *Liburne* before Morning: Where they tarried a day for the Earl of *Pembroke*; of whom they could hear no News all that while. However, when the Earl of *Darby* saw that he came not at the time appointed, nor that yet there was any appearance of his coming, thrô the ardent desire he had of saving his Friends in *Auberoche*, he notwithstanding resolved to march forward. There were now with the Earl of *Darby*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Robert Ferrers* of *Chartley*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord *Hugh Hastings*, who was [g] of kin to *Laurence Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*; Sr. *Stephen Tombey*, and others, all who went from *Liburne* in the dark of the Evening, taking the direct way to *Auberoche*; so that early the next Morning they were within two little Leagues of the Place. Then [h] being all entred into a Wood, they alighted and tyed their Horses to Pasture, still waiting with much impatience for the Earl of *Pembroke*, till it was high Noon. Then he not yet appearing, they knew not what Course to take, for in all they made but 300 Spears, and six Hundred Archers, and the *French* before *Auberoche*, they knew to be between [i] ten and twelve Thousand Men. Yet they thought it a great Dishonour, as well as loss, to suffer such Valiant Men to perish for want of Succour: while thus they were in serious debate on the Matter, the Gallant Lord *Walter Manny* at last said, "Gentlemen, let us all leap on our Horses with a good Cou- "rage, and let us Coast privately under the Covert of this Wood, till we come on "that side of the Wood, which joyns to their Host, and then when we are near, let "us set spurs to our Horses, and cry St. *George*, a *Darby*; we shall find them all at "Supper, unawares, and unprepared to resist; and you shall see them upon our ap- "proach, fall into such Confusion, that they shall never be able to recover any "Order.

[g] *Dudg.* 1 *Vol. p.* 578.

[h] *Froiss. c.* 107. *fol.* 53. *a.*

[i] *Froiss. ibid.*

To this brave Resolution all the Lords and Knights agreed, whereupon every Man took his Horse, and having order'd all their Servants and Pages to tarry there with the Baggage, till they heard other News, they all rode forth silently, and in good Order along by the Wood, till they came to a little River, named *haulte Vezere*, in a Valley, near the *French* Host. Being pass'd over, they displayed their Banners and Penons, and dashing their Horses, came in a Front into the *French* Camp among the *Gascogners*, who were nothing aware of this sudden Attack from behind; for they were then going to Supper, and some ready set at their meat. The *English* cryed a *Darby*, a *Darby*! and over-

overthrew Tents and Pavilions, and ſlew, and hurt great Numbers, bearing down all before them: For the *Frenchmen* knew not which way to turn, they were ſo ſurpriſed, and had ſo ſhort a time, and ſo various Reſolutions to take. Thoſe that went out into the Field to range themſelves in ſome Order, were warmly received by the Archers on Horſeback, who rode about ſcouring the Field, and whereever they eſpied any extraordinary Concourſe of Men gathering together, thither they rode up, and diſſolved them by their thick flights of Arrows: The mean while the Men of Arms eaſily beat down thoſe whom they found unranged, and diſorder'd in the Camp. The Earl of *Laille* himſelf, being firſt grievouſly wounded, was taken Priſoner in his own Tent, and the Earl of *Perigord*, and Sr. *Roger* his Uncle in theirs: The Lord *Duras* was ſlain, Sr. *Charles* of *Poictiers*, and the Earl of *Valentinois* his Brother, were taken, with many more of their Captains; and thus this Camp was broken and diſcomfited, every Man flying where he beſt could, to avoid being taken or ſlain: But for all this the one half of the *Frenchmen* remain'd, as yet entire and undiſturbed; for now the Earl of *Cominges*, the Vicount of *Carmain*, the Viſcount of *Villemur*, the Lord of *Bouquentine*, the Lord *de la Bard*, the Lord of *Tarbe*, and others, who were encamped with a Moiety of the Army on the other ſide the Town, and had timely notice of the Enemies approach, were riſen and drawn out into the Fields in good Order of Battle, with their Banners diſplayed. The [k] *Engliſh*, who by this time had fully vanquiſhed all the reſt, ſpur'd on now with generous Indignation, to ſee ſo Glorious a Victory ready to be ſnatch'd out of their hands, being rallied and in good Order, with a Diviſion of Archers on each Wing, ſtrack in furiouſly among them, thô they were ſtill more than treble their Numbers; the Trumpets loudly ſounding a Charge on both ſides. This Battle was well fought indeed, and here a Victory was not to be obtained by the *Engliſh* without great Courage and Induſtry: Many Noble Feats of Arms were done on both ſides, in taking and reſcuing again; the *Engliſh* Lords were ever in the heat of the Battle, Matters being now brought to the utmoſt puſh, encouraging their Men by their Words and Actions. At which inſtant the Beſieged alſo being Alarum'd by this unuſual Noiſe, and the ſound of the Trumpets, blowing a Charge, obſerving alſo (thô it was almoſt Dark Night, and the New-Moon was not above a Day old, ſome *Engliſh* Banners from their High Tower) Armed themſelves immediately, and with all their Forces ſallied out, and came upon the Backs of the *French*, making a terrible Noiſe and Clamour. Theſe Men ruſhing among the thickeſt of the Enemies, brought good and timely Comfort to their Friends, who had been fighting all this while, and to be brief, turned the hitherto doubtfull Scales of Victory wholly to their own ſide. For the New-Comers, being extreamly irritated with their late ſufferings, handled them that fell into their hands with more Cruelty, and fought with a full Reſolution, either then to end the Siege, or their Lives. Above 7000 of the enemy in all were ſlain, and many taken Priſoners, among the latter whereof, were Nine Earls and Viſcounts, of Lords and Knights 200, and of Eſquires, and other Souldiers, ſo many, that every *Engliſh*-man had two or three Priſoners: The Reſt were ſaved by the Nights approach. This Battle was thus ſtruck on St. *Laurence* Eve, or the Ninth of *Auguſt*, being a *Monday*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCXLIV.

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[k] *Froiſ. c.* 107.

The *Engliſh* dealt very kindly with their Priſoners, and let many of them go upon their Oath and Promiſe to return with Money for their Ranſomes, or to render up their Bodies by ſuch a Day at *Bergerac*, or *Bourdeaux*. The Fight ended, they all entred into *Auberoche*, and there the Earl of *Darby* gave a Supper to the moſt part of the Earls and Viſcounts Priſoners, and to many of the Knights and Eſquires; part whereof without doubt was of their own Proviſions, now taken in their Camp. At the ſame time the Pious Leader gave Order, that Publique and Private [l] Thankſgiving ſhould be return'd to God, becauſe by his Good Hand of Providence [m] a Thouſand of them had overcome twelve Thouſand of the Enemy; and had ſeaſonably relieved the Town of *Auberoche*, and ſaved their Friends within, who in all likelyhood would have been loſt within two or three Days more. The next Day by Sun-riſe there came thither the long-expected Earl of *Pembroke* with 300 Men of Arms, and 4000 Archers in his Company; who when he ſaw that all was done already to his hand; ſaid with ſome Diſpleaſure to the Earl of *Darby*, "Surely, Couſin, You have not dealt kindly "with me, to fight the Enemy before my coming: For ſince You ſent for me, You "might have been ſure I would not fail to come to You, "Dear Couſin, ſaid the "Courteous Commander, We deſired with all our hearts, that You ſhould have ſha-"red with Us in the Action of laſt Night: But You was not only too ſlow for "our Expectation, and the Urgency of Affairs the other Night, when We waited "for

[l] *Froiſ. c.* 107.
[m] *Froiſ. & Mezeray p.* 23.

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"for Your coming at *Liburne*; but yesterday also, when We tarried for You in the "Wood, till it was far gone in the Afternoon: Wherefore despairing of Your co- "ming in any time, We were obliged to put our Lives in our hands; and venture to "attack the Enemy. For if We had stayed there longer, We justly feared some "*French* spies would have discovered Us: And then they would have had as much "Advantage over Us, as now We, by the Grace of God, have had over them. Where- "fore, pray Cousin, be satisfied, and help to guard Us back to *Bourdeaux*; for of "our selves We are not strong enough to ride openly thrô the Country. After this, the Earl of *Darby* set Sr. *Alexander Chaumont*, a Valiant and Loyal Knight of *Gascogne* over the Town with a good Garrison, and having tarried all that Day, and the next Night in *Auberoche*, in which time the Enemies Engines were brought into the Town, and their Camp spoiled, He departed betimes the next Morning with the Earl of *Pembroke*, S. *Frank van Hall* and his own Forces for *Bourdeaux*. The Inhabitants of this City knew not how to express their Joy, nor with what Acclamations to receive and welcome the Earl of *Darby*, and the Lord *Walter Manny*; and more than [n] twelve Hundred Prisoners, Lords, Knights, and Esquires with him. As for the Earl of *Darby*, when he saw the Chief Force of the Enemy in those Parts to be broken by this Blow, he soon after dispos'd of his Men into Winter Quarters, and return'd himself into *England* to provide more effectually against the next Campaigne.

[n] *Ita lego apud* Froiss. *nè aliàs sibi non consentiat, qui suprà dicit omnes Anglos armatos ultra duos aut tres Captivos habuisse, &c.*

The Earl of [o] *Oxford* also, having first been in *Bretagne*, took the Sea about the Feast of the Blessed Virgin, and by Tempest was cast upon the Coasts of *Connaught* in *Ireland*: Where he and his Company suffer'd much Misery from those Barbarous People there, who pillaged them of all they had: So that with much difficulty they escaped alive out of their hands, and afterwards came safe into *England*.

[o] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 193. *ex Chro. Fr. Joh. Clinne, M.S. in Bodlei. Bibl. f.* 99. *Tom.* 4. *p.* 70.

XVI. About this time was Queen *Philippa* of *England* brought to Bed of a Fair Daughter named *Mary*, who was afterwards married to *John Montford*, who in time obtain'd the sirname of *Valiant*, and having conquer'd his Enemies, became Duke of *Bretagne*. His Father *John* of *Montford*, of whose Taking at *Nantes* we spake before, was by vertue of the late Truce at *Malestroit*, most [p] certainly deliver'd out of Prison this Year, on Condition that he should not depart from Court: But this notwithstanding he made his Escape, and put himself in the Head of his Troops in *Bretagne*, having obtained succour from *England*, as we shall shew hereafter: But because in the *September* following he died, his Release from Imprisonment was not taken notice of by some Authors.

[p] *Mezeray ad hunc an. Fabian p.* 270. *&c.*

This Year there died at *Bourdeaux* the valiant Lord [q] *Oliver Ingham* Seneschall of the said City, in the Fifty Ninth Year of his Age, without Issue Male: Wherefore his younger Daughter *Joan*, Wife to the Lord *Roger le Strange* of *Knokyn*, and *Mary* his Grandaughter (by *Elizabeth* his eldest Daughter, and her Husband Sr. *John Curson*) became his Heirs.

[q] *Dugd.* 2. *Vol. p.* 104.

CHAPTER the Twenty Third.

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I. Before this Expedition of the Earl of *Darby's* into *Gascogne*, we shew'd, how the Pope endeavour'd to compose Matters with King *Edward*, to whom we do not find that the King return'd any Answer, till after the Earls Arrival at *Bourdeaux*; when he made a solemn Complaint to him, bearing Date the [a] Fourth of *August*, which he sent by *John Hufford* Dean of *Lincoln*, Sr. *Hugh Nevil*

[a] 4 Aug. *Rot. Franc.* 18 *Ed.* 3. *m.* 3. *& Ashmole p.* 654.

Nevil and *Nicolas de Fliſco*, willing them to demand a Reformation, and Security for the Obſervance of the ſaid Truce untill the Expiration of the Term appointed, and ſworn by each of the Kings Deputies: And in caſe that ſhould not be done (as it was not expected) then they to ſurrender the Copy of the Truce into the Pope's Hands, and to defie *Philip* of *Valois* as the Kings Enemy. Yet notwithſtanding, theſe Amicable and Chriſtian-like Deſires of the King of *England* met with nothing but Flams and Dilatory Anſwers: For on the 20 of *October* following, Dr. *William Bateman* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *John Hufford* Dean of *Lincoln*, and *John Thoresby* one of the Canons of *Lincoln*, Sr. *Hugh Nevil* and Sr. *Ralph Spigurnel* Knights, together with the foreſaid *Nicolas de Fliſco* were Commiſſionated to declare before the Pope, in what Particulars the Truce had been broken, and inſtantly to demand Reparations. AN. DOM. 1344. An. Regni *Angliæ* XVIII. *Franciæ* V.

II. But after all this, little Satisfaction being offer'd, and none at all given to the King, his Majeſty ſeeing the Truce manifeſtly and openly violated, and that the Pope and his Legates were too evidently Partial on the *French* Side, gave Commiſſion to *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, bearing Date the 24 [b] of *April*, to defie *Philip* of *Valois*, as a Violator of the Truce, an unjuſt Uſurper of his Inheritance of the Realm of *France*, and his Capital Enemy. Which Defiance being made, he was order'd to go with *John* Earl of *Montford* into *Bretagne*, as the King of *England's* Lieutenant General, to defend that Dutchy againſt the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, being empowred to receive the Fealty and Homage of thoſe People in the Kings Name, which was due unto him as True King of *France*; a like Power having [c] three Years before been given him in the ſame Parts. And ſhortly after the King ſet forth a *Manifeſto*, bearing Date the [d] 14 of *June*, touching the Diſſolution of the Truce, wherein the Cauſes were declared at large; being in Subſtance the ſame with thoſe Letters, which he had ſent to the Pope and Four Cardinals, bearing Date [e] 26 of *May*, the Month preceding the Date of this Defiance, a Copy whereof followeth, agreeing with the other, which is to be ſeen in the Original *Latine*, both in *Adam Murimouth's* M. S. and alſo in Dr. *Stillingfleets*, aforemention'd. AN. DOM. 1345. An. Regni *Angliæ* XIX. *Franciæ* VI.

[b] *Aſhmole p.654 ex Rot. Franc. 19 Ed.3.m.4. p.1.*
[c] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 185. ex Rot. Fr. 16 Ed.3. n.25.*
[d] *Aſhmole p.654*
[e] *Rot. Rom. 19 Ed.3. m.2. n.4.*

III. "[f] EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of "*Ireland*, to all and ſingular to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting. We doubt "not, but it is now publiquely known, how that after the Deceaſe of *Charles* of Fa- "mous Memory, King of *France*, and Brother to the moſt Serene Lady *Iſabella* Queen "of *England*, our Mother, the Crown of the ſaid Kingdom being incommutably de- "volved unto Us, as unto the next Heir Male of the ſaid King, then being alive; the "Lord *Philip* of *Valois*, who is but Son to the Uncle of the ſaid King, and ſo related "unto him in a more remote Degree of Conſanguinity, did in the time of our Minority "by Force, and contrary to God and Juſtice uſurp the ſaid Kingdom, and ſtill doth uſurp "and detain it: Invading moreover, and ſpoiling our Lands in our Dukedom of *Aqui-* "*tain*, and Confederating againſt Us with our Rebellious Enemies the *Scots*; and o- "therwiſe to the utmoſt of his Power, labouring and endeavouring to procure the Ru- "ine and Subverſion of Us and of Ours both by Land and Sea. And thô we to pre- "vent the ineſtimable Dangers, which it is probably feared may happen by a Commotion "of War between Us and Him, have offer'd to the ſaid *Philip* divers Friendly Me- "thods of Peace, not without a great Diminution of our own Rights, that ſo we might, "as we deſire, purſue the War of *Chriſt*, in the Holy Expedition beyond Sea, againſt "the Blaſphemers of the *Chriſtian* Name, which alaſs! is too much neglected to the "no ſmall Ignominy of *Chriſtendom*; he by his Fox-craft driving us off with Incertainties, "would in effect yield nothing unto Us, but ſtill by feigned Treaties, hath abundantly "heaped Injuries upon Injuries. Wherefore not willing to neglect the Gift of God, "who in the Devolution of the ſaid Kingdom hath ſhewed unto Us his marvellous "Kindneſs; but deſiring as it is fitting, in hope of the Divine Aſſiſtance, and a Confi- "dence of our Righteous Cauſe, to take pains about the Recovering and Maintaining "of our Hereditary Rights (ſince by peaceable Ways we could not prevail) Neceſſi- "ty ſo requiring we deſcended with an Armed Power into *Bretagne*, to reform the Inju- "ries done, and to prevent thoſe, that otherwiſe by him would be done unto Us; and alſo "to the Obtaining of our Hereditary Rights: Being willing to ſet forth powerfully to "the Succour of thoſe that adhered unto Us, rather than to expect at home the Dan- "gers threatned unto Us. And while thus we were occupied in our Wars, there re- "paired unto Us the Reverend Fathers, *Peter* Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*, and *Annibald* Biſhop "of *Tuſculan*, Cardinals, Nuntio's of the moſt Holy Father in *Chriſt* Pope *Clement* "VI, and of the Apoſtolick See, deſiring us in the Name of the ſaid Lord the Pope, "to admit of a Truce with the foreſaid Lord *Philip* for a time, during which ſpace there

[f] *Fox Acts and Mon. An. 1345. Adam Murimouth M.S. Dr. Covel & M.S. Dr. Stillingfleet, quibus cum Foxo collatis, illius fides aut peritia videbitur deſiderari.*

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"might be a Treaty held before the Lord, the Chief Biſhop, concerning a final Peace, and "adding, that the ſaid Lord the Pope did believe to find out a way, whereby a Peace "might very well be reformed: And in hope of an Agreeable Peace to be made by "his Holy Mediation, and eſpecially for Reverence of the ſaid Lord the Pope, and the "ſaid See, We conſented to the ſaid Truce. And moreover We took care to ſend "Commiſſioners endued with ſufficient Power, to his Holineſſes Preſence; and accor- "dingly there was a Truce taken between Us and the ſaid Lord *Philip*; ſo that it "was to be obſerved every where within the Dominions of both Parties, eſpecially "within the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, between Us and the ſaid *Philip*, and our Adhe- "rents and his, even thô they ſhould pretend to have a Right in the ſaid Dukedom "of *Aquitain*; and that all Coadjutors and Allies of the Parties ſhould remain in ſuch "a Poſſeſſion of Things and Goods, as they had in the time of making the Truce, "and under other Forms and Conditions more fully expreſſed in the ſame. And when "thrô a ſmiling hope of Peace, in Confidence of the ſaid Truce, returning into *Eng-* "*land*, having ſent a few of our Servants into *Bretagne* for the Governance of thoſe "Parts, and of our Coadjutors there, we had deſigned to ſend our Commiſſioners to "the Preſence of the ſaid Lord the Pope, in order to a Treaty of Peace, there came unto "Us certain News not a little ſtinging our Mind, namely of the Death of certain No- "blemen our Adherents, who were taken in *Bretagne*, and by the ſpecial Command "of the ſaid *Philip*, contrary to the Form of the ſaid Truce, ſhamefully and tyran- "nouſly put to Death at *Paris*: And alſo of the great Slaughter and Devaſtation of "our Liege People and Places in *Bretagne*, *Gaſcogne* and elſewhere; and of his ſubtle "and ſecret Treaties held with our Allies and Subjects, whom ſo he endeavoured to "take off from Us and to Bind unto himſelf; and of other his Injuries not eaſily to "be numbred, and of his Offences againſt the ſaid Truce, on the Part of the ſaid *Phi-* "*lip* done and attempted both by Land and by Sea; whereby the ſaid Truce on the Part "of the ſaid *Philip* is notoriouſly known to be diſſolved: And althô the Truce be- "ing thrô Fault of the ſaid *Philip* thus broken, we might, as even yet lawfully we may, "have juſtly reſumed War againſt him forthwith: Yet notwithſtanding to avoid the "ill Effects of War, being deſirous firſt to prove, if by any Amicable way we might ob- "tain a Reparation as to the Premiſes, more than once we ſent ſundry our Ambaſſa- "dors to the Preſence of the Lord the Pope, as well to treat of the Peace aforeſaid, as to "require Reformation of the ſaid Abuſes, attempted and done within the Limits ap- "pointed for the ſaid Treaty, for that Purpoſe alſo frequently prolonging the ſaid Term, "reſerving always unto our ſelves a Liberty of Reſuming the War, by Default of "the ſaid *Philip* ſought out againſt Us. And truly the Terms appointed for the Treaty are "now paſt, and no Reaſonable way of Peace hath yet been opened unto Us, or our ſaid "Ambaſſadors: Nor hath the ſaid *Philip* in the leaſt taken care to reform the ſaid Abuſes, "althô he hath been thereto required and admoniſhed by the Letters of the ſaid Lord "the Pope, as the ſaid Lord the Pope by his Letters unto Us hath written; but there "are always multiplied againſt Us Tyrannies, Conſpiracies and Alliances to our Subver- "ſion, by the ſaid *Philip*, who ſubtily practiſes againſt the Form of the ſaid Truce: "Not to ſay any thing of the exceſſive Enormities of the Pope's Legate, lately ſent into "*Bretagne* for the Conſervation of the ſaid Truce, who more earneſtly rais'd the contention "which he ought to have allayed; not approving himſelf a Conſervator of the Truce, "but rather a Party againſt Us and Ours: Concerning which the ſaid Lord the Pope, "(by his leave) did apply no Remedy; althô (as was fitting) he was thereto required. "Wherefore We ought to be excuſed before God and his Holineſs, if when We "can receive no other Remedy, We endeavour to repell the Violence and Injury done "unto Us: Eſpecially ſince We have a moſt juſt Cauſe, and which is moſt notorious "to the world. And therefore eſteeming the foreſaid Truce to be, as indeed it is, diſſol- "ved and broken (from the Cauſes aforeſaid, which we know, and in place and time "will prove to be True) by the foreſaid *Philip* and his Adherents, eſpecially thoſe "who in the ſaid Dukedom of *Bretagne* pretend to have Right, and that We are free "and acquitted of the Obſervance thereof: Him the ſaid *Philip*, as a Violator of the "ſaid Truce, and our Enemy and Deadly Perſecutor, and an Unjuſt Uſurper of "our Kingdom of *France*, and a Raſh Invader of our other Rights, juſtly (Neceſſi- "ty ſo requiring) We defie, proteſting, that We will not attempt any thing to the "Offence (which God forbid) of his Holineſs, or of the Apoſtolick See, which by all "means We deſire to revere as we ought, nor to the injury of any One; but only with "due Moderation to purſue our Rights, and to defend Our Selves and our Rights: For it "is always our Intention amicably to admit of a Reaſonable Peace when We may obtain it.

"But

"But these things, [g] which We do unwillingly, and for want of a Remedy, We "thought good to signifie to the said Lord, the Pope, and the foresaid Cardinals, by "whose Mediation We Consented to the said Truce, to be by them as Persons in- "different to either Party, insinuated to those, who might have another Perswasion of "our Actions: And lest Nimble Fame by her hasty Relations should cause You to "think amiss of Us, that We may settle the Minds of our Friends, We have thought "fit to unfold the Naked Truth unto You, recommending unto You all our Inno- "cence, and the Justice of our Cause. Dat. at *Westminster* the 14 Day of *June*, In the "Year of our Reign of *England* the XIX, and of our Reign of *France* VI.

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[g] The Letter to the Pope differs from this in the conclusion. *vid. M.S.* Dr. Stillingfleet. *n.* 7.

IV. After having thus Published his Intentions, the King seriously [h] sets himself to provide for the War, and to equip a Royal Army, wherewith to enter *France* in Person the following Year. But in the mean time he provided, that what was won the last Year in *Gascogne*, should now be well maintain'd; and therefore [i] before the Date of this *Manifesto*, he renew'd his [k] Commission to the Valiant Lord *Henry Plantagenet* Earl of *Darby*, empowering him to Treat and Conclude with all Persons of whatsoever State, or Condition, Kingdom, or Nation, for settling firm Alliances, and mutual Assistance between the King and them; as also to retain Men for the Kings Service, and to agree about their Fees, Wages, and other Rewards: And in consideration of his late great Successes, and his Extraordinary Abilities for the War, within a few [l] Days after he constituted him his sole Lieutenant and Captain in the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, and the Parts adjacent, with Power to do and Execute all things belonging to that Character: And he issued out his Royal Proclamation to all Archbishops, and other Prelates, Earls, Barons, Viscounts, Governours of Fortresses, and other Officers, commanding them all to yield Obedience to him, as unto the Kings Lieutenant.

[h] *Ashmole* p. 654.

[i] *Ashmole* p. 680.

[k] *Maii* 10. *ex Rot. Vasc.* 19. *Ed.* 3.

[l] 15 *Maii Rot. Vasc.* 19. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 6. & *Rot. Franc.* 19. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 6.

V. On the [m] 11 of *June*, the Earl having shipt most of his Horse at *Southampton*, and being himself ready to depart, Command was sent to the Sheriff of *London*, to make Proclamation; That all Men of Arms, Archers, and others, who were to go with him, should with all possible speed repair to *Southampton*. Being on board, he had a fair Wind, and without any let or stay Landed at *Bayonne* in *Gascogne*, whence he went to *Bourdeaux*; and having for Encouragement sake made 50 New Knights, immediately after his [n] Arrival he took the Field, with a great Number of Men of Arms, and Archers, with a Resolution to lay Siege to *la Reole* upon the *Garonne*, about 9 Leagues from *Bourdeaux*. The first Day he rode from *Bourdeaux* to *Bergerac*, where he met with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was ready to joyn him: Having tarried there three Days, they all began to March, being in Number a 1000 Men of Arms, and 2000 Archers on Horseback, besides others. Thus they rode forth, till they came to [o] St. *Basil*, a Castle of considerable strength, which they laid Siege to: But the Garrison, considering, that the greatest part of the Lords, Knights, and Captains of their side, were either slain, or in Prison; and seeing no likelyhood of any timely Succour from any other Part, concluded to deliver up the Place, and so yielded themselves, and swore Fealty to the King of *England*. Matters being duly settled here, the Earl Marched forward, taking the way to the strong Castle of *Aiguillon* in *Agennois*: But meeting in his march with a Fort called *Rochemillone*, thô he knew it was furnished with Souldiers, and Artillery, yet he commanded it to be Assaulted: Which was done with much Bravery. But the Defendants cast forth huge Stones, Barrs of Iron, Pots of quick Lime, and other offensive Matter, whereby many of the most forward and venturous were grievously annoyed: The Earl of *Darby* seeing this, sounded a Retreat for that time, and resolved to use another Method. The next day he compelled the Bores of the Country to bring thither great quantities of Bushes, Faggots, Dung, Straw, and Earth; with which a great part of the Ditch was so well filled; that they might approach close to the Walls: Then he caused 200 Men of the Country to go before, having great Pick-Axes in their hands, and strong Targets over their Heads, lockt together in manner of a Penthouse, like the old *Roman Testudo*: These were followed by 300 choice Archers, who, while the other undermin'd the Wall, shot so fiercely, and so close together, that hardly any Man could appear at his Defence, but he was taken off. Yet the *French* held out obstinately, thô this manner of Attack was carried on thus most part of the Day; till at last the Miners made so great a Breach thrô the Wall, that ten Men might enter a breast. This unexpected Misfortune quite brake the Courages of the Defendants, so that immediately every Man began to look out for himself; some flying into the Church, and some few stealing away by a back Gate: But that Passage being soon secur'd, most of the Garrison

[m] *Clauf.* 19. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 12.

[n] These things being taken from the Records, We must pardon *Froisard* who thought he winter'd at *Bourdeaux* and took the Field in *May*.

[o] *Froiss. c.* 108. & *Du Chesne p.* 662. & *Ashmole p.* 680.

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was put to the Sword, except thoſe, whom being fled to the Church, the Earl of *Darby* pardon'd for that Reſpect, and becauſe they implor'd his Mercy. Both the Town and Caſtle were immediately taken and plunder'd, but nothing deſtroy'd; for the Earl intended to Repair the breach, and to leave a Garriſon there; which he did under the Command of *Richard Mills*, and *Robert Scott*, Eſquires. Thence he proceeded and laid Siege to the Town of *Monſegur*, the Captain whereof was Sr. *Hugh Bâtefoile*, a Man of great Courage, Experience, and Honour: Who being ſummon'd, rejected all Conditions of Peace, and ſaid, he was ready either to maintain the place or to die in the Action. Wherefore the Earl of *Darby* being reſolv'd not to have his Succeſſes ſcandal'd with a foile here, ſent for Engines of Battery to *Bourdeaux*, and to *Bergerac* wherewith he caſt Mighty Stones againſt the Town, which brake down Walls, Roofs of Chambers, and Houſes. Now when the nimble Courſe of his Victories had received a Check here for 15 Days, he reſolv'd a General Aſſault, but firſt after his uſual Method, ſent again to the Inhabitants, to warn them, "that if they were "taken by force, they muſt all expect nothing but Death; but if they would own the "King of *England* for their Lord, he would then both Pardon, and take them for "his Friends. The Townſmen would very gladly have accepted theſe Conditions: But as yet they had no Power ſo to do, wherefore they went in a Body to ſpeak with their Captain, as it were by way of asking Advice, to learn what his Reſolution might be. He anſwer'd them in a few words bravely, "Gentlemen, look to your Defences "in your ſeveral Stations, as I ſhall in mine: I tell you, we are able to keep this Town "half a Year, if there be occaſion. Hereupon they went away very well content, as to outward appearance; but at Night, when he little thought of it, they ſeiſed him ſuddenly, and clap'd him in Priſon, vowing never to let him out; unleſs he would conſent to yield, and make their Peace with the Earl of *Darby*. Whereupon, he ſwearing to do his endeavour, they let him out, and ſo he went to the Town Barrs, and made a ſign to ſpeak with ſome body, whereat the Lord *Manny* coming up to him, he ſaid, "Sr. *Walter Manny*, You need not think it ſtrange, that at your firſt coming, We "ſhut our Gates againſt You; for We have all ſworn Allegiance to the *French* King: "Thô I ſee well there is no ſufficient Captain in his behalf, that comes forth to ſtop "You in your Career: So that I doubt, You are like to proceed further. But Sir, as "for my ſelf and thoſe of this Garriſon, I deſire of You, that We may be permitted to re-"main as We are upon this Compoſition; that neither of Us offer, or do any the leaſt "hurt to other for the ſpace of one Moneth; that if within that time the *French* King, "or the Duke of *Normandy* come in Perſon into this Country ſo ſtrong, as to fight "with You, then We to be quit of our Covenant; but if neither the One, nor the "Other appear on our behalf, then We all to put our ſelves entirely under the Obe-"dience of the King of *England*. Sr. *Walter Manny* went ſtraight to the Earl of *Darby* to know his Pleaſure in this Matter; the Earl becauſe he would not linger there, was content, on Condition, that thoſe within ſhould make no new Repairs, or Fortifications, during the term, and alſo, that if any of his Men wanted Victuals, or ought elſe, they might have it of them for Money. This was all agreed, and 12 of their Richeſt Burgeſſes ſent as Hoſtages to *Bordeaux*; they alſo refreſhed the *Engliſh* with Victuals, but would not let a Man enter. Matters thus ſettled here, the Earl proceeded, waſting and ſpoiling all the Country, which was Pleaſant and Fruitfull; and ſo at laſt came and ſat down before the ſtrong Caſtle of *Aiguillon*: Where he had ſcarce appeared, but the Captain of the Caſtle came and yielded all up unto him, only conditioning for Life and Goods.

All the Country thereabouts was amazed at this eaſie Bargain; for it was reputed One of the ſtrongeſt Caſtles in all the World, and it ſtood moſt Advantagiouſly ſcituated between the *Lot* and the *Garonne*, two great Rivers, able to bear Ships of Burthen. The Earl of *Darby* newly Repair'd what was out of Order in the Caſtle, and left within it the Lord *John Moubray* with an 120 luſty Souldiers to defend it. But the Captain, who had thus baſely yielded ſo Noble a Fortreſs, without one ſtroke giving, or taking, failed not of the Reward his Cowardiſe deſerved: For being come to *Tholouſe* about 20 common *French* Miles from *Aiguillon*, they apprehended him, condemned him of Treaſon, and hung him up immediately. The Earl of *Darby* the mean while went and lay before *Segart*, which having taken by Aſſault, and put all within to the Sword, he marched thence to the Town of *Reole*, ſtanding on the *Garonne*.

[p] *Froiſ. c.* 109. This was [p] a great and ſtrong Place, wherefore the Earl of *Darby* inveſted it quite Round, and made Baſtions near the High-ways, and other Avenues, to hinder Proviſion from coming into the Town; and almoſt every Day he alarum'd them with his Attacks.

But

But ſtill the Beſieged held out; ſo that while the Earl lay here, the Moneth being now expired, wherein they of *Monſegur* had Covenanted, unleſs they were Defended by a Royal Army, to yield themſelves, and embrace the Service of the King of *England*, he ſent thither, requiring them according to Compoſition, to make Performance. They all readily agreed; and that Hardy Loyal Captain, Sr. *Hugh Bâtefoile* himſelf, not thinking Him fit to Reign over *France*, who in all that while either durſt not, or would not, or could not Protect his Subjects, own'd *Edward* of *England* for his Sovereign, and he, and all his Men enter'd into his Service on certain Wages. Now the Earl of *Darby* had layn before *Reole* more than 9 Weeks, in which time he had made two vaſt Belfroys, or Baſtilles of Maſſy timber, with three Stages, or Floors, each of the Belfroys running on four huge Wheels, bound about with thick Hoops of Iron; and the ſides, and other parts, that any way reſpected the Town, were cover'd with Raw Hides, thick laid, to defend the Engines from fire and ſhot. In every one of theſe Stages were placed an 100 Archers, and between the two Baſtilles, there were two Hundred Men with Pick-Axes and Mattocks. From theſe ſix Stages ſix Hundred Archers ſhot ſo fiercely all together, that no Man could appear at his Defence without a ſufficient Puniſhment: So that the Belfroys being brought upon Wheels by the ſtrength of Men over a part of the Ditch, which was purpoſely made plain and level by the Faggots, Earth and Stones caſt upon them; the 200 Pioneers ply'd their Work ſo well under the Protection of theſe Engines, that they made a conſiderable Breach thrô the Walls of the Town. Hereupon the Burgeſſes came to one of the Gates, and deſired parly: The Earl of *Darby* ſent thither the Lord *Walter Manny*, and the Lord *Ralph Stafford* to hear their Propoſals; which were, "that they would accept the King of *England* for their Lord, ſo they might ſuffer no harm either in their Bodies or "Goods. Sr. *Agouſt de les Baux*, a Native of *Provence*, who was Chief Commander within, when he ſaw they were reſolv'd to yield up the Town, retired into the Caſtle with all his Men, and while the Townſmen were buſie about the Treaty, he convey'd into the Caſtle great quantities of Wine and other Proviſions; and then cloſing the Gates, ſaid, "he was not minded to yield as yet. This mean while the two *Engliſh* Lords aforeſaid, went back, and told the Earl of *Darby*, that the Town would yield upon ſecurity of Life and Goods: Then the Earl ſent to know, if the Caſtle would do the like; but word was brought, they intended the Contrary. After a little muſing ſaid the Earl, "Well, go, take them of the Town to Mercy, for by the Town We "ſhall win the Caſtle. Then the ſaid Lords took the Town to Mercy, on Condition, they ſhould all go forth into the Field, and preſent the Keys of the Town to the Earl of *Darby*, ſaying, "Sir, from this time forward We acknowledge our ſelves Sub-"jects, and will ever be obedient to the King of *England*. This they did, and ſware "further, that they would never give any Aſſiſtance to thoſe within the Caſtle, but "rather offend them to the beſt of their Power, till they were reduced. After this, the Earl having proclaim'd, that none ſhould preſume to do any the leaſt harm to the Town or Inhabitants of *Reole*, made his entry into the Place, and immediately began to inveſt the Caſtle round about, as much as he might; and then raiſed his Engines, which caſt againſt the Walls Day and Night, but to little purpoſe, they were ſo thick and ſtrongly cemented of moſt hard ſtone, molten-lead and morter. It is thought that this Caſtle of old time had been wrought by the hands of the *Saracens*, who made their Works ſo ſtrong, that the later Buildings were no way comparable to them. Wherefore the Earl, ſeeing, that with his Engines he could do no good, called unto him the Captains of his Pioneers, and gave them Command to make a great Mine under the Walls; which yet was not expected to be done under many Days.

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VI. Now [q] during this Siege, and while the Mine was carrying on, the Lord *Walter Manny* remembred, that his Father, who had been heretofore Aſſaſſined in his Return from a Pilgrimage to St. *James* of *Compoſtella*, was buried, as he had heard in his Youth, in *Reole*, or thereabout. Wherefore now being deſirous to find where his Bones lay, he enquired about the Town, offering an 100 Crowns to any Man, that could ſhew him his Tomb. Within a while there came an old Man of the Town to Sr. *Walter*, who ſaid, "Sir, I believe I can bring You to the very Place, where my Lord, your "Father was buried. Sr. *Walter* told him, if his Words proved true, he would keep his Promiſe with him, and ſomething more.

[q] *Froiſ. c.* 110. *fol.* 54.

The Lord *Manny's* Father is reported to have been ſlain upon this Occaſion. Almoſt 24 Years before this, there was a *Gaſcogner* of the Houſe of *Mirepoix*, Biſhop of *Cambray*, in whoſe Days happen'd a Solemn Tournament before the City of *Cambray*, in which on both Sides there were no leſs than 500 Knights. It was the Fortune

of

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of the Lord of *Manny* an *Hainalder*, Sr. *Walter's* Father, to juſt with a certain Knight of *Gaſcogne*, who was near of Kin to the ſaid Biſhop. But the young *Gaſcogner* was ſo roughly handled by him, that he lived but a few Days after: Wherefore the Lord *Manny* incurr'd the heavy Indignation of the Biſhop and all his Kindred. But two or three Years after ſome Pious Men by their great Diligence labour'd to compoſe Matters, and to make a Reconciliation between the Lord *Manny* and his Enemies. So that the Biſhop and his Relations either did, or at leaſt pretended to pardon all, and a Friendſhip was made, only the Lord of *Manny* was enjoyned by way of Penance to go on Pilgrimage to St. *James* of *Compoſtella*. In his going thither he paſſed by *Reole*, where he then found *Charles* of *Valois* Father to King *Philip* that now reigned, laying his Siege to that Town, which then, together with all *Guien* and *Gaſcogne* belonged to King *Edward* II of *England*. Having ended his Pilgrimage, and returning the ſame way, he gave a Viſit to the ſaid Earl *Charles* in the Town of *Reole*, which by that time [t] was upon Compoſition yielded up to him by *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*. He was entertain'd at Supper that Night by the ſaid *Charles* Earl of *Valois*, but going home late to his Lodgings, he was ſet upon, as was thought, by ſome of the Kindred of that *Gaſcogner*, whoſe Death he had occaſion'd, and there barbarouſly murder'd. The Authors of the Murther could no ways be clearly proved, thô the ſaid Biſhops Kindred were generally ſuſpected: But they were as then ſo high, and the Truth was ſo dark, eſpecially the Lord of *Manny* having no Friend there to purſue his Quarrel, that the matter was huſh'd, and by degrees quite put up. However the Earl of *Valois* cauſed him to be decently interred within a little Chappel in the Field, then without the Town; but afterwards the Lord *Charles* having won the Place, enlarged the Walls, and ſo took in that Chappel alſo into its Compaſs. Thus was Sr. *Walter's* Father ſlain, and the Old Man remembred all very well, as one who then belonged to *Charles* of *Valois*, and was at his Burial. Sr. *Walter* therefore followed this old Man, and went with him into the Chappel aforeſaid, where he ſhew'd him a little plain Stone of Marble, which his Servants had laid over him, and ſaid, "Sir, moſt certainly my Lord your Father lies buried under this Stone. Then the Lord *Manny* drew near to view the Tomb, and there he found a *Latin* Inſcription, which imported that the Lord of *Manny's* Body lay there. He could not forbear Weeping to find this poor Remembrance of his Dear Father, whom he could ſcarce remember to have ſeen alive; for he was but young at his Death: The old Man he rewarded as he had promiſed, and two Days after took up his Fathers Bones, and putting them in a rich Coffer, ſent them to *Valenciennes* in his native Country of *Hainalt*, and there cauſed them to be depoſited in the Church of the Fryars, and his Obſequies to be kept Annually with great Solemnity, which for many Years after were commemorated.

[t] *Giovan. Villan. l. 9. c. 169.*

[f] *Froiſ. c. 111.*

VII. All this [f] while the Earl of *Darby* held his Siege before the ſtrong Caſtle of *Reole*, and now when it had held out near 11 Weeks, the Miners were at laſt come under the Baſe Court, but under the Dungeon they could not get by any means, for it ſtood on an hard Rock. Sr. *Agouſt de les Baux* the Captain of the Caſtle, perceived how he was undermined, and told his Officers their Danger. Then they ſaid, "Sir, the Peril is common to us all, and we fear now inevitable, unleſs you in your great "Wiſdom contrive a Remedy. You are our Chief, whom as hitherto we have o- "bey'd, ſo now will we follow your Determination. But ſurely we have ſo long and "ſo worthily held out already, that if we could now come to any good Compoſition, no "man could blame us for Yielding at laſt. Try if you can get the Earl of *Darby* to "grant us our Lives and Goods, and ſo to accept the Caſtle. Upon this the Captain went down from the High Tower, and looking out at a little Window, made a ſign, that he deſired to ſpeak with ſome Body. Being demanded what he would have, he anſwer'd, how he would gladly ſpeak with the Earl of *Darby* or the Lord *Walter Manny*. The Earl hearing hereof, took along with him the Lord *Manny* and the Lord *Stafford*, ſaying, "Come, let us go to the Fortreſs, and know, what the Captain has "to ſay now. So they all rode to the Caſtle, and when Sr. *Agouſt de les Baux* ſaw them he took off his Cap, and ſaluting them all three in their Order, ſaid, "My Lord "of *Darby*, I muſt confeſs the *French* King ſent me hither, to defend and keep this "Town and Caſtle to my Power: And you know very well, how I have acquitted "my ſelf hitherto in this my Charge, and ſtill would if I might: But a Man cannot "always ſtay where he is beſt pleaſed. Therefore my Noble Lord of *Darby*, if it may ſo "pleaſe you, I and my Company, upon ſecurity for our Lives and Goods, are now wil- "ling to depart, and to reſign the Fortreſs into your Hands. "Nay ſaid the Earl of "*Darby*, Sr. *Agouſt*, you are not like to leave us ſo: You muſt needs know that we

"have

"have so undermin'd you, that we may have you when we will; for the Walls of "your Castle only stand upon Props of Wood: If therefore you will yield upon Dis- "cretion, we will receive you to Mercy. "Why truly Sir (reply'd Sr. *Agoust*) if "we should do so, I verily believe, there is so much Honour and Generosity in your "Princely Person, that you would not but deal courteously with us, as you would desire the "*French* King to deal with any of your Knights, whom he should take at the like "Advantage. For Godsake Sir, blemish not your Honour for a poor Sort of Souldiers, "that are here within, who with much pain and peril have hardly won a small Liveli- "hood, and whom I have brought hither out of *Provence*, and *Savoy*, and the *Dau-* "*phiné*. For Sir, be assured, that if we thought the least of us should not come to "Mercy as well as the Greatest, we should sell our Lives so dearly, that all the World "should speak of Us. Sir, we heartily desire you to bear us some Company of Arms, "and to use us like Souldiers, and we shall pray for You. At this the Earl and the two Lords drew aside together to commune upon the Captains Words: They saw all was true he had said and consider'd, that he was a Stranger, and they also knew they could never undermine the Dungeon, wherefore they agreed to take them to Mercy, but to let them bear nothing away but their Horses and Armour. Then the Earl turning again to Sr. *Agoust* said, "Sir, we would gladly shew our selves friendly Companions in Arms "to all Strangers, wherefore I am content, that you and all your Company march out "with your Lives assured; so that you will bear nothing away but your Arms. "So "be it then, said Sr. *Agoust*, if it can be no better, and saying so went back to his Men, and related how he had sped. Then they all put on their Harness, and took their Horses, whereof they had but six remaining, and came forth of the Castle: Some bought Horses of the *English*, for which they gave Bills of Return, which were truly paid; the rest follow'd on Foot, and so they all went to *Tholouse*.

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VIII. When the Earl of *Darby* [t] had taken his Pleasure in the Castle of *Reole* a day or two, having set Men at work about the Repairs of what had been broken, and filled up the Mine with Stones, Cement and Earth, he left an *English* Knight his Captain of the Town and Castle, and so rode forth to *Monpesat*, whither many of the Country had fled with their Goods, in confidence of the Strength of the Place: but the Castle was not greatly furnished with Men of War; wherefore it was soon taken by Assault and Scalade, thô several *English* Archers were lost in the Attack, and an *English* Gentleman, who bore the Lord *Staffords* Banner, named Sr. *Richard Penfort*. This Place the Earl committed to the Custody of one of his own Esquires called *Thomas Lancaster*, and left with him 20 Archers. Then he went before *Mauron*, which he assaulted long and vigorously, but was not able to carry it; however he lodged there for that Night. The next day as they held a Council of War, a Knight of *Gascogne*, named Sr. *Alexander* of *Chaumont* (who being the last Year left Captain of *Auberoche*, had now leave to joyn the *English* Forces) said thus to the Earl of *Darby*, "Sir, I desire you would make a Shew, as if you rais'd your Siege and march'd off "to some other Part, only leaving a few Men still before the Town: I know the Na- "ture of those within so well, that I durst engage they will make a Sally upon those, "whom they shall see lagging thus behind: Then let your Men fly wisely while they "Chace, but we will lie under the Olives in Ambuscado, and when they have pursued "till they are past our Ambush, some of us shall hold them in Play, while others re- "turn toward the Town, which they shall find open. This Counsel the Earl approved, and having in the Declining of the Day, order'd the Earl of *Oxford* with an 100 se- lect Horse only to stay behind; all well informed how to behave themselves, began to march away with the rest of his Army, Bagg and Baggage. And half a League off Sr. *Walter Manny* was planted with a great Ambush in a Vale among the Olives and Vines, and the Earl rode on a great way before with his Banners aloft. When those of *Mauron* saw in what manner the Earl departed, as it were hastily, leaving those Men behind him, and that the *English* Army was too far off to give them any timely Assi- stance, they said one to another, "Let us now at length sally out and fight with these "Loiterers, that lag thus indiscreetly behind their Master: We shall soon discomfit "them every Man, and get thereby no small Honour and Advantage. To this Reso- lution they all quickly agreed, and being ready mounted and armed, 400 of them made a sally. The Earl of *Oxford*, who desired as much, first retired back in some seeming Disorder: But when he saw them begin the Chace in good earnest, he and his Men also, as in fear, set upon the Spur, but yet so as to leave the Enemy Hopes to overtake them soon. Thus the one Party fled in Jest and the other pursued in Ear- nest, till all were past the Ambush: At that instant the Earl of *Oxford* turns back in great

[t] *Froiss. c.* 112.

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great fury upon the Enemy, and the Lord *Walter Manny* ruſhes out from among the Vines upon their Backs, crying out a *Manny*, a *Manny*! While another part of the Ambuſh took the Way ſtraight to the Town, where they found the Barrs and Gates left open againſt the Return of their Friends: For it was now dark and none could diſcern, but that theſe New-comers were their old Companions; till they ſaw them ſeiſe the Gates and the Bridge, and ſo make themſelves Maſters of the Town. Thoſe who had made the Sally, were all either ſlain, or taken every man of them; for they were, as we ſhew'd, encloſed both before and behind. Wherefore the Town yielded with great humility to the Earl of *Darby*, who of his great Grace and Clemency took them to Mercy, and ſpared their Houſes from Fire and Plunder. All that Lordſhip the Earl gave to Sr. *Alexander* of *Chaumont*, by whoſe Advice the Town was won; whereupon Sr. *Alexander* ſet his Brother Sr. *Anthony* of *Chaumont* as Captain there, with a ſufficient number of Archers and Men of Arms; he himſelf chooſing ſtill to follow the Earl in this his Expedition. The next Place they came to was *Ville Franche* in *Agenois*, which together with the Caſtle was taken by Aſſault, and here the Earl made an Eſquire of his, named *Thomas Cook*, Captain, whom thereupon he Knighted. Thus the Earl of *Darby* without any Reſiſtance overran the Country, and conquer'd Towns and Caſtles, and wan much Spoil and great Riches, all which like a Noble Prince, he diſtributed among his Men.

[u] *Froiſ. c.* 113.

IX. From hence he rode to [u] *Mirapont* in his way toward *Bourdeaux*; (for all this while the Currours of his Army never went near St. *Mary-Port*) which having held out three Days, yielded on the Fourth, and this Place he committed to the Care of a Valiant Eſquire of his, *John Briſtow*. Thence he ſent out a Detachment, which took in a little encloſed Town, called *Tonneins*, ſtanding on the River *Garonne*; and after that a ſtrong Caſtle, named *Damaſan*, a little lower on the other ſide the ſaid River; which was furniſhed with a convenient Garriſon. Then the Earl went up higher into *Angoulemois*, and ſat down with all his Forces before the great City of *Angouleſme*, ſaying, he would not ſtir thence, till he had it at his Pleaſure. But the Citizens being terrify'd with his Succeſſes, made a Compoſition with him, to ſend 24 of their Chief Burgeſſes their Hoſtages to *Bourdeaux*: That he ſhould give them Reſpit for a Moneth: Within which time, if the *French* King ſend a ſufficient Captain to keep the Field againſt him; then they to have their Hoſtages reſtored, and to be acquitted of all Obligation: But if no ſuch Forces appear, then they without any more adoe, to ſubmit to the Government of the King of *England*. Upon this Compoſition the Earl rode to *Blaye* in *Saintogne*, wherein were two Valiant and Hardy Captains, Sr. *Guiſchard*, aliàs Sr. *Richard Dangle*, (afterwards for the *Engliſh*, and in time one of the Knights of the Honourable Order of the Garter) and the other was Sr. *William* of *Rochechouart*, of no leſs Courage and Loyalty. Theſe Knights anſwer'd the Earls Summons, "That they would yield to no Man living: Wherefore he laid to them a ſtrong and cloſe Siege, and in the mean time ſent out a Detachment to *Mortagne* in *Saintogne* by the Sea-ſide, whereof was Captain a Noble and Hardy Knight, named the Lord of *Bouciquault*: Who Defended the Place ſo well, that the Earl's Men deſpair'd to take it. Wherefore after ſome loſs, they wheel'd off to *Mirembeau*, and after that, as far as *Aunay*, both which alſo they found too tough for them, and ſo return'd to the Camp before *Blaye*. Here no Day paſſed without ſome notable feat of Arms performed; and now firſt did Sr. *Richard Dangle* begin to bear ſome kind inclination to the *Engliſh* Nation; but here he held out gallantly: So that by this time the Moneth being compleat, the Earl of *Darby* remembring his Agreement with the City of *Angouleſme*, ſent thither his two Marſhals, to whom the Citizens ſware Allegiance in behalf of the King of *England*, their Maſter. Whereupon their Hoſtages were reſtored, the City indemnified, and the Earl at their Requeſts ſent unto them for their Captain Sr. *John Norwich*, a Valiant and Politick Commander, and a [x] Baron of *England*, thô [y] *Froiſard* took him to be but an Eſquire. And now Winter being far enter'd, the Earl ſeeing the ſtout Reſiſtance at *Blaye*, and the ſmall Importance of the Place, reſolv'd to ſpare his Men for better Service, and to raiſe his Siege, till a more commodious ſeaſon: So he diſlodged, and repaſſing the River *Garonne*, went back to *Bourdeaux*, where he diſtributed his Men into Winter Quarters. Now if any ſhall object, that it ſeems incredible, that all this while the King of *France* ſhould lie ſtill; let ſuch forbear their Cenſure, till the beginning of the next Year, where they will find, that he ſent a great Man againſt him; but one, who thought not fit to act at that time, till he was conſiderably Reinforced, as we ſhall ſee in due place.

[x] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 90.
[y] *Froiſ. c.* 118. *fol.* 57.

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CHAPTER the TWENTY FOURTH.

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I. DUring the laſt Campaign, of which we ſpake in the preceding Chapter, word was brought over into *Guienne* to the Earl of *Darby*, [a] how the Good Old Earl of *Lancaſter* his *Father*, was departed this Life, and had left him with his Bleſſing, and a Greater Title, a Fair Inheritance. He was Younger Brother (and upon his Death without Iſſue) next Heir to *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, eldeſt Son to Prince *Edmund Plantagenet* ſirnamed *Crouchback*, who was Second Son to King *Henry* III. and Younger Brother to King *Edward* the Firſt. His Stile ran thus, *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter, Leiceſter, Darby* and *Provence*, Lord of *Monmouth* and Steward of *England*: His true Sirname was *Plantagenet*, but his uſual, *Torcol* or *de Torto Collo*, becauſe his Neck ſtood ſomething awry: Which Title is thrô miſtake by [b] *Sandford* attributed to his Son; as alſo is the [b] Patronage of *John Wickliffe*: Whereas his Sons Sirname was *Griſmond*; and *Wickliffe's* Friend *John* of *Gaunt*. He had married the Lady [c] *Maud*, ſole Daughter and Heireſs of Sr. *Patrick de Cadurcis* or *Chaworth*, a Baron of the Realm: By whom he had this valiant Son *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, upon his Death Earl, and afterwards created Duke, of *Lancaſter*; and ſix Daughters, *Blanch* Lady *Wake*, *Iſabell* Prioreſs of *Ambresbury*, *Maud* Counteſs of *Ulſter*, *Joan* Lady *Moubray* of *Axholme*, *Eleanor* Counteſs of *Arundel*, and *Mary* Lady *Piercy*. He died at *Leiceſter* and was buried in the Monaſtery of Canons there, King *Edward*, with his Queen Conſort and the Queen Mother, and almoſt all the Biſhops and Barons of the Realm being preſent at his Funeral: Where his Son afterwards erected to his Memory a Fair Tomb on the Northſide of the High Altar in the Collegiate Church of our Lady, called the *New-Warke*. But there is no Coronet on his Head.

[a] *Knighton p.* 2585. *n.*30.

[b] *Sandford Geneal Hiſt p.*112 *& p.*113.

[c] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 783. *Mill's Catal. Honor. p.* 323. *Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p.* 110, *&c.*

II. About this time there happen'd a memorable Revolution in *Flanders*, which may teach us how uncertain Popular Favour is, and how ſuddain the Fall of thoſe Great Ones proves, who are not fixed on a ſure Foundation. We have frequently had occaſion to ſpeak of *Jacob van Arteveld* of *Gaunt*, who had long govern'd all *Flanders* with a more abſolute Sway, than ever the Earls themſelves had done. This Man, whether thrô hopes of raiſing his Family to future Time, or whether out of Inclination, or of meer Policy to ſecure his own Greatneſs by the Aid of *England*, was all along a faſt Friend to King *Edward*; and had again as much reſpect and favour from that Prince, as his Heart could deſire. He now [d] in Confidence of his boundleſs Authority among the Commons of the Country, grew ſo preſumptuous, as ſome while before this to entertain a Reſolution of Diſinheriting his Natural Lord *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, and to put the Government thereof into the Hands of King *Edward* of *England*: On Condition that He the ſaid King, ſhould endow his Eldeſt Son the Prince of *Wales* therewith, and

[d] *Froiſ. c.* 115. *& Giov. Villani l.*12. *c.*46. *p.* 854.

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and make a Dukedom of the Earldom of *Flanders*. These things being thus privately agreed on beforehand, about the Feast of St. *John Baptist*, King *Edward* having [e] left his Son Prince *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, his Lieutenant at Home during his Absence, took Shipping at *Sandwich* and came before *Scluse* with a great Navy, the Young Prince, *Edward* his eldest Son, being with him, and *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *Thomas* Lord *Vghtred*, *John* Lord *Seagrave*, *John* Lord *Leiburn* and many Others attending Him. The King lay at Anchor in the Haven of *Scluse*, and there kept House on Board, whither his Friends, the Chief Men of *Flanders* came to visit him. One Day the *Flemish* Burgesses being invited into the Kings Ship called the *Catherine*, after a [f] most Magnificent Collation bestowed on them by the King, *Jacob van Arteveld* rose up and made a most plausible Oration, "extolling the King of *England*'s great "Power either to protect his Friends, or to punish his Enemies; he set forth also the "notable Good-will, which he had all along bore to his Allies and Subjects of Lower "*Germany*: That the Young Prince of *Wales* his Son, did no way come short of his "Fathers Steps, but rather promised, if God gave life, to reach the very Height of all "his Vertues: That their own Lord *Lewis*, unmindfull of the Welfare of his People, "had confederated with King *Philip* their Mortal Enemy; and had himself made War "against them, and done unto them many great Inconveniences and Dammages. Where-"fore if they judged it fit to requite their Haters with Neglect, and to pay unto their "Lovers and Protectors Friendship and Service, He must needs advise them either to "make the Earl of *Flanders* pay his Homage unto King *Edward*, to whom as to the "Rightfull King of *France* it was only due; or if thrô his Stubborn Obstinacy they "could not prevail with him herein, then wholly to cast off the hatefull Yoke of a "Tyrannous and an Unkind Lord, and submit to the pleasant and honourable Go-"vernment of King *Edward* and his Son, who would advance the Earldom of *Flanders* "into a Dukedom, and make them flourish above all other People in Trade and Pro-"sperity.

[e] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*167.

[f] *Mezeray p.*23 *ad hunc ann.*

III. When the Burgesses had all heard what secret Poison lurked in the Breast of this subtle Orator, in their Hearts they utterly abominated his Perfidious Treason, and firmly resolved never to be Guilty of so black and base a Deed, as to disinherit and depose their own Natural Lord, and his Young Son *Lewis* from their proper Right and Title. But however to get off handsomly, and make fair weather for the present, after a little private Conference they gave this Answer to the King. "Sir said they, there is "proposed unto us a Matter of no small Importance, which may some Ages after very "nearly concern the whole Country of *Flanders* and our Heirs for ever, as well as our "Selves. And thô surely, we know no Person in the World at this time, whose Pro-"motion, and encrease of Wealth and Honour We so heartily desire, as We do your "Majesties: Yet this Business we dare not of our selves determine, unless the Commo-"nalty of *Flanders* yield their Consent thereto. Wherefore Sir, for the present we "crave leave to return every Man to his own City, and there we shall confer with the "Generality of every Town and Corporation; and as the Major Part shall agree, we "shall act most willingly. Within a Month at fartheſt we will all return hither again, "and bring your Majesty, we doubt not, such an Answer as shall be agreeable.

IV. The King and *Jacob van Arteveld* urged them much to make a more speedy Return, but they could obtain no other Reply at that time; wherefore they were all dismist to their own several Homes: But *Jacob* tarried still with the King, bearing him all along in hand, that he would not fail to bring this Purpose to good Effect. But King *Edward* who was not apt to be blinded with Prosperity, and had a more piercing Judgment in publick Affairs, doubted much, not only lest this Business should miscarry, but his Friend also incurr some Danger thereby. Wherefore at parting he gave him great Caution in the Management of that Affair, and allow'd him [g] also for a Guard 500 *Welchmen* under the Command of Sr. *John Maltravers* senior, and Sr. *William Sturry*. Sr. *John Maltravers* was indeed a Baron of the Realm, and the same Person we mention'd to have been concerned, together with Sr. *Thomas Gournay* in the barbarous Murther of King *Edward* the Second; wherefore also, as we shew'd, he fled upon that Act, and was three Years after condemned in Parliament to be put to Death wherever he should be found, with the price of 500 Marks for his Head, or a 1000 for any one, that should bring him in alive. For fifteen Years after he had lived in great Penitence, and very privately in and about *Flanders*, and either finding some hopes from the Kings Mercy, or being not so guilty as he was represented, or in Confidence of having merited something by his late Services (for he had lost [h] all his Goods, and suffer'd much hardship upon the Kings Account in *Flanders*) he came now voluntarily

[g] *Holinshead Engl. Chron. p.*926.

[h] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*101. & 102.

to

to the King and rendred himſelf into his Hands: Whereupon, eſpecially ſince he had never undergone a legal Trial, he was reſpited now, and by the King ſet over theſe *Welchmen*, and ſix years after fully pardoned: But to return. AN. DOM. 1345. An. Regni *Angliæ* XIX. *Franciæ* VI.

This Guard, ſome [i] ſay, that *Jacob van Arteveld* deſired himſelf, for the better ſecurity of his Perſon; becauſe he ſaid, that one *Gerard Dennis*, who was Dean of the Weavers, and a very ſeditious fellow, did maliciouſly plot his Ruine: And no doubt, but by this time he had Enemies enow, as we ſhall quickly find.

V. Now the [k] Burgeſſes of *Gaunt*, that came from *Scluſe*, had declared to the People, with no great Advantage, how *Jacob van Arteveld* went about to depoſe and exclude their Natural Lord, and his Heirs from their true Right and Title, and to introduce an Alien to rule over them; at which News the Commons began generally to murmure againſt him (for that Deſign of his did no way ſuit with their Deſires) and they ſaid, "That althô there had paſt ſome unkindneſs between the Earl and them; yet by "the Grace of God, no ſuch Diſloyalty ſhould ever be found in them, as to diſinhe-"rit and exclude their own Natural Lord, and his Iſſue, to endow a Stranger with his "Right. We may well think, that *Gerard Dennis*, and others, who either favour'd the Earl, or maligned *Jacob van Arteveld*, did not overſlip this opportunity; but uſed all their Art and Diligence to embroile matters further. They lay'd whatever had happen'd amiſs, during his Government, all to his Fault, but chiefly ſcattered about the Town ſuch Reports, as theſe; "that *Jacob van Arteveld* had gather'd in the whole "Revenues of *Flanders* for ſeven Years together, of all which he had never yet given "any account, but had ſpent it upon himſelf in Houſekeeping, and otherwiſe, as he "pleaſed. And that having ſecretly Convey'd vaſt Sums of Money into *England*, he "intended, when he had quite Ruin'd his Country, to make his Retreat thither, and "laugh at them. Theſe and the like malicious and falſe Reports, ſet the Minds of the *Gantois* on Fire. But while theſe ſeeds of Diſpleaſure were thus by his Enemies ſowing againſt him in *Gaunt*, this Popular Man, had wholly brought over the Men of *Bruges* and *Ipres*, to his Opinion: Whereby he became ſo blinded with Confidence, that without half his Guard of *Welchmen*, he came one Morning before Dinner to *Gaunt*, with his uſual unconcernedneſs and ſecurity. The Commons had warning of his coming beforehand, and ſo he found ſome Numbers of them met in the Streets, where he was to paſs; not as they uſed to do, to bid him Welcome, but to attend his Downfall. When they ſaw him, inſtead of making their uſual Honours, they turned aſide and began to run three Heads under one Hood, and to murmure and whiſper among themſelves ſaying one to another, "See, yonder comes our great Maſter, who will diſ-"poſe of all *Flanders* at his Pleaſure: But this is no longer to be endured. *Jacob* could not but obſerve a Wonderfull Alteration, as he rode thrô the Streets; but when he ſaw thoſe, whom he knew to be his Friends, to ſhake their Heads, and look heavily, and then turning their Backs to go into their Houſes ſilently; he began to diſtruſt, that there was no good meant unto him. Wherefore being come to his Houſe, he order'd to ſhut up his Doors, Gates, and Windows; which was ſcarce done, but the ſtreet was full of Men, who conſiſted chiefly of the ſmaller Trades, and the more Raſcally ſort of People: Such being always the firſt for any Miſchief or Sedition. Theſe preſently Aſſaulted *Jacob's* Houſe with all their Fury; and had made quick work, but that the *Welchmen* gave them ſome diverſion; for they barricado'd all the Avenues of the Houſe, and ſhot among the mixt Multitude, and threw down upon them huge Weights of Maſſy Stone and Timber; wherewith they ſlew and [l] hurt many. But when *Jacob* ſaw, he could not poſſibly hold out long, and that by this time near upon three parts of the whole Town was gather'd againſt him, he thought once more to try, what his tongue, that never yet had failed him, could do in this exigence. So a Parly being demanded and obtain'd, he came bare-headed to an high-Window, and ſaid with great Modeſty, "Ah! Ye good People, how comes it to paſs, that you are thus "ſtrangely ſtirr'd up againſt me? Wherein have I ever diſpleas'd You? Do but de-"clare it unto me, and I will endeavour to correct mine Errour, thô with the utmoſt "hazard of my Life, which I never yet accounted Dear, in reſpect of your Advan-"tage. As he was going on, thoſe that heard him, anſwer'd, as it were with one voice, "We will have an Account given us of the vaſt Treaſures of *Flanders*, which you "have ſquander'd away and diſpos'd of at your pleaſure, without the leaſt title of reaſon. "*Jacob* anſwer'd, Certainly, my Friends, of the treaſure of *Flanders*, I never convert-"ed any thing to my own private uſe; and if it will pleaſe you to retire peaceably to "your ſeveral homes, and come again to morrow in the Morning, I ſhall give you ſo "good and juſt an account of what has been in my hands, that will make you all

[i] *Holinſhead ibid. p.* 926.
[k] *Froiſ. c.* 115.
[l] *Giovan. Villani p.* 855.

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"well satisfied of my truth in your Service. Then they all cry'd out with more fury, "Nay, nay, we will have an account made immediately; you must not think to "escape us so. For we are very sure, you have convey'd away great Riches into *Eng-*"*land*, without acquainting us therewith: And therefore You shall die. When *Ja-*"*cob* heard that Word, he clasp'd his hands together woefully, and said, all weeping, "Sirs, such as I am, You your selves have made me, and You have all sworn to me "before now, that You would protect me against all Persons whatsoever; and yet now "You talk of slaying me without Reason. You may do it, if You are so resolved, "for I am but one Man among You all: But for Gods Sake, and your own souls sake, "be better advised, and remember the time past, and consider the great Favours and "Courtesies, that I have shewn to You and yours. Methinks you intend to give me "but a bad Reward for all the Goodness, that I have used toward You, and your "Town hitherto: You know very well, that Merchandise was almost Ruin'd through-"out this whole Country, till I prov'd the occasion of reviving it again; and that I "have govern'd You in great Peace and Prosperity; for during my Government a-"mong You, You have had all things at your desire, as Corn, Riches, and all sorts "of Merchandise. Then they all cry'd with one voice, "Come down and be hang'd, "and don't Preach to Us at such a Distance, but give Us an account of the vast Trea-"sure of *Flanders*, which You have had so long in your hands: For it is not the part "of a just Officer to receive the Goods of his Lord, or of his Country, without ma-"king account. When *Jacob* saw that nothing would prevail with them, he drew in his Head, and shut the Window, thinking, if he might, to steal out on the back-side, and to escape away on his Horse, or however, to get into the Church adjoyning, there to take Sanctuary, till this Fury of the Rabble should be abated. But by this time, his House was so broken up, that near upon four Hundred Persons were enter'd in, one of whom, named *Thomas Dennis*, gave him his Deaths wound; thô others say, that a certain Cobler, whose Father *Jacob van Arteveld* had formerly caused to be slain, followed him so close, as he was fleeing into a Stable, where his Horses stood, that overtaking him, he clove his head in sunder with an Ax; so that he fell down stark dead upon the ground.

Thus *Jacob van Arteveld*, who by his Popular Air, his Policy, and Wisdom, had arrived to the most absolute Government of all *Flanders*, was by a sudden turn of Fortune miserably slain on a [m] *Sunday* in the afternoon, being the * 17 of *July*. There accompanied him in his Death ten other Principal Persons of his Council (among whom were a Brother and a Nephew of his) besides, as many of the *Welchmen*, as made Resistance, to the Number of 70 in all; the Rest being spared in respect to the King their Master, got away safe unto him again, as he lay at *Scluse*, waiting for other kind of News, than what these Men brought him.

[m] *Holinshead p.* 927.
* B. Dom. Lit. *Labbè ad hunc an.*

VI. As [n] for *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, who was then at *Dendermonde*, a City of that part of *Flanders*, which belong'd to the Empire, he was very well pleas'd, when he heard of the Death of this his old Enemy: And yet for all that, he durst not put any entire Confidence in the *Flemings*, nor venture as yet to go to *Gaunt*. But when King *Edward* heard of it, he was infinitely displeas'd at the loss of so serviceable a Friend, and immediately departed from *Scluse*, and took the Sea again, grievously threatning the *Gauntois*, and the whole Country of *Flanders*, and vowing that his Death should be dearly Revenged: But for that time he returned into *England*. The People of *Flanders* expected no less; for now, when the Murther was known abroad among all the good Towns of that Country, they seriously began to consider, how ill King *Edward* would in all likelyhood resent this Matter; wherefore in time they determin'd to go and excuse themselves before him; especially the Burgesses of *Bruges*, *Ipres*, *Cassel*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, *Antwerp*, and *Franker*: And it was high time for them so to do, for the Parliament of *England* had [o] already made their humble address to the King to break the Peace with *Flanders*. Presently therefore they sent after the King into *England*, to request his safe Conduct, that they might come according to their Duty, to make their excuse: And this the King at last yielded to, his first fit of Passion being blown over. So that about *Michaelmas* certain Burgesses of the best Quality came from all the Towns of *Flanders*, except *Gaunt* only; for as yet the King would not permit any of them to see his Face: The Rest were introduced before the King, then at *Westminster*; where they humbly excused themselves of being any way accessory to the Death of *Jacob van Arteveld*, and sware solemnly, "that they knew nothing of the Matter, till it was done; and that if they had, he "was the Man, whom to the best of their Powers they would have defended; and

[n] *Froiss. c.* 115.

[o] *Sr.* Winston Churchill's *Divi Britan. p.* 24.

"that

"that they were extreamly concerned for his Death; for he had governed their Coun- AN. DOM.
"try very Wisely, and to their great Advantage. They added further, that the *Gaun-* 1345.
"*tois* themselves, who had done this barbarous Act, should make satisfaction therefore: AN. REGNI
"And they told the King and his Council, that althô this Man was Dead, yet the King *Angliæ*
"of *England* was not a jot fallen in the Love and Fidelity of the Good People of *Flan-* XIX.
"*ders*; as he should find in all things, except what pertained to the Inheritance of *Franciæ*
"*Flanders*, which they said, the *Flemings* were resolved by no means to presume to VI.
"give away from the Right Heirs. They said also to the King, "Sir, You have a
"Fair and Noble Progeny, both Sons and Daughters, and as for the Prince of *Wales*,
"your Eldest Son, he cannot choose but be a great Prince, without the accession of
"*Flanders*. But then Sir, You have a Young Daughter, and We have a Young Lord,
"the Earl's Son, who is the Heir Apparent of *Flanders*, and he is now in our Cu-
"stody. So that if it please You to make a Match between a Daughter of Yours,
"and this Lord, the Earldom of *Flanders* will be for ever after in the hands of your
"Posterity. From these words of theirs we are to observe a Mistake of [p] *Mezeray's*, [p] *Mez. p. 24.*
who tells us, how they offer'd King *Edward* a Daughter of their Earls to be Married
to his Son the Prince of *Wales*; when as we can find no Daughter that *Lewis* had, nor
could such a Marriage have signifi'd any thing to the Prince of *England*, when there
was a Son also living, who was to inherit *Flanders*; and besides, before this Offer,
a greater Match had been [q] this Year proposed between the Prince of *Wales*, and a [q] *Sandford p.*
Daughter of *Alphonso* the *Brave*, King of *Portugal*. The *Flemings* also added at the *184. ex Pat. 19. Ed. 3. p. 3. m. 11.*
same time, how [r] they doubted not to perswade the Earl, their Lord, to do Homage
unto the King of *England*, till when they promised not to receive him. These and [r] *Holinshead p.*
the like Protestations somewhat pacified the Kings displeasure; so that soon after the *927.*
League between *England* and *Flanders* was renewed, and the Death of *Jacob van Ar-*
teveld was quite forgotten: Thô he left a Young Son *Philip* behind him, who af-
ter King *Edwards* Death, became as Great in *Flanders*, as ever his Father had been,
and by involving those People in new Combustions occasion'd a severe Revenge of his
Fathers Blood, by the Lives of many thousands of the *Flemings*: As may be seen in the
Stories of *Flanders*, and particularly in the second Volume of *Froisards* History.

However the Earl of *Flanders* would by no means consent to make his Homage to
the King of *England*; but remain'd still firm to the *French* Interest and Title; where-
by his Troubles continued, till the next Year he lost his Life, fighting against the *English*,
in the Famous Battle of *Cressy*; to which we are now hasting.

VII. About this time [s] Prince *William*, the Young Earl of *Hainalt*, *Holland*, *Zea-* [s] *Froiss. c. 116. vid. Engl. Atl. 4 Vol. p. 155.*
land, and *Friseland*, King *Edwards* Brother in Law, having also met with some Re-
bellion among his Subjects both of *Holland* and *Friseland*, resolved to reduce them
both to a sense of their Duty; and first he went and laid Siege to *Utrecht* in *Holland*,
where one *Robert van Arckell* was Governour against him; after a long Siege he wan
the Place, and took his Pleasure of his Enemies; making [t] five Hundred of the [t] *Eng. Atl. ibid.*
Principal Citizens come forth bare headed, and bare footed, and beg his Pardon;
And shortly after in the Moneth of * *September*, he went from *Dort* in *Holland* with a * *Giov. Villani*
great Fleet of Valiant Souldiers, gather'd from *Hainalt*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *p. 862. l. 12. c. 53.*
Guelderland, and *Juliers*, to take Revenge of his Rebells of *Friseland*: For he claim-
ed to be Lord thereof, and it was indeed his by Right; if the *Frisons* had not been
of Barbarous and Unreasonable Principles. But here at last it was his ill Fortune to
be met by the *Frisons* in a narrow passage, near *Staveren*, where being unknown he
was presently slain; before any of his Friends could come up to his Assistance. He
was a Prince of high Merit, and a most Famous Souldier, whereof for the short time
he lived, [u] he gave many good Testimonies in his Wars against the *Saracens* and *Moors* [u] *Time's store-*
in the Kingdom of *Granada*, and against the *French* in the behalf of his Brother in Law, *house p. 721.*
the King of *England*; also in his Victories in *Lithuania*, and *Livonia*, and against the
Russian Infidels; where he loaded himself with Honour, and his Men with spoil and
booty: Lastly in his Conquest of *Utrecht* and his frequent Victories over the *Frisons*;
till this unhappy encounter, wherein he lost his Life. He died without Issue, where-
upon he was succeeded by his Eldest Sister, *Margaret* the Empress, whose Son *William*
of *Bavaria*, was Earl after her Decease: Which *William* Married the Lady *Mathil-*
da, Daughter to *Henry Plantagenet*, now Earl, but then Duke of *Lancaster*, by
whom yet he had no Issue. There was slain at the same time with this Young Valo-
rous Earl of *Hainalt*, his Sisters Son, *William* * Marques of *Juliers*, and Earl of *Cam-* * *Giov. Villani*
bridge, a Lord of great Power and Valour, and while he lived, a sure Friend both to *p. 862. &c.*
him and King *Edward*. His Uncle, Sr. *John* of *Hainalt*, Lord of *Beaumont*, was

[y] not

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[y] not in *Friſeland* at the time of this woefull chance, but ſoon after coming thither, when he was told of the Death of his Nephew, he rag'd like a Man diſtracted, and would immediately have taken the Field againſt the *Friſons*: But he was hinder'd by his ſervants, and eſpecially Sr. *Robert Gluves*, who was his Armour-bearer, and by a Dutifull Violence forced him into his Ship againſt his Will. So he return'd into *Holland* with a ſmall Company, and came to St. *Geertruydenberg*, where he found the Young Lady his Niece, late Wife to the ſaid Earl, named *Joan*, the Duke of *Brabant's* Eldeſt Daughter; who being informed of this heavy loſs, went and lived diſconſolate in the Land of *Binche*, about three Leagues *Eaſtward* of *Mons*, [z] which had been aſſign'd her for her Dowry. The Government of *Hainalt* was menag'd by the Lord *John*, till the Empreſs *Margaret*, his Niece, came thither to take Poſſeſſion in her own Perſon.

[y] *Froiſ. c.* 116.

[z] *Vid. c.* 10. §. 6. *p.* 114.

VIII. After this News was ſpread abroad in *France*, King *Philip*, whom it became to be vigilant about his own Advantage, began to think, how he might bring over the Lord *John* of *Hainalt* to his Side, now the Earl was dead, with whom, ſince his Invaſion of his Lands, he could never have hopes of Reconciliation: But the Lord *John's* Reſentments (he knew) were not ſo deep; wherefore he ſpake to *Guy* Earl of *Blois* (who had married the Lord *John's* Daughter and had by her three Sons, *Lewis*, *John* and *Guy*, beſides the Lord *Charles*, whom he had by a former Venter) to uſe his Intereſt with him, to bring him over to the *French* Side, and he himſelf alſo by his Royal Letters aſſured unto him greater Revenues in *France* than he had in *England*, which he promiſed to aſſign unto him in Lands, where he ſhould think beſt himſelf. But to all theſe Arguments the Noble Lord was wholly Deaf; for he conſider'd that he had ſpent all the flower of his Youth in the King of *Englands* Service, and ever found great Favour and Love from him; wherefore now he had no mind to leave him. When the Earl of *Blois* ſaw there was no fixing on him this way, he reſolved to try another, and firſt to win the Lord of *Saginelles*, his Chief Companion and Counſellour, and ſo by his means to work further upon the Lord of *Beaumont*. This Man being ſoon gain'd, as one that had no ſuch Obligation to *England*, it was agreed between him and the Earl of *Blois*, to make the Lord *John* believe, that King *Edward* would no longer pay him his uſual Penſion, but had abſolutely refus'd upon Demand, to pay it to his Uſe as he had been wont. This Device took, for the Lord *John* without enquiring into the Bottom of it, was ſo diſpleas'd at this ſuppoſed Unkindneſs, that he forthwith renounced his Service and Good-will, which hitherto he had born to King *Edward*. The *French* King hearing hereof, ſent immediatly ſufficient Deputies to him, and choſe him of his Council, and retained him in his Service for War at certain Wages, aſſigning him moreover in *France*, as much Land or more than he had in *England*.

But to requite the Loſs of theſe four Friends of King *Edward's*, Earl *William*, his Uncle *John*, the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, and *Jacob van Arteveld*, about [a] this very time came over to his Side the Couragious and Politick Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt*, Lord of St. *Saviour le Vicount*, and Brother to *John* Earl of *Harcourt*. He had been once as Dear to King *Philip* of *France*, as any Lord of his whole Realm; but on [b] Occaſion of a Quarrel between his Brother and Sr. *Robert Bertram* Marſhal of *France* (which was hugely fomented by Partakers on both Sides) he ſo greatly diſpleaſed King *Philip*, that if he could have got him into his Power, 'twas concluded he had found no better uſage than the Lord *Clyſſon* had done before. But he having timely Notice from his Friends, withdrew into *Brabant* to the Duke his Couſin, by whom, when all his Lands were ſeiſed on by King *Philip*, he was adviſed to go into *England* and proffer his Service to the King there. He did ſo and was welcome to the King, who received him with large Demonſtrations of Good-will, and made much uſe of him in his following Wars: And this Diſpleaſure of his coſt the Realm of *France* dearly, eſpecially the Dukedom of *Normandy*; for there the ſad Effects thereof were ſeen an hundred years after.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 114.

[b] *Fabian p.* 271.

[c] *c.* 22. §. 16. *p.* 312.

IX. In the Cloſe of the foregoing Year it may be remembred, [c] how we ſpake of the Deliverance of *John* Earl of *Montford*, who claim'd the Dukedom of *Bretagne*, from Priſon: And that by Vertue of the Truce King *Philip* was obliged in a manner to give him his Liberty, but it was done with this Proviſo; that he [d] ſhould not go into *Bretagne*, nor make the leaſt offer to intermeddle with the Affairs of that Country. Notwithſtanding this Tye of his Promiſe, Earl *Montford* took the firſt Opportunity to make his Eſcape into *England*, as he did about [e] *Eaſter*, there to require Aid from King *Edward* to recover his Right. And accordingly we find, that this Summer, about the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*, King *Edward* ſent over with him a conſiderable Power under the Com-

[d] *Fabian p.* 270.

[e] *Knighton p.* 2585.

Command of *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*. With whom [f] were *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *Hugh* Lord *Spencer*, *Richard* Lord *Talbot* and Dr. *William Killesby*, each of them retaining many Men of Arms and Archers. With these Forces Earl *Montford* [g] wan and sack'd *Dinant*, and laid Siege to *Quimperlay*; but being suddenly taken with a Calenture or burning Feaver, he died about the end of *September* at *Quimpercorentin*, leaving the Management of his Pretensions to the Conduct of his Virago-Lady, and his young Son *John* who many years after, having slain *Charles* of *Blois* in Battle, obtained together with the Dukedom the honourable Sirname of *Valiant*. One [h] reports, that this Earl died distracted, many Devils appearing at his Departure; and that at the time of his Death such a multitude of Ravens settled upon the House wherein he lay, that 'twas thought the whole Kingdom of *France* could not have yielded such a Number. As for his being distracted, I shall not stand to question that, since in a Burning Feaver many a Good Man may suffer a *Delirium*; and God forbid that we should always judge hardly thereupon: But for this horrid Apparition it seems to me not so credible; nor could I ever find any great Evil of this Earl, except that now he broke his Word with King *Philip*, who yet was his Enemy, and extorted it unreasonably and violently from him: Nor if I had known him to have been a Notorious Sinner, durst I ever give the more faith to this Story. I reverence the Judgments of God, and think it not fit for Sinners as we are, to pry too sawcily into his Counsels concerning our Brethren, perhaps no worse than our selves. But this I well know, that either Superstitious or Prejudiced Persons may enhance common Accidents into Prodigies; or invent what they please against those, for whom they have no Charity. After his Death however the greater Part of *Bretagne* was for some time in the hands of *Charles* of *Blois*, for now [i] most of the *English* Souldiers return'd into *Gascogne* to serve the Earl of *Darby*: Except Sr. *Thomas Dagworth*, and those, who before were sent to the Assistance of the Countess of *Montford*.

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[f] *Stow p.* 239.
[g] *Mezeray p.* 23.
[h] *Gaguin l.* 8. *p.* 140.
[i] *Fabian p.* 219.

But however the *English* brake not up their Army thus till Winter, for the Earl of *Northampton* hearing, that the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, presuming on the Death of *John* of *Montford*, was come to *Morlaix* with a great Power, intending to overrun the Country, went forward with all his Forces to meet him. In the Champaign Ground near [k] *Morlaix*, the two Armies of the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, joyned Battle together with Equal Courage and Bravery. And at this time it is said, that the two Generals, both the *French* Lord and the *English* Earl met together by consent in single Combat, where they fought so long at Handy-stroaks in the Field, that it would have pos'd an equal Judge to have determin'd who had the better: For three times that day being both wearied, they withdrew to take Breath, and as often both return'd to renew the Combat, which was fought with Spear and Shield, Sword and Target, after the manner of that Age. Only at last the most Noble and Valiant Lord *Charles* seeing his Men begin to fly, was obliged also to set Spurs to his Horse and forsake the Field, leaving the Victory to the *English*, who yet paid dearly for it, having lost almost as many in the Fight as the Enemy. But when the Chace began, then the Lord *Charles* his Men were beaten down on every side; and the Success of this Day grew more important, in that thereby the Earl of *Northampton* had no more Enemy to obstruct his Progress at that time; wherefore presently [l] he went and lay before a strong Fortress of *Bretagne*, called *la Roche D' Arien*, about ten *French* Miles Northward of *Morlaix*, which he took by Assault; thô after his Departure it was retaken by the other Party, till the Lord *Thomas Dagworth* took it again from them; as two years hence we shall shew.

[k] *Lel. Collect. 1 Vol. p.* 805. *& Stow p.* 239. *&c.*
[l] *Leland. ibid. & Dudg. 1 Vol. p.* 185. *& Fabian p.* 220. *& p.* 276

When the Earl of *Northampton* and the other Lords of *England* with him, had thus settled Affairs for the present in *Bretagne*, and had disposed of what Places they had won to the Custody of good Captains, with sufficient Garrisons; Winter being now well enter'd, they all came over into *England* to the King: And the Truce, which the Deceased Earl had broken, was again punctually observed.

XI. This Year the *Scots* by the Instigation of the *French* King, enter'd *England* by *Westmorland*, and passing over the River *Ulles*, burnt *Penreth* and [m] *Carleton*, and many other little Towns and Villages thereabouts: But *John Kirkeby* Bishop of *Caerlile*, with the Lord *Thomas Lucy* of *Cockermouth*, and Sr. *Robert Ogle*, having collected a small Body of Choice Men, went about their Host surrounding them in the Night, and so terrified them with perpetual Alarms, and Noises of Trumpets, Clarions and Horns; that the *Scots* could neither take Rest for Fear, nor send out their Foragers to seek Provision. And now the Lords *Piercy* and *Nevil* on the other Part, and the Men of

[m] Carletonum *pro* Carleolum, *apud Walsingh. hist. p.* 156. *Nam* Carleolum *non solum erat satis validum, sed etiam ab hoc latere nimis distans. Quod qui* Walsingh. *secuti sunt, parùm prospiciebant: Neq; ulla de* Carleolo *combusto per hos dies apud antiquos mentio, &c.*

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of *Lancaſhire* on a Third, had appointed, together with the Biſhop and thoſe of *Caerlile* to fall upon the *Scots* all together, who would then be in a manner quite enclоſed by the *Engliſh*: When Sr. *Alexander Straghan*, being compelled of Neceſſity to go on Foraging for the Army, and going forth for that purpoſe with ſome of the moſt Select Troops of all the *Scottiſh* Hoſt, was luckily encountred by the Biſhop of [n] *Carlile*, the Lord *Lucy*, and Sr. *Robert Ogle*; which latter happening upon Sr. *Alexander* himſelf, fiercely ſpurred up his Horſe againſt him, and ran him quite thrô the Body with his Spear, himſelf alſo at the ſame time receiving thrô his Shield a Wound on the Left ſide, but not Mortal. In this Rencounter the Martial Biſhop alſo being Caſt from his Horſe, was in danger of being made a Priſoner; but having Valiantly recover'd his Saddle, he brought ſuch Courage to his Men, that moſt of the *Scots* of that *Brigade*, were either ſlain, or taken. Whereupon the Reſt, being alſo informed of the two other Bodies of *Engliſh*, that were coming upon them (beſides this loſs) wanting both Victuals and Reſt for their Bodies, fled away, having indeed purchas'd the Name of Truce-breakers, but gain'd little Praiſe for their Valour. One [o] ſays, that for want of Victuals they were compell'd to fight, upon Diſadvantage; where the Biſhop of *Caerlile* gave them a memorable Overthrow: But I can find no ſuch matter, unleſs the loſs under Sr. *Alexander Straghan*, may be ſo accounted. For what became of Sr. *William Douglas*? Had he been entirely beaten, he could never have eſcaped either being ſlain or taken; and he was too eminent not to be taken Notice of, both by *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Writers, had either of thoſe things happen'd unto him: And we find him alive after this; wherefore we rather choſe to relate, as we have done.

[n] *Walſingh hiſt. p* 156. *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 262. *& Stow p.*241.

[o] *Godw. Catal. Bps p.* 678.

This loſs however diſpos'd King *David* of *Scotland* to admit of a Truce, which [p] preſently enſued hereupon; and the Lord *Thomas Lucy*, with the Biſhop aforeſaid, and others, were by King *Edward* joyned in Commiſſion to ſee the ſame duly obſerved: The ſaid Lord *Lucy*, being likewiſe conſtituted Sheriff of *Cumberland*, and Governour of the Caſtle at *Caerlile*.

[p] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*565. *ex Rot. Scoc.* 19. *Ed.*3. *m.*4. *&c.*

XII. And now we ſhall cloſe this Year after our uſual Method, when we have remembred the Names of ſome Grandees, that departed this Life about this time: The firſt was the Lord [q] *Adam Welles*, a Valiant and Noble Gentleman, who dying at the Age of one and fourty, left behind him *John* his Son and Heir, then but Eleven Years of Age; who afterwards behav'd himſelf with Great Honour in the *French* Wars.

[q] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 11.

On the [r] 24 of *April* there departed this Life at *Aukland*, the Renowned Dr. *Richard Aungervile* (commonly called of *Bury*) Biſhop of *Durham*; of whoſe Wiſdom, and other Vertues we have more than once ſpoken in theſe Papers: He died in the 58 Year of his Age, and lies buried in the South angle of his own Church. We have already ſeen, how great part of this Mans Life was taken up in publique Employments, for the Service of his Royal Pupil, King *Edward*: But this is memorable of him; that what ſpare time he found from theſe Weighty Affairs, he either ſpent in [s] Prayer, or Conference with his Chaplains, or elſe in ſtudy, with which he was extreamly delighted. He wrote many things, whereof ſome yet remain, and in one of them entitled Φιλόβιβλος, which *Conradus* [t] *Geſner* commends highly, he ſaith of himſelf, "* that he was powerfully hurried away with a certain Raviſhing Love of Books. And indeed his ſtudy was ſo well furniſhed; that it was thought he had more Books, than all the Biſhops in *England* beſide. He was alſo wonderfully taken with the Converſation and Acquaintance of Learned Men; and many Letters paſſed between him and *Francis Petrarch*, and others, Famous for Learning in that Age. He had ſtill in his Houſe many Chaplains, all Notable Scholars, the Chief whereof were *Thomas Bradwardin*, King *Edwards* Confeſſor, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, Dr. *Walter Burly*, Tutor to the Prince of *Wales*, Dr. *John Mauduit*, Dr. *Robert Holcot*, Dr. *Richard Killington*, Dr. *Richard Wentworth*, who in time became Biſhop of *London*, and Dr. *Walter Seagrave*, whom Biſhop *Godwin* calls Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, thô himſelf neither in that Title, nor in any other, takes notice of any ſuch Man. It was this Biſhop of *Durhams* Cuſtom in Dinner and Supper time, to hear ſome one or two Paragraphs out of ſome Choice Book read to him, the Matter whereof he would afterwards diſcourſe with his Chaplains, as leiſure from other buſineſs would permit. He was of a very Charitable

[r] *Godw. Catal. Bps p.* 662.

[s] *Godw. Catal. Bps p.*661.

[t] *Conr. Geſner. in Biblioth. Univerſ. p.* 582.

* *Extatico quodam librorum amore potenter ſe abreptum. vid.* Godwin *ibid.*

and

and Bountifull Diſpoſition, [u] giving a Weekly allowance of Eight Quarters of Wheat, made up into Bread, for the Relief of the Poor; beſides the Offals and Fragments from his Table. He would conſtantly, when he rode between *Durham* and *Newcaſtle*, give away Eight Pounds Sterling in Almes, in his riding from *Durham* to *Stockton* Five Pounds, from *Durham* to *Aukland* Five Markes, from *Durham* to *Middleham* Five Pounds, and ſo proportionably in other journeys. Many other Monuments of his Charity, Wiſdom, Piety, and Learning, he left behind him, which have endear'd his Name to all Poſterity. He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Thomas Hatfield*, the King's Secretary; of whoſe Election this [x] Story is Reported: That King *Edward* being by all means deſirous to prefer him to the Biſhoprick, and perhaps, doubting the Convent would not chooſe him, was content, rather then miſs of his Purpoſe, even againſt his own late Reſolution, to Requeſt of the Pope, that he would give it him; thereby opening a new Paſſage for him to Reenter into Poſſeſſion of his late Cancell'd Uſurpation. The Pope therefore glad of this Opportunity, without any Regard had to the Merit of the Man, immediately comply'd with the King's Deſire. And when ſome Cardinals made Exceptions, ſaying, that he was not only a meer Lay-man, but one of Light Carriage, and no way Worthy of that Sacred Dignity: 'Tis true, ſaid the Pope; but "if now the King of *England* had Requeſted me in behalf of an Aſs, he ſhould "have ſucceeded. And yet [y] this Man built *Durham* College in *Oxford*, and purchaſed certain Lands unto the ſame, for the Maintenance of ſuch *Monks* of *Durham*, as ſhould be ſent thither to ſtudy: Which College having many Years after received a new Foundation from Sr. *Thomas Pope* of *Tyttenhanger* in *Hertfordſhire* Knight, was by him called, as it is to this Day, *Trinity-College*. This *Thomas Hatfield*, built alſo *Durham* Palace in *London*, for the Reception of himſelf, and Succeſſours, at their Repair thither: And was a Principal Benefactour, if not the Founder of the *Friery* at *Northallerton* in *Yorkſhire*; and having ſat in the See 36 Year; died a Good Old Man in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXXXVI.

In this Year on the Eighteenth of *July*, died the Famous (or rather infamous) *Adam Orleton*, of whom We have ſpoken, where We Related the Trayterous and Horrid Murther, committed upon the Sacred Perſon of King *Edward* the Second. We there ſhew'd, how far he was concerned in that Heinous Act; but by his ſubtil Evaſions, he ſo well Handled the Matter, that he not only eſcaped Temporal Puniſhment, but within two Moneths after, by Means of his Patroneſs the Queen Mother, was Prefer'd to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*: Six Years after (thô now King *Edward* could not endure him) at the [z] Requeſt of the *French* King, he was Tranſlated by the Pope to *Wincheſter*: Whereat King *Edward* was ſo diſpleas'd, that he ſeiſed his Temporalities for a while. And We find him the Year following [a] obliged to make uſe of all his Cunning and Sophiſtry, [b] to Anſwer an Appellation, that then came out againſt him, thô not in the King's Name, and proved him Guilty of Felony, *&c.* Conſiſting of theſe Articles, 1. "That he Commanded and cauſed moſt Sacrilegiouſly, Violent Hands "to be laid on the King's Chancellour, *Robert Baldock* Biſhop of *Norwich*, &c. *I-* "*tem*, that in the City of *Oxford*, in the Moneth of *November*, he falſly and ma- "liciouſly Preached and Taught, and more than once Aſſerted; that the Lord *Ed-* "*ward* of Famous Memory was a Tyrant, *&c.* *Item*, that by his falſe and ſubtil "Inſinuations and Aſſertions, he ſtruck ſuch a fear into the Lady, the Queen Mo- "ther, then at *Wallingford*, that ſhe durſt not go to her Husband, the foreſaid "King; by occaſion whereof, the uſe of Matrimony, both as to the Procreation "of Children, and as to the Faith and Sacrament thereof, was render'd ineffe- "ctual. All which, with more, he Anſwer'd for that time very plauſibly, ſuppreſſing the moſt Dangerous Articles, and eluding and evading the Reſt, and at laſt concludes his appellant guilty of Perjury, in offering to ſwear to the Truth of what he falſly laid to his Charge. By theſe Means, and by the Aid of the Clergy, who [c] once before took him with their Paſtoral Croſiers in their Hands from the King's Tribunal, when he was to be try'd for Treaſon, he eſcaped Puniſhment in this World (except that for [d] many Years before his Death he was ſtricken ſtark blind) thô We can hardly think, that without an unfeigned and thorough Repentance, of which this his Apology gives Us little hope, he could avoid thoſe Torments, which are prepared in the other World for Murderers and Traytors. Nay, [e] ſome ſay, that Horrour of Mind at his Death gave him as great Torture, as if the

[u] *Godw. Catal. Bps p. 662. & Stows Survey of London p. 75.*
[x] *Walſing. Hypod. p. 118.*
[y] *Godw. Catal. Bps p. 663.*
[z] *Godw. Catal. Bps p. 233.*
[a] An°. 1334.
[b] *Vid. Apologiam* Adæ Orleton, *&c. apud Hiſtor. Angl. Scriptor. Antiq. p. 2763. Edit.* London *An°.* 1652.
[c] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p. 874. ad an.* 1324.
[d] *Walſing. hiſt. p. 155. n. 50. & Godw. Catal. Bps p. 233.*
[e] Sr. Winſton Churchill's *Divi Britan. p. 239.*

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the burning-Iron, which fear'd his Conſcience, had been thruſt into his Bowels. Which expreſſion is no doubt alluſive to the manner, whereby King *Edward* the Seconds Death was effected thrô his Means and Contrivance. However here now we fix him, as an Example to deter Men of ſuch Principles, from the Conſideration of the Evil Memory they are like to leave behind them.

He was ſucceeded by Dr. *William Edingdon*, who was very Dear to King *Edward*, and (the Knights of the Garter being created in his time) became the firſt Prelate of that moſt Noble Order.

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF King Edward III^d.

BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAPTER the First.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Philip *ſends his Son* John *Duke of* Normandy, *with a mighty Army againſt the Earl of* Darby, *now* (*ſince his Father's Death*) *called Earl of* Lancaſter. II. *Duke* John *having retaken* Miramont *and* Ville-Franche *in* Agenois, *goes and ſits down before* Angouleſme. III. *The Earl of* Lancaſter (*hearing the Enemy had left* Ville-Franche *void*) *ſends thither a new Garriſon; as alſo a Reinforcement to the ſtrong Caſtle of* Aiguillon. IV. *The Seneſchal of* Beaucaire *with a Detachment from the* French *Hoſt wins* Ancenis, *and returns with a great Booty to the Camp.* V. *Sr.* John Norwich *the* Engliſh *Captain of* Angouleſme, *by a neat Device eſcapes away thrô the* French *Army in the Day-time with Bag and Baggage, and goes to* Aiguillon: *After whoſe Departure the Duke takes the City to Mercy; as alſo the Fortreſs of* Damaſan *by Force, and* Tonneins *by Compoſition.* VI. *The Duke of* Normandy *takes* Port St. Mary *by Force, and goes before the ſtrong Caſtle of* Aiguillon. VII. *The Particulars of the Famous Siege of* Aiguillon, *counted the moſt Notable of that Age.* VIII. *The* French *Kings Seneſchal of* Guienne *beaten, and taken Priſoner by a Detachment from the Earl of* Lancaſter. *Which Earl hovering near the Duke, cuts him ſhort.*

I. ALL this while we may wonder, that between two ſuch Potent Monarchs, as *Philip* of *France* and *Edward* of *England*, althô no leſs than a Kingdom was the Prize, there ſeem'd rather a certain Tendency and Diſpoſition to War, than any deadly and irreconcileable Rupture. But this we ſhould attribute to the Goodneſs of God, who is always ſlow, when he intends to ſtrike home; and partly alſo, as well to the pious Aſſiſtance of the Pope, King *Robert* of *Sicily*, the Lady *Jane* of *Valois*, and other Peace-makers; as in a manner to the Humanity of theſe Princes themſelves, and alſo to the weight of the Affair, which required much Advice and vaſt Preparations. But now at laſt all things being ſufficiently ripened; we ſhall preſently ſee the Bloody Flag of War hung out in good earneſt, and the two Kings haſtily opening the Way to their own ſeveral Deſtinies.

King [a] *Philip* of *France* was quickly alarum'd at thoſe notable Conqueſts, which the Earl of *Darby* (whom henceforward we ſhall call the Earl of *Lancaſter*) had made in *Gaſcogne* the preceding Year; and reſolv'd with all Expedition to provide a whol-

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 118.

An. Dom. 1346. An. Regni *Angliæ* XX. *Franciæ* VII.

ſom Remedy againſt ſo devouring a *Gangrene*. While therefore himſelf was buſie in raiſing a Mighty Power for the Defence of his Kingdom, he diſpatched away his Eldeſt Son, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, with conſiderable Forces to ſtop the *Engliſh* Earls Career. But when he began to approach, he heard ſuch Reports of the ſtrength of the *Engliſh*; the Terror of their Conqueſts belike encreaſing their Numbers, that for that time [b] he return'd back to his Father again, without once looking the Earl of *Lancaſter* in the Face: And this was towards the Declining of the preceding Year.

[b] *Gaguin. l. p.140. & Fabian p.220. ità Villani l.12.c.46. p. 856. Meſſer Giovanni di Francia, --no venne al ſoccorſo, ne tenne campo, ma ſi tornò addietro.*

King *Philip* was extreamly incenſed at this Action of his Sons: Wherefore to avoid his Fathers Diſpleaſure, he immediatly reſolves to addreſs himſelf with all his vigour to the War, and rather to venture any thing than to hazard the loſs of his Fathers Love, and his own Reputation. King [c] *Philip* alſo, deſiring to Reinforce him in the beſt manner, ſent forth his General Summons; That all Nobles and Others on that ſide the *Loire* of ſuch and ſuch Qualifications, and able for the War ſhould, laying aſide all Excuſe, repair to *Orleans* and *Bourges*, and the Parts thereabout by ſuch a Day: Whereupon there came to the King, being at *Paris*, *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*, and his only Son *Philip*, Earl of *Artois* and *Boulogne* with a 1000 Lances. There came alſo the Duke of *Bourbon*, and his Brother the Earl of *Ponthieu*, *Ralph* Earl of *Eu* and *Guiſnes*, and Conſtable of *France*, the Earl of *Tancarville*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, the Earl of *Foreſtes*, the Earls of *Dampmartin* and *Vendoſme*. The Lords of *Coucy*, of *Craon*, of *Suilly*, of *Freſnes*, of *Beaujeu* and of *Roye*; the Lord *John* of *Châlons*, with the Biſhop of *Beauvais*; and under them an infinite Number of Men of Arms, who all made their Rendezvous in and between *Orleans* and *Bourges*. Theſe the Duke of *Normandy* lead thrô *Berry*, *la Marche* and *Quercy* to *Tholouſe*, where all thoſe on the other ſide the *Loire* had their Rendezvous appointed: And hereabout in *Tholouſe* and the Marches, he met with all the Men of War from *Poictou*, *Xaintogne*, *Rochelle*, *Quercy* and *Limoſin*: Having joyn'd theſe, he went back on the left hand and found more Company in the City of *Rhodes*, in *Rovergue*, who were come from *Auvergne* and *Provence*. All theſe joining with the Duke went with him back to *Tholouſe*, where they were lodged in and about the City; for their Numbers were too great to be contained within, amounting to [d] more than an Hundred Thouſand Men. This Army was thus compleated in the very end of the Year 1345, and the Duke was now ſo eager to begin the *Campaign*, that preſently after the *Chriſtmas* Holydays, *viz.* in the beginning of *January* this Year, he began his March from *Tholouſe*, his two Marſhals, the Lord of *Monmorency*, and the Lord of St. *Venant* riding before the Hoſt.

[c] *Froiſ. c. 118.*

[d] *Froiſ. c. 118. & Du Cheſne p. 663. & Mezeray p.24. ad hunc annum.*

II. They [e] firſt ſtood before the Caſtle of *Miramont*, which had been won toward the end of the laſt Campaign, and was Garriſon'd with an 100 *Engliſh* Men, under the Command of *John Briſtow* Eſquire. Now the Duke of *Normandy* had with him Don *Lewis* of *Spain*, the Titular Prince of the Fortunate Iſlands, who retain'd ſo many *Genouëſe* Croſsbows, that the *Engliſh* were not able to ſtand at their Defences for their Quarrels: Wherefore at laſt the Caſtle was won by Force, and they within ſlain every Man, Captain and all. Thence they went before *Ville-Franche en Agenois*, whoſe Captain Sr. *Thomas Cook* was not then there, but at *Bourdeaux* with the Earl of *Lancaſter*: For none could Imagine, that the Duke of *Normandy* would begin to take the Field ſo ſoon. Yet the *Engliſh* within made a [f] gallant Defence, but to little purpoſe: For they were infinitely overmatched, and ſo taken by Force, and moſt of them put to the Sword. Thence the Duke went up higher, and inveſted the City of *Angouleſme*, whereof the Lord *John Norwich* was Captain.

[e] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[f] *Froiſ. ibid.*

III. The mean while the Earl of *Lancaſter* heard, what a great Army of *Frenchmen* were now in the Field, and how they had retaken *Miramont* and *Ville-Franche*, at the latter whereof they had burnt the Town, and left the Caſtle empty. Whereupon he ſent Sr. *Stephen Tombey*, Sr. *Richard Haydon*, Sr. *Hugh Haſtings* and Sr. *Norman Finefroid*, with 60 Men of Arms and 300 Archers to *Ville-Franche*, commanding them to enter the Caſtle, and to fortifie the Town, and he promiſed them if the *Frenchmen* return'd thither to aſſault them, he would come to their Relief himſelf, thô he ſhould loſe all thereby. Then he ſpake to the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, Sr. *Frank van Hall*, Sr. *Thomas Cook*, Sr. *John Tuchet*, Sr. *Richard Bayeux*, Sr. *Philip Ratcliff*, Sr. *Robert Nevill*, Sr. *Thomas Biſet*, and other valiant Knights and Eſquires, to the Number of 40, to take along with them 300 Men of Arms, and a proportionable Number of Archers, and with all Speed to go to the Reinforcement of *Aiguillon*, and to maintain that Fortreſs to their Power; for thô the Duke of *Normandy* had paſſed it by without Attempting it, he would not have it loſt by any means. Theſe Lords and Knights went thither accordingly, and there found Sr. *John Moubray* with an

hundred

hundred and twenty Lusty Souldiers, whom the Earl had left there the last Year. These were all welcome to one another, and immediately they applied themselves with all their Power to fortifie the Castle, to fetch in Provision from all Parts, and to retain Labourers to make Engines, and what else they saw necessary. And the other four *English* Knights that were sent to *Ville-Franche*, found in their way thither many Beeves, and Sheep, and several Barns full of Corn, all which they took along with them to *Ville-Franche*, and laid up for their own Use: Then they repair'd the Castle, and mended the Walls and Gates of the Town; so that at last the Place was as strong as ever; and the Garrison consisted of 1500 Fighting Men, who had already Provision for six Months.

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IV. All this while the Duke of *Normandy* held his Siege before the City of *Angouleſme*, but all his Attacks proved so fruitless, that when he saw that he obtained nothing thereby, but great loss of his Men; he commanded there should be no more Assaults made, but that they should make their Approaches nearer to cut off Supplies, and so to reduce them by Hunger. One day, during this Siege, the Seneschal of *Beaucaire* came to the Duke of *Normandy*, saying, "Sir, I am well acquainted with all this "Country; and if it please your Highness to let me have 600 Men of Arms, I'll un- "dertake to go forth, and fetch in some store of Provision for your Highnesses Army: "For we shall very shortly be in Want, if we continue to lie here. The Duke was well pleas'd at the Motion, and so the next day gave the Seneschal leave to take 900 Spears with him, the Captains whereof were the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Ponthieu* his Brother, the Earl of *Tancarville*, the Earl of *Foreſtes*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Coucy*, the Lord of *Aubigny*, the Lord of *Auſſemont*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, the Lord *Guiſchard d' Angle*, the Lord of *Santerre*, and divers other Lords, Knights and Esquires, that were willing to partake of this Adventure. These all took Horse in the Evening, and taking their Course *North-west* rode all Night, till the next morning about Break of Day, they came near a great Town on the other side the *Loire*, called [g] *Ancenis*, then in the Hands of the *English*. At that instant a Spie came to the Seneschal and said, "Sir, there are in yon- "der Town sixscore Men of Arms, *English* and *Bretons*, and 300 Archers, who are "able to maintain the Place if you attack them. But I saw this Morning about 200 "Head of Cattle put forth of the Town to graze in the Meadows adjoyning. Then "said the Seneschal to his Company, "My Lords and Gentlemen, I think it best for "you all to tarry still in this Valley where you are, and I only with 60 Good Horse "will go and drive the Cattle hitherward: Which when the *English* shall see done, "I doubt not but they'll Sally out after us to recover the Prey, and then we shall "bring them into your Toyl. This was agreed too, and the Seneschal choosing out 60 of their best Horses, rode about the Town by the directions of the Spie, conceal'd in by-ways, till at last he came into the Fair Meadows, where the Cattle were. Immediatly they began to drive all the Herd before them by another way, than that they came, which yet carried them directly to the Valley, where their Companions were ready for the first Opportunity. The *English*, who kept Watch on the Walls and in the Castle, saw all this and presently gave the Alarm: Whereupon the Garrison began to rise and arm, and some were fain to be awaked out of their Beds (for it was early in the Morning) and then they drew together and took Horse, Sallying out after their Enemies, who were not yet got very far, because of the Cattle's slow Pace; but yet by that they were overtaken they were almost at the Valley. The *English* were so eager to recover their Prey, that they all followed in the Chace, leaving none but a few Servants and common Souldiers in the Town. When they were near, they spurred on upon the *French*, crying out, "Sirs, you must not think to steal Cattle and be "free. Then the *French* faced about upon them, and the Ambush came on with great Shouts, and in terrible Array: So that the *English* were presently surrounded, overcome, and slain every Man, except the Captain Sr. *Stephen Lacy*, and three or four more of his Officers. This done the *Frenchmen* hasted to the Town, which they easily won by Assault, for there were too few Hands to defend it: First the Duke of *Bourbon's* Men entred, and having slain all they found, and set new Captains of their own there, with a sufficient Garrison, they went back with their Prey and Prisoners, and return'd the next day to the Army before *Angouleſme*. Here they were all gladly received, and though there had been greater Lords in that Exploit than the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, yet he got the highest Praise, because all was done at his Motion and under his Conduct.

[g] *Du Cheſne p.* 663.

V. Thus the greater part of *January* they [h] held Siege before *Angouleſme*, and overran

[h] *Froiſ. c.* 119. *fol.* 58.

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verran all thoſe parts, thrô *Santogne*, and *Poictou*, and to the Confines of *Bretagne*, with their ſeveral Detachments, and brought daily to the Army many Priſoners, and much Prey: But in all theſe Adventures the two Brethren of *Bourbon*, to their great Honour would ever be preſent among the Foremoſt.

When Sr. *John Norwich* ſaw, how the Duke was reſolv'd not to ſtir, till he had the Town at his Pleaſure; and that already his Victuals began to fail, and that the Earl of *Lancaſter* was not able to give the Enemy Battle, or to raiſe the Siege; but chiefly, becauſe he knew the Men of the Town were more enclin'd to *France*, than *England*; ſo that he was ſure they would have open'd their Gates to the Duke before now, if he had not Commanded the Caſtle: Upon theſe, and the like Conſiderations, he thought it high time to contrive how to bring himſelf, and his Men off with moſt Honour, and leaſt Diſadvantage. Hereupon, as he was a Man of a good reach, without letting any One know, what he intended, on the firſt of *February*, being the Eve of the Purification of the Virgin *Mary*, he went all alone upon the Walls of the City; where he made a ſign with his Hat towards the Army. Some of thoſe, who ſaw him wave his Hat, came to him, demanding, what he meant thereby? He ſaid, he had a great mind to ſpeak with the Duke of *Normandy*, or at leaſt with one of his Marſhals. The Duke being acquainted with this News, went ſtraight to the Walls with certain of the Chief Lords in his Company. When the *Engliſh* Captain ſaw the Duke near, he pull'd off his Hat, and ſaluted him; to whom the Duke having return'd the like, ſaid, "Sr. *John*, and how is it with you now? Will you at "laſt deliver up this City to Me, or no? Sir (reply'd he) as yet I have not fully "reſolv'd upon that point: But, my Lord Duke, for the preſent, I would deſire "of You, that for the Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, whoſe Day is now approaching, "You would grant us a ſhort Truce, only to endure for to Morrow, ſo that for that "time, neither You any way to moleſt Us, nor we You; but both ſides to remain in "full and perfect Peace and Amity all that Day. Said the Duke, "Sr. *John*, as to "that, I am well content, and upon my Word You may reſt aſſured; and having ſaid ſo, he rode back to his Tent, and the Captain went into the Town. Now early the next Morning, which was [1] *Candlemas* Day, the Lord *John Norwich* Arm'd himſelf and all his Men; and having truſſed up their Bag and Baggage, and being every Man furniſhed with a good Horſe from the Town, the Chief Gate being ſet open, they began in peaceable Manner to take their March thrô the *French* Hoſt. At firſt ſight of them the *Frenchmen* ran to their Arms, but the *Engliſh* Captain rode up before his Men, and ſpake to them ſaying, "Sirs, beware that You offer no Violence "to Us, as neither ſhall We to You; for We have a Truce granted Us for this "Day by your General, the Duke himſelf. If You know it not, go and enquire of "him: For by Vertue of this Truce, We may ride whither We pleaſe. Upon this the Duke being conſulted, anſwer'd, "Let them go whither they will; for thô they "have overreach'd me, I will by no means break my Promiſe. This was that Noble Dukes Character, to be always firm to his Word, whatever Loſs he might incurr thereby; and this Temper he kept to his dying Day; ſo that being King, he is ſaid to be the [k] Author of this Golden Sentence; "That if Faith and Truth were "Baniſhed from all Mankind, yet they ought to be found in the Mouth of Kings and "Princes. And 'twas the knowledge of this Veracity of the Duke's, that made the *Engliſh* Captain venture upon this Device without any further ſecurity. Wherefore now with all his Men and his Goods, he paſſed freely thrô the heart of the *French* Army, without any Damage or Impeachment, and went ſtraight to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Aiguillon*; where the *Engliſh* Lords received him gladly, and having heard the Manner of his Eſcape, ſaid, he had handſomly and honeſtly outwitted his Enemies. The next Day the Citizens of *Angouleſme* took Counſel, and reſolved to yield up the Town to the Duke of *Normandy*; wherefore immediately they diſpatch'd unto him certain Deputies, who at laſt by their ſubmiſſion prevail'd ſo far, that the Duke took them to Mercy, and pardon'd them all their Miſcarriages, and ſo entred, and took Poſſeſſion of the Town and Caſtle in his Fathers Name, and having left Sr. *Anthony Villiers* Captain of the Place, with a ſufficient Garriſon, he departed thence, and went backward, and laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Damaſan*, which after having endured his Aſſaults for 15 Days together, was at laſt taken by Force, and every Man within put to the ſword, both *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners*. This Place with the Lands thereto belonging, the Duke gave to an Eſquire of *Beauſſe*, called *George du Milly*; and ſo repaſſing the *Garonne*, came before *Tonneins*: Which after a Siege of 4 Days, yielded on Condition to have their Lives and Goods ſaved, and to be ſafely convey'd to *Bourdeaux*. So the *Engliſh* Garri-

[1] 2 *Febr.*

[k] *Mezeray p.* 67. *ad an.* 1364.

Garriſon went away free; but thoſe of the Town ſubmitted to the Dukes Government, who tarried there till it was paſt * *Eaſter*. AN. DOM. 1346.

VI. Then he came to *Port* St. *Mary*, ſtanding alſo on the River *Garonne*, where he found 200 *Engliſhmen* ready to defend the Town and Paſſage; which were well fortified: But at laſt the Place was won by Force, and every Man within put to the Sword. The Duke having Repaired what was out of Order, and ſet a good Garriſon there, went now to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Aiguillon*, ſeated upon the Confluence of two Great Rivers, the *Lot*, and the *Garonne*. Here they laid their Siege in the Fair Meadows along by the River, which was able to bear Ships; every Lord with his own Men, and every Conſtable by himſelf; for ſo the Marſhals had order'd, as well to raiſe a mutual Emulation in the Army, as that Obedience and Diſcipline might be more readily obſerved, when the Souldiers ſhould find themſelves ſtill under their accuſtomed Leaders. The Caſtle was well fortified, beſides its moſt advantagious ſcituation, and very well victualled beforehand; but a braver Garriſon could not be found thrô the whole World, then thoſe, which were now therein. There was the Lord *John Moubray* with an 120 choſen Men, ſet there at firſt by the Earl of *Darby*; and ſince that as we ſhew'd before, there were come thither the undaunted Earl of *Pembroke*, the Invincible Lord *Walter Manny*, the Couragious Sr. *Frank van Hall*, and thoſe other Knights and Eſquires, to the Number of 40, which the Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Darby* aforeſaid, had lately ſent thither with 300 Men of Arms, and 600 Archers to Reinforce the Garriſon; and laſtly, to all theſe the Politick and Worthy Captain Sr. *John Norwich* was added, with all thoſe Valiant Men whom he had brought off ſo finely from *Angouleſme*; the whole Number amounting to [l] 400 Lords, Knights, and other Gentlemen, Cavaliers, and 800 *Gaſcogners*, and *Engliſh* Footmen; beſides Carpenters, Workmen, and Labourers. The Defendants wanted no more Proviſion, nor Materials, than they did Courage; and the Aſſailants were neither deficient in Numbers, nor Animoſity, nor Art, nor Induſtry; ſo that this Siege was the [m] moſt Memorable (conſidering the Place, and the few Hands to Defend it) of any We find in all that Age; whether We look upon the Attacks, or the Defences; for it laſted notwithſtanding all Oppoſition from the latter end of *April*, till the Feaſt of St. *Remigius*, or the Firſt of *October*, when it was Raiſed, as We ſhall ſhew in due Place; the Fortreſs being entire, and the Garriſon in Good Condition.

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* Paſcha 16 *April* Lit. Dom. A.

[l] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 60. *p.* 870.

[m] *Mezerayp.* 24. *ad hunc an.*

VII. The *French* Army conſiſted of an [n] 100000 Men of War, both Horſe and Foot; ſo that they could eaſily afford to make two or three Aſſaults every Day, and moſt commonly from Morning, till the Evening without any intermiſſion: For ſtill, when one Party was well wearied with Storming, there came freſh Aſſailants in their ſtead, whereby they held the Defendants in continual Action. But firſt, the *French* Lords conſidering, that they could not come freely to the Front of the Caſtle at the Bridge and Gate; unleſs they paſſed the River *Garonne*, which was Large and Deep: The Duke of *Normandy* Commanded, that a Bridge ſhould be laid over the River, whatſoever it coſt. When the *Engliſh* Captains perceived the Bridge to be more then half finiſhed, then they equipp'd three Good Veſſels, and Manning them well with Select Men of Arms and Archers, ſent them forth to deſtroy the Enemies Works. Theſe Men came furiouſly upon the Workmen, and chaſed away both them and their Defenders, and preſently broke all to pieces, what they had been ſo long in making. Upon this, the *French* Lords prepared other Veſſels to receive thoſe of the Garriſon, and then again ſet their Workmen about a New Bridge; which they began in Confidence of theſe their Protectors. They had hardly been at this Work above one half of a day, when the Lord *Walter Manny* himſelf, with the Flour of the Garriſon enter'd a Ship, and came ſuddenly upon the Workmen, and in ſpight of all Oppoſition, drove them away, and utterly deſtroyed all their Labour. This Courſe was thus carried on for ſeveral Days together; till at laſt the *French* Lords Defended their Workmen ſo ſtrongly, that the Bridge was brought to its Perfection, thô it coſt far more than it was worth. Then the Lords, and all the Army paſſed over in Battle Array, and began an Aſſault, which they continued for an whole Day together without any Intermiſſion; but all ſignified nothing: For at Night the *Frenchmen* being retired to their Lodgings, the Garriſon mended what was broken; as having Materials of all ſorts, and Workmen enough. The next Day the *French* drew out four Great Detachments, every One to Aſſault the Caſtle in its turn, the Firſt beginning in the Morning was to continue their Attack till Nine; then immediately the Second to ſucceed, and to hold till Noon; The Third from that time till Three of the Clock, and the Fourth from

[n] *Froiſ. c.* 120. *& Du Cheſne &c.*

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from thence, till Night came on: And this Method they uſed for ſix Days together; but all the while the Garriſon maintain'd their Defence ſo Bravely, that the Enemy wan nothing of them, but only the Bridge without the Caſtle. Then the Duke of *Normandy* was adviſ'd to go another way to Work; He ſent to *Tholouſe* for Eight huge Engines of Battery, and they themſelves made four greater there: And all twelve being ready, they caſt therewith vaſt Stones, both Day and Night into the Fortreſs; but the Garriſon had beforehand ſo well ſecured themſelves againſt this Device, by I know not what Art, that [o] not one Stone did them any conſiderable hurt; except that the Coverings of ſome Houſes were now and then a little broken. Beſides the *Engliſh* Lords within ſoon provided ſuch Counter-machines, as within a few Days brake ſix of the Aſſailants biggeſt Engines all to pieces.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 120.

Frequently during this Siege the Lord *Walter Manny* would ſally out at the Poſtern with an 100 or an 120 Brave Companions, and go on the other ſide of the River a Foraging, and always came back again with much Corn and Cattle, in the ſight of the *French* Army. One time among others the Lord *Charles* of *Monmorency*, Marſhal of the Duke's Hoſt, rode alſo forth the ſame way with 500 Men in his Company, and was returning back with a great many Head of Cattle, which he had gather'd up in the Country to ſerve the Army with Proviſion: By Chance he was met by the Lord *Manny*, who neither well could, nor much car'd to avoid him. There happen'd between theſe two Lords a moſt fierce Rencounter, and many were unhorſed, hurt, ſlain and taken on both ſides: For the [p] *French* were Five to One. While this Medley laſted, News thereof was carried to *Aiguillon*: Whereupon the *Engliſh* Lords prepared haſtily to relieve their Fellows, and firſt the Earl of *Pembroke* with his Men rode forth, and being come to the Skirmiſh, he there found his Noble Friend, Sr. *Walter Manny* [q] on Foot, ſurrounded by his Enemies, but doing wonderfull Deeds of Arms. To him the Earl preſented a luſty freſh Horſe, and it was well, in the mean time ſome *Frenchmen* drove the Cattle away toward their Camp: For elſe they had loſt both them and themſelves too. For the *Engliſh* that made this Sally, ſet upon the *French* with ſo much Fury, that they preſently put them to the Rout, and deliver'd all their Friends, and took many of their Enemies Priſoners: So that the Lord *Charles* of *Monmorency* himſelf had much ado to make an Eſcape. And ſuch Rencounters happen'd frequently, almoſt [r] every Day; beſide the Aſſaults made upon the Caſtle.

[p] *Froiſ. c.* 120.

[q] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[r] *Froiſ. ibid.*

One day above the reſt the whole Hoſt was armed, and the Duke of *Normandy* gave Order, that the Men of *Tholouſe*, *Carcaſſone* and *Beaucaire* ſhould make an Aſſault from Morning till Noon; and thoſe of *Rodes*, *Cahors* and *Agen* from Noon till Night; and he himſelf promiſed, that whoever could win the Bridge of the Gate, ſhould have for his Reward an hundred *French* [s] Crowns of Gold. And the better to render this Days work effectual, he mann'd ſeveral Ships and Barges on the River, ſome whereof ply'd by the Bridge, and others paſſed the River to divert the Defendants. At laſt certain of the *Frenchmen* came in a Boat under the Bridge, where they caſt up great Hooks of Iron to catch hold on the Draw-Bridge, and having ſo done, never left pulling till they had broke in ſunder the Chains that held it, and ſo laid down the Bridge by Force. Then Others that were ready for that purpoſe, leap'd thereon ſo haſtily, that one overthrew another, they were all ſo greedy of the 100 Crowns. The mean while the Defendants, when they ſaw the Bridge as throng'd as ever it could be, threw down plentifully among them vaſt Bars of iron, maſſy pieces of Timber, Pots of quick Lime, with burning Pitch, Tarr and ſcalding Oyl; ſo that many were brained and ſcalded to Death, grievouſly wounded and overthrown, Dead and half-dead into the River and into the Ditch. However the Bridge remained for that time in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, but it ſignified little, for they could not win the Gate for all that. So at laſt when it was late, the Retreat was ſounded to the *French*, and they being retired to the Camp the Defendants open'd their Gates, and raiſed up the Bridge again and made it ſtronger than ever it was, and bound it faſt to great Rings in the Wall with thicker Chains of Iron.

[s] Fr. Crown 6s.--8d.

The next Day there came to the Duke two Cunning Carpenters, well skill'd in *Mathematicks*, who ſaid, "Sir, if your Highneſs will allow us Timber and Workmen to "follow our Directions, we will make you Four ſtrong Scaffolds, as high or higher than "the Walls of this Caſtle, whereby your Men may come hand to hand with the De-"fendants. The Duke commanded they ſhould do ſo, and empower'd them to preſs Carpenters about in the Country at his Pay, and promiſed them liberal Rewards. So at laſt after a long Time, exceſſive Labour, and vaſt Expence, theſe four Scaffolds were ready, being built on the Decks of four Great Ships; and ſuch as were appointed for that

Work

Work were disposed in them. But having passed scarce half way in the River to give the Assault, the Defendants (who having observed all these Preparations, had by this time provided a Remedy) set up against them four tight Engines, which they had newly made to resist the Scaffolds; These four Engines cast such huge Flints and Stones with such a force, and hit the Scaffolds so luckily, that presently they were all so uncover'd and broken, that they could yield no Defence to those that were within. Wherefore they were all commanded back again; but before they reach'd the Land, one of the Scaffolds, Ship and all sunk in the River, and the greater Part of those within it were drown'd: Which was a great Loss, for none were there, but good and valiant Knights and Gentlemen, who only courted Honour by this Hazardous Enterprise. AN. DOM. 1346. An. Regni *Angliæ* XX. *Franciæ* VII.

When the Duke saw that whatever way he went, was thus rendred unsuccessfull, he let the other three Scaffolds lie still; and repented much that ever he came thither: For now he saw no likelihood of Winning the Castle; and yet at his first coming thither, he had [t] swore a solemn Oath, that he would never rise thence, till he had the Place at his Devotion. Then he sent the Constable of *France*, and the Earl of *Tancarville* to *Paris* to the King his Father, to let him know the State of the Siege before *Aiguillon*; and it was the Kings Pleasure, that the Duke should lie there still, till he had won them by Famine, since he could not by Assault. But this latter Device signified as little as any of the former; for this Garrison was so far from allowing themselves to be pent up within Walls, that having heard of two [u] Great Ships, which were coming from *Tholouse* to the Army, laden with Provision of Victuals and Armour, they adventur'd forth both by Land and by Water, those beating up the Enemies Quarters in their Camp, and these fetching away the Ships, which they brought into the Castle to their great Comfort, and the infinite Loss and Vexation of the Duke of *Normandy*: This Action happen'd on the 16 of *June*.

[t] *Giov. Villani l.12. c. 46. p. 856.*

[u] *Giov. Villani l.12. c.46. p. 856.*

VIII. During this famous Siege before *Aiguillon*, [x] the Seneschal of *Guienne*, under the *French* King, departed from the Duke of *Normandy* with a Detachment of 800 Horse and 4000 Foot, designing to take in a Castle belonging to a Nephew of the Cardinal *de la Motte*, which was about 12 Leagues distant from *Aiguillon*. The Archdeacon of *Unfort*, who was Lord of the Castle, and held for *England*, understanding of the *Frenchmens* Approach to his Fortress, went out privily and rode Post to *la Reole*; where the Earl of *Lancaster* and *Darby* lay at that time with his little Army, waiting for some Advantage against the Duke of *Normandy*. Upon the Information and Request of this Man, the Earl appointed a certain Number of Horsemen and Archers to ride along with him: With whom the Archdeacon going back, came on the 31 of *July*, early in the Morning, before his own Castle called *Castillon* upon the *Dordonne*, where he found the *Frenchmen*, who had invested it the Day before, and made a vigorous Assault or two, but to little Purpose. The *English* immediatly set spurs to their Horses, and assailed the *Frenchmen* with such fury, that after a sharp and hard Rencounter, they totally routed them, having slain and taken Prisoners no less than 2000 Foot and 400 Horse; among whom the Seneschal himself, and many other Persons of Quality, were taken: The Residue made their escape by reason of the Wearines of the *English* in obtaining this Victory.

[x] *Giov. Villani l.12. c.60. p. 870. & Holinshead Engl. Chr. p. 928.*

Many such Successes the Earl of *Lancaster* had against several of the *French* Detachments; which either Himself, or some of his Captains Chanced to meet with: So that the Duke of *Normandy* was in a manner besieged himself by him and his Garrisons; for he durst never send out any Parties, but in very considerable Numbers; whereby he was not without his difficulties. Neither was he able, as oft as need required, to get in sufficient Provision for the Army, for fear of the Earl of *Lancaster*; who thô he was not strong enough to raise the Siege, yet so well watched his Advantages, that the Besiegers were likely to be soon wearied out.

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CHAPTER the Second.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *reſolved in Perſon to ſuccour his Friends in* Aiguillon, *calls a Parliament at* Weſtminſter, *and takes Order for the Government and Defence of the Realm, during his Abſence.* II. *He ſets Sail for* Gaſcogne, *but lands in* Normandy. III. *Upon his Landing he Knights his Son*, Edward, *Prince of* Wales, *and together with him certain young Noblemen.* IV. *King* Philip, *hearing of his Adverſary's Landing, ſends ſome Troops to defend* Caen *againſt him.* V. *A cruel Execution done at* Paris *upon a* Frenchman *for Aſſerting King* Edward's *Right to the Crown of* France. VI. *King* Edward *marches thrô* Normandy *in Hoſtile Manner.* VII. *King* Philip *prepares to oppoſe him.* VIII. *King* Edward *takes St.* Lo *and* Caen. IX. *Two Cardinals ſent to him from the Pope, to exhort him to Peace; but in vain: While he tarries at* Poiſſy *to repair the Bridge, in order to get over the* Seyne, *he ſends a Defiance to King* Philip, *with different Remarks thereupon.* X. *King* Philip *goes to his Army; King* Edward *gets over the* Seyne, *receives an Anſwer of his Challenge from King* Philip, *to which he replies: His Progreſs thrô* France. XI. *King* Edward's *Princely Carriage to two Fair Ladies that were taken at* Poix: *The Men of* Poix *being found Treacherous, are put to the Sword.* XII. *King* Edward *endeavours to get over the* Somme, *the* French *King following with a great Army: The Opinion of ſome Authors, as to his Flight, examin'd.* XIII. *A* French *Priſoner offers to ſhew King* Edward *a Paſſage over the* Somme: *Which yet King* Philip *for fear of the worſt had guarded.* XIV. *King* Edward *paſſes the* Somme *at* Blanche ttaque, *and diſcomfits thoſe that kept the Paſſage.* XV. *King* Philip *diſpleaſed hereat, returns to* Abbeville *for that Night; while King* Edward *prepares to receive him, and encamps in the Fields of* Creſſy.

I. THE mean while King *Edward* had full Information, from the very beginning of the Duke of *Normandy's* Deſcent into *Guienne*; and had particular Notice from the Earl of *Darby* of all the Occurrences in thoſe Parts from time to time: Wherefore he reſolved to go now in Perſon to ſave his Lands, and ſuccour his Loyal Friends and Subjects. But firſt to ſettle Matters at home He held his High Court of Parliament [a] at *Weſtminſter* about the Seaſon of *Lent*, where he took into his own Hands all the Profits, Revenues, and other Emoluments, which the Cardinals and other Foreign Clergy held within the Land; for he thought it not reaſon, that thoſe who favour'd the Pope (who was [b] a *Frenchman* born) and the *French* King, who was his Adverſary, ſhould enjoy any ſuch Promotion or Advantage in his Realm. Here he Order'd, that all his Juſtices throughout his Dominions ſhould renounce, and utterly forbear taking of Penſions, Fees, Bribes, or any Sort of Gratuities, which before they were found to receive, both of Lords Temporal and Spiritual and Others; that ſo their Hands being free from Bribery, Juſtice might be by them more purely and uprightly adminiſtred. For this Pious Prince then thought he might expect a Bleſſing upon the Juſtice of his Cauſe, when he took Care that his Subjects might meet with Righteous Judgment. Here therefore it was, that a Form of Oath was drawn up for all Juſtices, which thô in the Book of Statutes falſly placed, in the 18 Year of this King, as we obſerved before, in the laſt Clauſe of Paragraph XIII, doth properly belong to this Place, and for its Rarity deſerves alſo to be here repeated.

[a] *Holingſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 929.

[b] *M.S. Authoris Anonymi ex Vaticano. ſign. n.* 3765. *in Clem. VI. & Odoric. Rain. ad ann.* 1342. §. 6.

[c] *Statute Book p.* 88.

"Ye ſhall ſwear, that Well and Lawfully Ye ſhall ſerve our Sovereign Lord the "King, and his People, in the Office of Juſtice, and that Lawfully You ſhall Counſel "the King in his Buſineſs, and that Ye ſhall not Counſel, nor aſſent to any thing, "which may turn him in Damage or Diſheriſon, by any Manner, Way, or Colour. "And that Ye ſhall not know the Damage, or Diſheriſon of him, Whereof Ye ſhall "not do him to be warned, by your ſelf, or by other: That Ye ſhall do even Law, "and Execution of Right to all his Subjects, Rich and Poor, without having Regard to "any Perſon. And that Ye take not by your ſelf, nor by other, privily, nor apertly, Gift,

"Gift, nor Rewards of Gold, nor Silver, nor of any other thing, which may turn to "your Profit, unleſs it be Meat, or Drink, and that of ſmall value, of any Man, that "ſhall have any Plea, or Proceſs, hanging before You, as long as the ſame Proceſs ſhall "be ſo hanging, nor after the ſame Cauſe: And that Ye take no Fee, as long as Ye "ſhall be Juſtice, nor Robes of any Great Man, or ſmall, but of the King himſelf. "And that Ye give none Advice, nor Counſel to no Man, Great, nor Small, in caſe, "where the King is Party. And in caſe, that any, of what Eſtate or Condition they "be, come before You in your Seſſions, with Force and Arms, or otherwiſe againſt the "Peace, or againſt the Form of the Statute therefore made, to diſturb Execution of the "Common Law, or to menace the People, that they may not purſue the Law, that Ye ſhall "do their Bodies to be arreſted, and put in Priſon: And in caſe, they be ſuch, that Ye "may not arreſt them, that Ye certifie the King of their Names, and of their Miſpri-"ſion, haſtily, ſo that he may thereof ordain a covenable Remedy. And that Ye by "your ſelf, nor by other, privily, nor apertly, maintain any Plea, or Quarrel, hanging "in the Kings Court, or elſewhere in the Country, and that Ye deny no Man Com-"mon Right, [d] by the Kings Letters, nor none other Mans, nor for none other Cauſe; "and in caſe any Letters come to You, contrary to the Law, that Ye do nothing by "ſuch Letters, but certifie the King thereof, and go forth to do the Law, notwith-"ſtanding the ſame Letters. And that Ye ſhall do and procure the Profit of the King, "and of his Crown, with all things, where Ye may reaſonably do the ſame. And in "caſe Ye be from henceforth found in Default, in any of the points aforeſaid, Ye ſhall "be at the Kings Will, of Body, Lands, and Goods thereof to be done, as ſhall "pleaſe him, *As God You help and all his Saints.* A like form, *mutatis mutandis*, was ſet for the Clerks of the Chancery, for which we refer the Reader to the Statute-Book: Where alſo he will find an excellent Statute made 7 *Maii, Ao, Reg. Angl.* 20. *Fr.* 7. which is to be refer'd hither.

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[d] *i.e.* upon occaſion.

Now alſo the King, hearing [e] Complaints made againſt the Purveyors of Victuals for his Houſhold (who under Colour of their Commiſſions, abuſed the ſame; in taking up whatever they pleaſed among the Commons, at the rate only ſet in their Commiſſion) he cauſed ſtrict Inquiſition to be made of theſe Miſdemeanours; and thoſe who were found Offenders in the Premiſes, of which there were many, all condemned, ſome to the Gallows, and other to Great Fines, whereby the Groans of the Commons ceaſed; and other of the Kings Officers were made more Wary and Diſcreet.

[e] *Holinſhead Eng. Chr. p. 929.*

Having thus provided for the ſettlement of Juſtice, during his Abſence, he [f] left his Queen to the Care of his Couſin *John Plantagenet*, the Young Earl of *Kent*, his Second Son; Prince *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, he [g] conſtituted his Lieutenant of the Realm, appointing the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and others of his Council to aſſiſt him: And to Watch the Motions of *Scotland* [h] he left the Lord *Henry Percy*, the Lord *Ralph Nevil* of *Raby*, together with the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and the Chief Lords of the *North*: But he gave an eſpecial Charge to Sr. *Geoffry Witchingham*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and to *John Croyden*, and *William Clopton* Sheriffs, to take diligent Care of the Peaceable and Quiet Government of the City; and particularly, he [i] commanded them to look after the Spreaders of Falſe News in and about the City, and to apprehend all ſuch Perſons and lay them up in the Priſon of *Newgate*.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 121.

[g] *Dugd. Bar. 2 Vol. p.* 167. *ex Rot. &c.*

[h] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 929.

[i] 20 *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 18. *&* 26.

II. And having thus providently ſettled Affairs at home; [k] and ſent to the *Prior* of the Order of *Fryers Preachers* in *London*, to offer up Prayers, that God would pleaſe to Protect and Defend him, and give his Forces Victory over his Enemies, he repaired to his Army, which was now ready to go on board. And there he ſpake aloud to all his Captains and Officers, which was alſo communicated to the whole Army, [l] "That "he had more Right to the Realm of *France*, upon the account of Queen *Iſabella*, "his Mother, Daughter of *Philip* the Fair, than *Philip* of *Valois* had, who was Son of "the Lord *Charles*, Second Brother, which was, of the ſaid *Philip* the Fair, who now "uſurped the ſaid Realm, thô he was not in the direct Line, but collateral. He there-"fore earneſtly deſired them to play the Men; foraſmuch, as it was his Reſolution "to ſend back his Navy again, as ſoon as ever he was Arrived in the Realm of "*France*: Wherefore it behoved them to be Valiant, and either to Win the Land "with their Swords, or reſolve to die every Man; for they would have no place to "flye: But that if any one was in doubt, or fear, to paſs the Seas with him, he "might ev'n ſtay in *England* with his good leave. To this they all anſwer'd, as it "were with one Voice; That they would follow him, as their Good and Dear Lord,

[k] 6 Maii *Claus.* 20. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 11. *dorſo. vid. Rot. Franc.* 20. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 2. *m.* 2.

[l] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 62. *p.* 872

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"with a good Will, even to the Death. Then the King, seeing his Men well disposed to the War, deliver'd his Letters, close Sealed, to the Admirals of his Fleet (least it should happen that by force of Wind they should be separated from the Rest) in which letters was contained, where he would have them Land, and commanded them, unless they were divided by Storm, not to open them till they came to Land. And so he went on board in the Name of God and St. *George* at [m] *Southampton* in the close of *June*, with a Fleet of[n] 200 Sail, thô Authors vary much in the Number; wherein were 4000 Men of Arms, 10000 Archers, and Footmen of *Wales* 12000, and 6000 *Irishmen*. The King had with him in his Company the Young Prince of *Wales* at that time, about sixteen Years of Age; There was also *Humphry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, and his Brother *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntington*, *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*; and of Barons, the Young Lord *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord *Gerard* ° *Lisle*, and his Kinsman the Lord *John Lisle*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lords *John* and *Roger Beauchamps*, the Lord *John Moubray*, the Lord *William Ros* of *Hamlake*, the Lord *Thomas Lucy* of *Cockermouth*, the Lord *William Felton*, the Lord *Thomas Bradestan*, the Lord *Ralph Basset* of *Sapcoate*, *John* Lord *Willoughby*, of *Eresby*; the Lord *Peter Mauley* V. of the Name; * *Thomas* Lord *Vghtred*, *John* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, *William* Lord *Kerdeston*, the Lord *Roger Say*, the Lord *Almaric de* St. *Amand*, the Lord *Robert Bourchier*, the Lord *John le Strange*, the Lord *Edward Montagu*, the Lord *Richard Talbot*, the Lord *John Mohun* of *Dunster*, *William* Lord *Boteler* of *Wemme*, *Robert* Lord *Ferrers*, *John* Lord *Seymor*, *John* Lord *Grey*, *William* Lord *Botreaux*, the Lord *Hugh Spencer*, the Lord *John Striveling*, *Michael* Lord *Poynings*, *Robert* Lord *Morley*, *Thomas* Lord *Ashley*, *John* Lord *Sutton*, *the* Lord *Nicholas Cantilupe*, and Others; and of Knights Batchelours, the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *Peter Audeley*, and the Lord *James Audeley*, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwash* junior, the Lord *Thomas Holland*, the Lord *Fulk FitzWarine*, Sr. *Richard Pembroke*, and several others: There were but a few Strangers at this time with King *Edward*, because his Friends of *Germany* had fell off together with the Emperour; but the Lord *Henry Eam* of *Brabant* in *Flanders*, was here, and 7 or 8 Knights of *Germany*, whose Names are so corruptly written, that they are not to be recovered aright: And lastly, the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt*, a Valiant Baron of *Normandy*, was there at this time, enflaming the Kings Mind against his Native Country upon all occasions. Being thus therefore embarqued on the last of *June*, King *Edward* sets Sail, designing, as was thought for *Bayonne*, or *Bourdeaux*, that so he might Raise the Siege from before *Aiguillon*; but being pretty forward on his way toward *Gascogne*, on the third Day there arose a Contrary Wind, which, without any further harm, drove the whole Fleet back upon the Coasts of *Cornwall*. There having layn at Anchor six Days waiting for Wind, they made forward again; but a like Wind, in the very same manner, drove them back again to the same place, without any Damage, as before. Which Chance happening thus [p] twice together, and the Wind still continuing against them, the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt*, being of the Kings Cabinet-Council, began to take hold on that occasion, to divert the King from *Gascogne* to *Normandy*; and told him, that it seem'd, Heaven it self directed him to take another Course, and therefore Advis'd him to take Land in his Country; which was one of the most plentifull Provinces in the World, and had not seen any War for two whole Ages. "Sir, [q] said he, if You "will please to make thither, on hazard of my Head, You shall find no Impeachment "in your Landing. For besides, that the Commons of *Normandy* are unexpert, and "wholly ignorant of War, all the Lords, Knights, and Esquires of the Country, are "now with the Duke at the Siege before *Aiguillon*. And here, Sir, You shall meet "with great Towns, without Walls, or strong Fortifications; so that your Men may "gain such Wealth and Riches, as to be the better for it for Twenty Years "hence: And thus You may do without any stop, till You come to the Great City "of *Caën* in lower *Normandy*. I only beg, Your Majesty would put some Confidence "in me at this time; for as I have been a Lord of that Country, so I understand it as "well, as any other. And being now unjustly cast out of it, own her for my Ene-"my, and *England* that receives me, for my better Country. The King, who was then but in the Flour of his Manhood (for he had not yet seen 34 Years) and desired nothing more ardently, then Deeds of Arms, readily enclin'd to the Lord *Harcourt's* Advice, whom he had look'd on, as his Friend, and called him Cousin; and so he suddenly commanded his Pilots to direct their Course for *Normandy*. Thereupon

[m] *Froiss. c.* 221.
[n] *Mezeray ad hunc an. p.* 24. *ubi* 200. Knighton *verò* 1100 *magnas naves &* 500 *minores ponit, p.* 1585. *n.* 40. Stow *p.* 241. has a 1000 ships of Burthen and Pinaces: *Speed p.* 577. about a 1000 Sail. *Gaguin* 1100. *Giov. Villani* 600. *&c.*
° *Dudg.* 1 *Vol. p.* 738.
* *Hæc nomina quæ sequuntur ad numerum* 22. *ex M. S. Vetust.* Lat. *in Bibl. C.C.C* Cantab. *cui titulus* Acta Edvardi Filii Edvardi Tertii.

[p] *Mezeray ad hunc an. p.* 25.

[q] *Froiss. c.* 121.

upon he took into his own Ship the Standard of the Chief Admiral, (who was then the Earl of *Warwick*) saying, that he himself would be Admiral in that Expedition; and so set forward as chief Governour of the Fleet: And now as if Heaven consented to all this, had Wind at Will, on the 11 day of *July* he happily arrived with all his Fleet at the Haven of *la Hogue St. Vast* in *Coutantine* (a great Cape or *Peninsula* in *Normandy*) within 9 *French* Leagues of St. *Sauveur la Vicomte*, the right Heritage of the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt*. In this Haven the King found[r] 30 great Ships and Gallies, all which he took, and then endeavouring first of all to take land, he leap'd on the shore with such violence, that by a suddain *Antispasis* or contrary Attraction, the Blood gushed out of his Nose: Whereat his[f] Lords, abominating such an ill-boding Token, desired him to reenter his Ship, and not to land that Day; for that was no good Sign for them. But the King briskly reply'd, "*That it was only a sign the Land desired to have Him.*

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[r] *Knighton p.* 1585. *n.* 50.
[f] *Froiss. c.* 122. *Du Chesne p.* 663.

One reports[t] that there being some Opposition at their Landing, the Earl of *Warwick* with one Esquire and six Archers only, Himself by reason of the great Haste, not having a very good Horse, lifted up his Hand couragiously against an Hundred Men, striking every one he met to the ground; and together with those his seven Assistants, slew no less than 60 *Normans*; whereby he made way for his Army to land.

[t] *Walsing. hyp. p.* 118.

But althô Sr. *William*[u] *Dugdale* passes by this Story without the least Remark, yet we who have a greater Obligation to examine the Truth and Probability of Reports, must either not allow this Action at all, or not in this Place, but rather at *Caen*; as we shall shew hereafter. For by the Kings Landing in that Manner, as we related, it appears, there was no Opposition made against him; and 'tis[x] certain, that no Soul in *France* knew of King *Edwards* Design against *Normandy*; much less could they be ready to resist him at this time. Nor can I understand the Connexion of the Matter, that the Earl of *Warwick* fought against an Hundred: For either there were more to oppose his Landing, and then he might, being but so thinly attended, be said to lift up his Hand against them all; Or if but an Hundred, there was no need of any Man of Honour to beat them away: The Boys and Pages of the Navy might have done it. A MS. by me with more probability reports this Action of the Earls, to have been done afterwards in the Night against a Company of Rovers, who thought to have made a Prize of him.

[u] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*232.

[x] *Du Serres & Speed p.*577.

III. Upon that pleasant Diversion of the Omen which King *Edward* gave, his Lords smil'd for the good Hopes they conceived; and so landed all with much Ease and in good Order: In which Action the residue of that day was spent. The[y] approach of the next Morning brought an unwelcome notice of their Arrival to the Inhabitants of those Parts; so that leaving their Goods behind them, they fled to hide themselves in Woods and Caves before the face of the Enemy. At * *la Hogue* the Lord *Godfrey* of *Harcourt* paid his Homage unto King *Edward*, professing to hold his Lands and Possessions in *Normandy* of him, as Rightfull King of *France*. That same Day about Noon the King removed, and took an high Hill near the Shore; from whence he made a Dreadfull Appearance over all the Country. And here[z] he presently Knighted his Eldest Son the Prince of *Wales*, then just 16 Years and 27 Days old; and together with him several young Noblemen, as *William Montagu*[a] Earl of *Salisbury*, *Roger*[b] Lord *Mortimer*, *William* Lord[c] *Ros*, *Roger*[d] *de la Ware*, Grandson to the Lord *John de la Ware*, and many Others. At which time he made *John D' Arcy*, son to the Lord *John D' Arcy*, Banneret, allowing him 200 *l. per annum* out of the Exchequer for his better supporr in that Dignity whereof he gave him his Letters Patent (as appears by their[e] Date) three days after.

[y] 12 July *M.S. Vet-Lat. in Biblioth. C.C.C. cui Titulus* Acta Edvardi Filii Edvardi Tertii.
* *Id. M.S. vet. Lat. ibid.*
[z] *M.S. id. ibid.* & Oxon. *in Biblioth.* Bodlei. *K.*84. *fol.* 116. *a. Stow p.* 241.
[a] *Nat. annos* 18.
[b] *Nat. annos* 20.
[c] *Nat. annos* 19.
[d] *Nat. annos* 17.
[e] *Dat.* 15 *Julii, Rot. Franc.* 20 *Ed* 3. *m.* 21. *vid. Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 372.

IV. Presently Fame[f] spread abroad, how the *English* were landed in *Normandy*, but especially the Towns of *Coutantine* sent word thereof to King *Philip* at *Paris*, desiring a speedy Succour from him. He for his part had heard before, how King *Edward* was upon the Sea with a great Navy, but he knew not which way he was resolved, whether toward *Normandy*, *Bretagne* or *Gascogne*; and hitherto believed, he design'd the latter, with a purpose to raise the Siege before *Aiguillon*. But now when he understood for certain, that he was in *Normandy*, he sent the Lord *Robert Bertram* his Constable, together with the Earl of *Eu* and *Guisnes*, and the Earl of *Tancarville*, who were but newly come to him from his Son, lying before *Aiguillon*, and had not yet returned back again thither, to the City of *Caen*, commanding them expresly to keep that Place against King *Edward*. They said they would do their Devoir, and so went from *Paris* thitherward with a good Band of Men of Arms, and still their Numbers encreased as they went along. These great Lords with their Troops, were gladly received by the Citizens, and those of the Country thereabout, who were all fled thither for more Surety of themselves and Goods. Then all together they fell to fortifie the

[f] *Froiss. c.* 121.

Place

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Place, in the beſt manner they might (for in thoſe Days it was not walled about) and to prepare all things neceſſary for Defence of the Town, like Men of good Experience.

Now King [g] *Philip* had deſigned to have carried the War home to King *Edwards* Doors, and to have invaded *England* with a Mighty Army: For which intent among others, he had built a Ship of incredible Magnitude in the Haven of *Harfleur* in *Normandy*, and expected every day a good Number of Ships of Burthen, which he had ſent for to the State of *Genoua*. But that Aſſiſtance being too much delayed, and King *Edward* the mean while thus coming into *Normandy*, that Deſign was daſh'd, and the Terrour diverted into *France*.

[g] *Gaguin l.8. p.140.*

V. About this time of King *Edwards* paſſing over the Sea, there was [h] one *Simon Pawlett*, a very Subſtantial Citizen of *Compeigne* in the Iſle of *France*, openly accuſed to have ſaid before witneſſes, "That in very Truth the Right of the Crown of *France* did "more juſtly belong to King *Edward* of *England*, than to *Philip* of *Valois*: For which Words he was apprehended, and on the Firſt of *July* put to a moſt cruel Death at *Paris* in this Tragical Manner: He was firſt hanged upon Tenter-hooks, like an Ox in the Shambles, and there he was gradually diſmembred alive; and ſo his Arms, and then his Legs, and laſtly, his Head being cut off from his Body, the Trunk was hung in Chains on the Common Gallows at *Paris*, called *Monfaucon*. But theſe Cruel Executions, amidſt ſuch manifold Taxes, and the Difficulties uſually attending War, did but lay more horrour upon the Dejected Minds of the People of *France*: So that althô they would by no means admit of an *Engliſh* Ruler, yet they were but little ſatisfied with this of their Own.

[h] *Gaguin l.8. p.140. & Fabian p.274.*

VI. King *Edward* the mean while upon his Landing, ſet up his Tent on the Shoar, till his Marſhals had taken the Town of *Hogue*, before which he Lodged that Night; during which time the Ships were diſcharged of their Horſes, and other Baggage: The next Morning [i] upon the Kings Departure, the Souldiers ſet fire to that Town, and then the King order'd his Battails after this manner. The Earl of [k] *Huntington*, he appointed his Admiral with an 100 Men of Arms, and 400 Archers to ply by the Sea-Coaſts, following the Courſe of the Land Army, with a ſmall part of the Navy, having ſent the [l] Reſidue, as he had before Reſolved, into *England*. On his Right Hand he order'd the Earl of *Warwick*, One of his Marſhals, with the Lord *Thomas Holland*, and the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, to lead one Battalia along by the Sea-ſide, *Northward*; on his Left Hand marched the other Marſhal, the Lord *Godfry Harcourt*, with another Battalia, and the King Himſelf, and his Son the Prince held the Main Battail; The whole Army amounting to 30000 Men Effective, beſides the Fleet: And all the Three Battails were order'd every Night to joyn, and to lodge in One Field. Being thus Order'd, they ſet forward together, the Admiral taking all the Ships, and other Veſſels, that he found at Sea, and the King and his Marſhals clear'd all by Land. That Night they lodged in [m] *Wiſſel*, about three Leagues *North* of St. *Vaſt*, where the King tarried *five* Days, in which time all the Country was waſted, and ſpoiled up to the very point of Land; and the Town of [n] *Barfleur* taken; the People yielding it up immediately for fear of Death: Yet neither ſo could they ſave the Town from the Rapacity of the Souldiers. For their Chief Burgeſſes, and others, being put on Board the Fleet, for fear they ſhould afterward Rebell, the Conquerours ſeiſed all the Gold, Silver, Jewels, and Plate, that ev'r they could lay their Hands on: Inſomuch that the meaneſt Footmen, and Servants of the Army ſcorn'd to meddle with good furred Garments, or any other Stuff, but Silks, Embroideries, or Plate. And this was done by the Earl of *Warwicks* Battalia; who paſſing thence by *Coqueville* and *Breteville*, which he took, came to a Great and Rich City, called *Cherbourgh*, which he alſo wan, and ſpoil'd, and partly burnt; but the Caſtle he could not preſently take, it was ſo well furniſhed, and long they could not ſtay in thoſe Parts. Thence the Battail returned back on the Left Hand to [o] *Valognes*, which they took and ſpoil'd, and ſet on Fire; the ſame they did afterward to *Monteburgh*, and all the Towns in thoſe Parts, from whence they wan much Spoil, and great Riches. At laſt they came to a Conſiderable Town, named *Carentan*; which was encloſed with a Trench, and Rampier, protected by a ſtrong Caſtle, and furniſhed with a good Garriſon. The Earl of *Warwick* from the Land, and the Earl of *Huntington* from the Ships, came and made a terrible Aſſault upon this Place: So that the [p] Burgeſſes being terrified thereby, to ſave the Lives of themſelves, their Wives, and Children, againſt the Mind of all the Souldiers, yielded up the Town to the *Engliſh*, and offer'd for ſecurity of their Lives, all their Goods to their Diſcretion. When the Souldiers ſaw the buſineſs of the Inhabitants,

[i] *Stow p.241.*
[k] *Froiſ. c.122.*
[l] *Giov. Villani l.12. c.62. p.872.*
[m] *Stow p.241. Tho. de la More: Sed ibi malè* Marcells.
[n] *Imperitè alii* Harfleur, *cum id oppidi ſit trans* Segnanam, *& 30 Milliar. Gal. diſtat ab his locis: Quod miror nec Gallos Authores ipſos animadverriſſe.*
[o] *Du Cheſne. p.664. Mezeray ad hunc annum.*
[p] *Froiſ. c.122.*

bitants, and that against their Wills, it was impossible for them to make good the Place, they retired to the Castle; but within two Days after were obliged to yield, thô on better Conditions, than the Townsmen; for these obtained security for Life and Goods. So the Town and Castle of *Carentan* were taken; and all the Inhabitants sent to the Ships, as Prisoners; but when King [q] *Edward* understood, that the Heads of some of his Friends, whom the *French* King had murther'd, were upon the Gates of that Town; he commanded them to be taken down and buried Reverently: And order'd both the Town and Castle, as a Sacrifice to their Ghosts, to be burnt and rased to the ground. AN. DOM. 1346. An. Regni *Angliæ* XX *Franciæ* VII.

[q] *Du Serres in* Philip de Valois *p.* 7. *Resse's* Continuation of Sr. *Walter Raleigh p.* 291.

These things were done by the Earl of *Warwicks* Battalia, which went along by the Sea-Coast; while on the other [r] side, the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt* rode forth on the Kings Left Hand; for he knew all the Avenues, and Passages of *Normandy* better than any other: He had in his Battalia 500 Men of Arms, besides Archers and Footmen, and sometimes ranged six or seven Leagues from the Kings Battail, as far as the Sea-Coast, *Westward*, where *Normandy* looks on the Isles of *Jersey*, and *Garnesey*, burning and spoiling all before him, with no less Hostility and Fury, than the *English* Lords used on the other side. They all found the Country very Rich and Plentifull; the Granges and Barns full of Corn and Provender, the Shops and Houses full of Rich Stuffs, and other Goods and Commodities, and the whole Country abounding with Chariots, Carts, Horses, Swine, Sheep, Oxen, and Poultry: For there had been a long Peace and Security in those Parts. The Souldiers now took of all this, what they pleas'd, and brought it to the King; but of what Gold and Silver they found, they gave no account either to him, or his Officers, but kept it to themselves. In this manner the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt*, and the Earl of *Warwick* rode forth by Day, but at Night for the most part, they both lay in the Kings Field, or very near him.

[r] *Froiss. ibid.*

When thus all things were clear'd behind, as to the *North*-point of *Normandy*, King *Edward* began to March *Eastward*, and went directly to St. *Lo* in *Coutantine*; but before he came thither, he encamped by the River *Vire*, till his two Battails might come up to him, and then he proceeded.

VII. The mean [t] while King *Philip* was not negligent on his Part, but enforced his Summons to his Subjects, and others, who held of him any way, and sent for all his Friends and Allies; as to the Noble and Valiant Old King of *Bohemia*, *John* of *Luxemburgh*, Son to *Henry* the VII, once Emperour of *Germany*, and to his Eldest Son, the Lord *Charles* Marquess of *Moravia*, who about this time was called *Cæsar*, being advanced in Opposition to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; upon whose Death a Year after, He was made Emperour. King *John* and his Son *Charles* came speedily to King *Philip*'s Assistance, with a goodly Number of *Bohemians*, *Germans*, and *Luxemburghers*; as did also upon the said Kings Request, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorraine*, King *Philip's* Nephew, and *James*, Son and Heir to *Humbert*, the Old *Dauphin* of *Vienna*, which two lead 300 Spears: Then came the Lord *John* of *Hainalt*, Lord of *Beaumont*, who as we shew'd, was lately brought over from the King of *England's* Service, with a gallant Troop of Valiant *Hainalders*: there was likewise *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, who had but few Men under him, and those only of the Gentry and Nobility of *Flanders*; for the Commons of that Country held all for King *Edward*: Thither came also *James* King of *Majorica*, who being beaten out of his Kingdom by *Peter*, King of *Aragon*, had lately for an [u] 100000 Crowns of Gold, sold unto King *Philip* of *France*, his Right to *Monpellier*; that thereby he might be enabled to give Battle to the King of *Aragon*: But at this time he could not refuse, with what Forces he had, to Assist King *Philip*. While thus the *French* King was making himself strong on all sides, he had full Information of the uncontroled Progress of his Adversary of *England*, and sware openly, "That he should never return again into *England* without Battle: And that all those "Spoils, Slaughters, and Devastations should be dearly Revenged. But many of his Auxiliary Friends came from far, and so it was long, before he had his full Assembly: Wherefore the mean while King *Edward* went on without any considerable Opposition.

[t] *Froiss. c.* 123.

[u] *Odoric. Rainald. ad ann* 1345. §. 13.

VIII. The *English* Army still kept their first Order, marching up toward High-*Normandy* in three Battalions: They went on fair and softly, in Battle Array, as if the Enemy was always before them; and they took up their Lodgings every day early; so that for the most part, the whole Army, except the Marshals Fore-runners, was encamped betwixt Noon and Three of the Clock. The Country was so Plentifull, wheresoever they went, that they had no need to look out for any other Provision; but Wine, (and yet here and there they also found enough of that.) Althô the King to prevent

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prevent the Worſt, had brought Proviſions of all ſorts along with him; and beſides [u] he gave ſtrict Command, that none ſhould preſume to make any unneceſſary waſte of Victuals, Drink, or Forage. It was no [x] great Wonder, if all the Country trembled at the ſight of this Royal Army; for till then they had ſeen nothing like War in thoſe Parts, nor knew any thing beyond the Ordinary Trainings of their *Militia*; ſo that generally the People fled before the Face of the *Engliſh*, as far as they might hear the ſound of their Name; leaving behind them their Houſes full of Goods, their Barns and Granaries full of Corn, and their Cattle in the Fields; for they knew not whither in that Hurry to bear them away: Particularly the [y] City of *Bayeux* for fear of him, ſending 15 Chief Citizens, as their Deputies unto him, and deſiring to enter into his Homage, and to be taken into his Protection, were admitted. And in this Manner King *Edward* rode forth, burning, waſting, and ravaging the Country, and leaving long tracks of Fire and Deſolation behind him, till he came to the Great Town of St. *Lo*, the fartheſt [z] Port of Lower *Normandy*, wherein were no leſs, than Eight or Nine-ſcore Rich Burgeſſes, and exceeding much Drapery. When the King came thither, he order'd his Lodgings to be ſet up without the Town (for in War time he would never endure to lodge in any Town for fear of Fire) having already ſent a ſtrong Detachment before him, who preſently took the Town, and plunder'd it, ſending their Burgeſſes Priſoners to the Ships.

[u] *M.S. Vet.* Latin. *in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantabr. *cui titulus* Acta *Edwardi*, Filii *Edwardi* Tertii.
[x] *Froiſ. ibid.*
[y] *M.S. Vet.* Latin. *id. ibid.* 29 Julii.
[z] *D' Avila p.* 974.

From hence the King (having burnt *Torigny*, *Cormolin*, *Fontenay* and *Cheſne*) marched directly toward the great City of *Caen* in *Normandy*, about eleven *French* Miles Eaſtward of St. *Lo*, which likewiſe abounded with Mercers Ware, and other Merchandiſe; and was inhabited with Rich Burgeſſes, Noble Ladies, and Fair Virgins; and adorned with goodly Churches and other Buildings, among which there were two ſtately Abbeys, the one of the *Trinity*, and the other of St. *Stephen*, which latter was built by *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who was in time King of *England*, ſirnamed the *Conquerour*; and lay then buried before the [a] High Altar in the ſaid Church of St. *Stephen*, under a moſt ſtately *Mauſoleum*, erected there for him by his Son King *William*, ſirnamed *Rufus*.

[a] *Sandford Geneal. hiſt. p.* 6.

On the one ſide of this City [b] ſtood the Caſtle, being the very faireſt of all *Normandy*, wherein was Captain Sr. *Robert Wergny* with 300 *Genoueſe*, Arbaliſters, beſides Men of Arms: And in the Town there was *William Bertrand* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, *Ralph* Earl of *Eu* and of *Guiſnes*, and Conſtable of *France*, and *John Melun* Earl of *Tancarville* and High Chamberlain, with a ſufficient Number of Men of War. King *Edward* [c] being deſirous to ſave the Effuſion of *Chriſtian* Blood, ſent unto them firſt *Geoffry de Maldon*, Fryer of the Order of the Hermits of St. *Auſten*, and Profeſſor of Divinity, with his Letters, wherein he exhorted them to deliver up unto him the Town and Caſtle; and he promiſed to receive them into his Grace and Protection, and to let them enjoy their Properties ſecurely. But him the Biſhop of *Baieux* cauſed to be clapt in Irons, and detained in the Dungeon of the Caſtle, tearing the Kings Letters in pieces, and urging the Captains to ſtand boldly to their Defence. For that day the King of *England* took up his Lodging early in the Afternoon by a little Port-Town called *Eſtrehan*, near the River *Orne*; whither his Admiral came to him with his Navy. The Conſtable and the other *French* Lords in *Caen* kept good Watch that Night, and the next Morning betimes were all in Arms, together with the Inhabitants, ready to ſerve their Country with the hazard of their Lives. The Conſtable's Reſolution at firſt was only to ſtand on the Defenſive Part, and therefore he gave Order, that none ſhould ſally forth by any means, but ſtand in their allotted Stations upon the Walls, Gates, Bridge and Rivers. As for the Suburbs he gave over all care of them, becauſe they were not tenable: For he thought it ſufficient, if he might make good the City it ſelf, becauſe it was only encloſed with the River. But when the Burgeſſes and chief Inhabitants heard of this Order, they ſaid, "that for their Part they would "march out againſt the King of *England*, for they were both able and willing to give "him Battle, for all his Puiſſance. The Conſtable ſeeing their Alacrity ſaid, "Be it "ſo then in the Name of God and St. *Dennis*; You ſhall not want my Company. Then they ſet open their Gates, and marched out all in good Order, making Countenance, as if they were reſolved to Conquer, or to ſell their Lives Dearly.

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 123. *& Du Cheſne p.* 664. *Gaguin p.* 140. *Fabian p.* 221.
[c] *M.S. vet. Lat. &c.*

That Morning being the 20 of [d] *July*, King * *Edward* roſe early, and having heard Maſs before Sun-riſe, ſet his Men in Order to go againſt the City of *Caen*: And ſo took horſe with the Prince his Son, and the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt*, one of his Marſhals, whoſe Word the King much rely'd on; and approached the Town in three well-order'd Battalia's. But when the [e] Burgeſſes of the City, who had hitherto ſtood

[d] *Fabian p.* 220
* *Froiſ. c.* 123.
[e] *Froiſ. ibid. Du Cheſne & Mezeray p.* 25.

ready

ready to receive him in the Field, saw the Dreadfull Appearance of Standards, and Banners waving in the Wind, and the Tall Archers shooting fiercely from their long Bows, presently their Hearts began to fail them, and having scarce endured the first Brunt of the Battle, for all that the Constable could say, or do, they ignobly abandon'd both Him and their Honour, and fled precipitantly toward the Town; the *English* eagerly following them at the Heels. Here it was that the Archers finding some faint Resistance at the Bridge, King *Edward* lest they should suffer by the *French* Men of Arms, sent the Earl of *Warwick* to succour them, who by his wonderous Valour (thô he found the Archers out of all Danger, and fighting with some Advantage on their Side) so signaliz'd himself, that together with Seven Men of Arms more (if he did not as [f] *Walsingham* reports, slay an Hundred *Normans*) yet he won the Bridge, and enter'd the Town pell-mell with the Enemy. When the Constable and the Earl of *Tancarville* saw how things went, cursing the Cowardise of the Townsmen, and their own Credulity, they took a little Tower at the Bridge Foot, which they enter'd with certain Knights in their Company. The Bishop [g] of *Bayeux* with some other Captains, Knights and Esquires of *France*, such as knew the ready way to the Castle, hasted all thither, where they were received by the Captain Sr. *Robert Wergny*; for the Place was large enough. All this while the *English* were chasing and slaying such as they found; for as yet they gave no Quarter: And it happen'd so ill for the Town, that the River, which at other times could bear Ships of Burthen, was now so low, that Men might without Danger pass and repass it both on Horseback and on Foot. Wherefore the City was presently full of Enemies, and the *French* were on all hands beaten down without Mercy; so that what within the Town, and in the Chace, there fell above [h] 5000 of the Enemy. The Constable and the Earl of *Tancarville* beholding this Slaughter, and considering that they were not able to make good the Place wherein they were (wherefore they were like to be slain, as they saw their Men were, without Mercy) began to think of saving their Lives by yielding. So looking down along the Street, at last they espied an *English* Lord Sr. *Thomas Holland*, who with his Brother Sr. *Robert* and Others, were of the Retinue of *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*. *Froisard* says he had but one Eye; which because he also reports of *William Montagu* late Earl of *Salisbury*, of the Lord *John Chandos* and other *English* Knights, I am apt to think, that he was one of those 500 young Gentlemen, who in the Beginning of these *French* Wars clapt Patches on their Left Eyes, with a solemn Vow never to take them off, till they had done Exploits worthy of the Voice of Fame. However these *French* Lords knew him by Name (for they had seen and known him in the Holy Wars in *Prussia*, *Granada* and other Places) and called out unto Him and his Company saying, they would yield themselves his Prisoners. Then Sr. *Thomas Holland* went thither with his Men, and took the two Lords and 25 *French* Knights more, who all yielded themselves to Sr. *Thomas* and those with him; among whom we find one *Thomas Leigh* a valiant Esquire of the Lord *Holland's*, who took the Earl of *Tancarville*; for which and other his worthy Services done in this and other Expeditions, King *Edward* gave him the Lordship of *Hanley* in *Broxton*-Hundred, in the County Palatine of *Chester*, which still remains in that Ancient Family. But to the Lord *Holland*, besides the great Honours he arrived to afterwards, the King [k] gave 4000 *Florens* of Gold, and in lieu thereof took the Earl of *Eu* for his own Prisoner. This done, and the Prisoners committed to safe Custody, the Lord *Holland* remounted his Horse hastily, and rode into the Streets; where by his Authority he interposed and saved many Lives, and preserved many Ladies, young Damsels and Nuns from violation. For now the Common Souldiers rag'd exceedingly, because many of the Town being got on the tops of Houses, had flung down Tiles, Stones, Timber and Iron, wherewith they did much harm to their Enemies; and not only provoked the Souldiers, but also the King himself: Insomuch that having heard at night, how near upon 500 of his Men were in this manner either grievously hurt or killed out right by the Citizens he gave Command, that the next day they should put all to the Sword, and reduce the City to Ashes. But then the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt*, either in a pious Commiseration of his own Country, or that he really saw of what ill Consequences such severe Beginnings might prove to the *English*, stept out before the King and said, "Sir, for God's Sake refrain your Pas-"sion a little, and let what You have already done suffice for this time: For You "have still much Labour to go thrô, before You can arrive at *Calais*, whither You are "designed. And Sir, in this Place there are many People, who if driven to Despair, "will not fail so obstinately to defend their Houses, and to sell their Lives so dearly, "as it may cost You many of your Men, unless You resolve to destroy the City and "the

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[f] *Walsingh. Hypod. p.* 118.

[g] *Fabian p.* 221.

[h] *Giov. Villan. l.* 12. *p.* 872.

[i] *Holinshead Eng. Chron. p.* 931.

[k] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.* 74.

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"the Spoil together. Whereby peradventure You will not be able to accompliſh your "Deſign upon *Calais*; which muſt needs redound to your no ſmall Vexation. Where- "fore I pray Sir, ſave the Lives of your Men; for before a Month come to an end, You "will have occaſion for them, even thô You had as many more: For beſides "the many Difficult Paſſages and Rencounters You will every day meet with, I be- "lieve in my Conſcience, your Adverſary King *Philip* will preſent You with Battle. "But if it ſhall pleaſe Your Majeſty to proclaim a Pardon for all that ſhall ſubmit, I'll "engage, that without any more Bloodſhed You ſhall be Lord of this City and all that "is therein. The King having well weigh'd the Reaſon of theſe Words, anſwer'd, "Sr. *Godfry*, You are our Marſhal, order all things at your own Diſcretion. So next Morning the Lord *Godfry Harcourt* rode early from Street to Street, with his Banner diſ- played before him, and commanded aloud by an Herald in the Kings Name, [l] that no Man ſhould preſume to ſet fire to any Houſe, to murder any Perſon, or to violate any Woman whatſoever. The Townſmen hearing this Proclamation, freely admitted the *Engliſh* into their Houſes, and gave them good Entertainment, and many opened their Cloſets, and bad them take what they pleaſed, ſo they might be ſecure of their Lives: And yet for all that, there were many Rapes, Murders and Robberies committed in the Town. Thus the *Engliſh* were Lords of *Caen*, where they tarried three Days gathe- ring of the Spoil, becauſe they made Reſiſtance and were taken by Force; among other Riches of Gold and Silver and the like, there were found as One [m] reckons, no leſs than 40000 Pieces of Fine Cloath, Silks and Linnen, beſide other Wares proportio- nable. All which the King ſent down the River *Orne* to *Eſtrehan*, where the Navy lay, to be carried to St. *Saviour* the Vicount, from whence ſoon after by the Kings Com- mand, the Earl of *Huntington* conveyed all into *England*, as well Cloth and other Stuff for Garments, Veſſels of Gold and Silver, Jewels and other Riches, as all the Priſo- ners; whereof in this Bout at *Caen* there were no leſs than [n] 86 Great Lords, Barons and Knights, and above 300 Rich Citizens.

[l] *M.S. vet.* Lat. *in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *ut ante.*

[m] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 62. *p.* 872.

[n] *Giov. Villani ibid.*

IX. King [o] *Edward* having now done his Pleaſure at *Caen*, after three Days without Firing the Place, departed thence (having alſo taken in *Bayeux*) in the ſame Order he uſed before; and continued his March thrô the Biſhopricks of [p] *Liſieux* and *Eureux*, having among others taken and ſacked a good Town called *Louviers*, where he found a vaſt quantity of Riches, Drapery and other Merchandiſe. He took alſo [q] *Liſieux* it ſelf, a chief City in *Normandy*, and abounding with Wealth and Merchandiſe, which his Souldiers plunder'd. And hence [r] He gave Letters of Protection and ſafe Conduct to *Annibald* Cardinal of *Tuſculan*, and *Stephen* Cardinal of St. *John* and St. *Paul*, ſent from the Pope to mediate Peace. Theſe Men hereupon ſoon after came to the King, he being then at [s] *Gaillon* (between *Pont de l' Arche* and *Vernon*) which Place he had newly ta- ken and burnt: And here they repreſented unto him; [t] how they were ſent from his Holineſs to endeavour an Accord between Him and the King of *France*, willing him to remit the whole Matter to the Pious Deciſion of the Pope. But King *Edward*, who could put no Truſt in the Pope, would not hear of any Accord, but preſently brake off all Treaty with the ſaid Legates, becauſe it appeared to him, that the Pope was much more favourable to the King of *France* than to Him or his Cauſe. Yet foraſmuch as ſome of them had been rifled of what they had by ſome *Engliſh* Souldiers, King *Edward* not only cauſed their own to be reſtored unto them, but gave them ſomething over and above of his own, to make them amends; and ſo they returned towards *Paris*. The mean time King *Edward* with his Detachments overran the Country far and near; and all the way he went on Burning and Spoiling whatever he met with, except ſome few ſtrong Towns and Caſtles that were fortified: For he would not give any Aſſault to ſuch, being reſolved to ſpare his Men and Artillery for a greater Enterpriſe. Thus he went on like a Torrent, overwhelming all before him on that ſide the *Seyne*, even to the Iſle of *France* and to [u] *Paris* it ſelf. But as for *Rouën*, he left that on his Left hand, paſſing it by for the Lord *Godfry's* Sake, for there was his Brother the Earl of *Harcourt*, on the *French* Kings part, and the Earl of *Dreux* in his Company, with a Choice number of Brave Souldiers. Thô others ſay, that the King of *France* himſelf was there on the other ſide the *Seyne*, coaſting the King of *England* all along till he came to *Poiſſy*; as appears by the Letters of the Kings Chaplain, which we ſhall pro- duce hereafter. Wherefore the King of *England* turned thence to *Pont de l' Arche* on the *Seyne*, which he took and deſtroy'd, as alſo all the Country about *Rouën*; the ſame he did to *Vernon*, and ſent a Detachment thence, which took and burnt the Town of *Giſors*, but would not dwell upon Attempting the Caſtle, for the Reaſons before al- ledged. The mean while the King marched along by the *Seyne* to *Mante* and *Meulan*, which

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 125.

[p] *Mezeray p.* 25.

[q] *Aſhmole p.* 654.

[r] *Rot. Norman.* 20 *Ed.* 3. *m.* 21. *vid. Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc ann.* §. 39.

[s] *Aſhmole p.* 654.

[t] *Giov. Villan. l.* 12. *c.* 63. *p.* 873. *vid Epiſt. Papæ ad* Edvard. *Regem dat. Avin.* iii *Non.* Auguſt. *Anno Pontif.* 5. *apud Odor. Raynald. ad hunc an.* §. 40.

[u] *Mezeray ibid.*

which he paſſed by, as alſo the ſtrong Caſtle of *Rouleboiſe*; but all along the River *Seyne* he found the Bridges broken, till at laſt he came to *Poiſſy*, a Town about five Leagues from *Paris*, where the Bridge indeed was broken down, but the Joiſts and Arches lay in the River. For when King [x] *Philip*, who moſt certainly coaſted the *Engliſh* Army on the other ſide the River, ſaw King *Edwards* Motion toward *Paris*, which he chiefly dreaded, and gueſſed that the Bridge of *Poiſſy* could not be made ſtrong enough againſt the *Engliſh*, becauſe thô otherwiſe the Place was ſtrong, it was not Walled about, he went thither, and as my Author was afterwards informed, with Tears in his Eyes, perſwaded the Lady Prioreſs who was his Siſter, and the reſt of the Recluſes, being of the Order of St. *Dominic*, to depart away for the preſent, together with all the Inhabitants, and at their going off to break down the Bridge. So they brake the Bridge, thô their Fear hindred them from doing it ſo effectually, as elſe they might have done, and fled all away to the City of *Paris*; and the *French* King intended, if the *Engliſh* came thither, to deſtroy the Suburbs; and all things were made ready there, as if they expected a Siege the next Day. But when King *Edward* was come to *Poiſſy*, he gave order immediatly to his Carpenters to uſe all their Diligence in Repairing the Bridge ſtrongly; and there he tarried three Days, expecting the Iſſue of their Labour: He himſelf being lodged in a New Royal Palace of King *Philip's*, adjoyning to the Priory, and the Prince his Son in another Palace of the ſaid Kings. But the Priory it ſelf is commended by the Ancient Author, whom I follow, for one of the moſt Delicate and Beautifull Structures that ever he ſaw. And no doubt the Town was well beloved by the later Kings of *France*, not only becauſe it lay ſo near to *Paris* upon the River *Seyne*, but alſo becauſe it had now been rendred famous for giving Birth to St. *Lewis*, Grandfather to King *Philip* the *Fair*. While King *Edward* thus ſtay'd at *Poiſſy*, his Marſhals made their Excurſions to St. *German en Laye*, to *Mount-joy*, St. *Cloud*, Petty *Boulogne* by *Paris*, and *Bourg la Reyne*, which were all taken, ſacked and fired. The Flames [y] were ſeen from St. *Cloud* and other Places to *Paris*, which put the Citizens into ſuch a Conſternation (as the *French* Chronicles confeſs) that if King *Philip* had not at that time been there upon the Spot, they had ſent and yielded up their City to King *Edward*. He for his part, ſeeing he could not as yet paſs the River of *Seyne* toward *Paris*, after he had uſed the Palaces and Manſions of the *French* King's, and drank off the Wines, and diſpoſed of what elſe he found there at his Pleaſure, ſet them on fire at his Departure, and conſumed the moſt of them either by Himſelf or his Marſhals, as at St. *German*, *Mont-joy* and *Poiſſy* (* eſpecially at *Chaſtell du Roy*, an Houſe of all moſt Dear to King *Philip*, and which he himſelf had built and finiſhed but about 2 Years before) and the other Places above-named. About [z] this Time the Lord *Robert Ferrers* of *Chartley*, having by means of a ſmall Boat conveyed over the *Seyne* his own Troops, went and gave Aſſault to the Caſtle of *Roche-Guyon*. The Place was thought to be impregnable; inſomuch that there was current a Prophecy or Proverb concerning it, ſignifying its great Strength; and that was

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x *M.S. vet.* Lat. *in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *cui Titulus*, Acta Edvardi Filii Edvardi Tertii *ad* 12 Auguſti, *&c.*

y *Fabian p.* 221.

* *M.S. id. ibid.*

z *M.S. vet.* Lat. *in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *cui Titulus* Acta Edvardi Filii Edvardi Tertii. 10 Auguſti.

Le Fleur du Liz perdera ſon nom,
Quand ſera gaignee la Roche-Guyon.

In *Engliſh*,

The Lilly loſes her Renown,
When Roche-Guyon *Caſtle's won.*

But however after a briſk Aſſault, in which Sr. *Edward Attewood* was ſlain, the Caſtle was yielded to the Lord *Ferrers*; who finding therein a great Number of Ladies, diſmiſt them civilly without the leaſt Abuſe, and having taken an Oath of all the Knights and Eſquires his Priſoners for the Payment of their Ranſoms, he let them go alſo, and return'd again over the *Seyne* to the King. While King *Edward* remained at *Poiſſy*, he [a] ſent his Defiance again to *Philip* of *Valois*, challenging him forth to Battle, and offering to meet him in the Field under the very Walls of the *Louvre*. Thô by ſome this was thought but a Trick to amuſe King *Philip*, that he might not purſue him, for that being now laden with Spoil he ſeem'd not unwilling to return. But ſince Truth is our Aim, we muſt not conceal, that all along King *Edward's* Actions agreed with his Defiance; and that he always ſought to meet King *Philip*, till in the end he obtain'd a Battle; and that if he intended to retire, he might more ſafely have done it by going back the ſame way he came, thrô a Country already conquer'd, than by making of Bridges ſo near the *Metropolis* of *France* to go further, where it ſeem'd morally im-

a *Mezeray ad hunc an. p.* 25.

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possible for him to escape a Battle. Nor do we hear of any Navy that expected him any where on the other side the *Seyne*, nor had he as yet any Place of Retreat in those Parts, where to secure his Booty or his Person. The Truth of it is, that he had already design'd a Siege for *Calais*, and therefore marched now that Way; that either before he came thither, he might try his Fortune with *Philip*, or at least passing so far without Battle, have a sufficient tast of his Courage, and a free Opportunity of Enriching his own Men, and ravaging the Lands of his Enemies. Nor could he intend to retreat for safety to his own Lands in the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, as [b] some say, because they as well as others, that belonged to him, were now in the Hands of the *French* King, as may appear by the King of *Englands* frequent Complaints thereof in his Letters. As for the Army of the *Flemings*, which Others [c] say he went forth to joyn in *Picardy*, we cannot think, that any such Design or Appointment was had or made, because no such Effect appeared afterward, even thô all Impediments were removed.

[b] *Mezeray ibid.*

[c] *Giov. Villani. l.12.c.64.p.874*

X. However [d] when the *Parisians* saw such Dreadfull Fires so near their own Walls, they were in great doubt of themselves: And King [e] *Philip* himself was extreamly incensed, to behold from his Capital City the heart of his Kingdom in Flames. Wherefore he resolved forthwith to remove to St. *Dennis*, having first commanded all the Penthouses in *Paris* to be pulled down: But when the *Parisians* saw their King ready to leave them, they came flocking to him, and upon their knees, said, "Ah, Gra- "cious Prince! What means Your Majesty, thus to forsake Your Royal Chamber of "*Paris*? The King reply'd, "Good People, fear you nothing: For the *English* shall "come no nearer to you, than they are already. Why Sir, said they, they are not a- "bove 2 Leagues off now; and when they shall hear of Your Departure, they will "come and Assault us, and without You, we are not able to hold out against them: Sir, "for Gods sake, tarry here still, and defend your Loyal City of *Paris*. Speak no more, "said the King, of this Matter: For I am resolved to go to St. *Dennis* to my Men "of War, and I will encounter the *English*, and give them Battle, whatsoever chance "shall betide me. And thereupon, [f] having left for the Guard of the City, and of his Queen, and Children, 1200 Men of Arms, besides the Inhabitants, and Footmen, he rode forth to St. *Dennis*, about 2 Leagues *Northward* of *Paris*, where he [g] found the King of *Bohemia*, and his Son *Charles*, Elected King of the *Romans*, the Lord *John* of *Hainalt*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Earl of *Flanders*, of *Namur*, of *Blois*, and other great Lords and Knights, with their Troops ready to serve him. All this time King *Edward*, while his Men were repairing the Bridge, lay at [h] *Poissy* in the Nunnery, where he kept the Feast of the *Assumption* of our Lady, on the 15 of *August*, and sat in his Royal Robes of Vermilion Scarlet, furr'd with Ermines, without sleeves; having the day [i] before published by Proclamation, that for Reverence of the approaching Solemnity, no man whatsoever should offer, during that Festival, to commit any outrage by Fire or Depredations, on pain of Life and Limbs: But that all should devoutly solemnize the Praises of the Mother of God. While this Bridge was thus repairing by the *English*, the *French* King [k] sent thither 2000 Souldiers to hinder the Workmen; but the Archers by their continual shooting with their home-drawn Bows, slew the greater part of them: So that the Rest flying, the Work was brought to Perfection. Wherefore the Day after this Feast, the Bridge being ready, King *Edward* passed over in his former Array, having [l] fired the Town of *Poissy*, but spared the Nunnery, in Honour of its Founder *Philip*, the *Fair*, who was his Grandfather, by the Mothers side. Being thus passed over the *Seyne*, and entred into *le Vexin Francois*, he marched toward *Pont-Oyse*, which is a City of great Defence, but the Vanguard being past the Town, the Rere-guard Assaulted it, and took it, where more than 300 Men of Arms of the Enemy, were slain. The next Day one of the *English* Marshals, namely the Lord [m] *Godfry Harcourt* together with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Lord *Hugh Spencer*, riding out on one Hand with 500 Men of Arms, and 1300 Archers, met by chance with a great Number of Burgesses of *Amiens* on Horseback, who upon King *Philips* Command, were riding to *Paris* for the better Defence of that City, in case of Necessity. The *English* immediately fell upon them with great Courage, and the *French* Defended themselves a while, as Valiantly; for they had four good Knights of *Amiens* to their Captains, and they exceeded the *English* in Number, and were all very well armed. So that at the beginning many were reversed on both parts, and the Skirmish continued something doubtfull: But at last the *English* by their obstinate Valour, and great Experience prevailed, and then the Burgesses were well-nigh all taken, or slain; so that about [n] 1200 of them remain'd Dead in the Field;

[d] *Froiss. c. 125.*

[e] *Mezeray p.26. ad hunc annum.*

[f] *Giov. Villani l.12.c.65. p. 875.*

[g] *Froiss. Du Chesne. &c.*

[h] *Froiss. ibid. & Du Chesne p. 664.*

[i] *M.S. Vetust. Latin. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantabr.*

[k] *Fabian p.222.*

[l] *Fabian p.221.*

[m] *Froiss. c. 125. & Du Chesne p. 664.*

[n] *Ashmole p. 655. & Martin p. 118. & Froiss. ibid. &c.*

Field; and all their Carriage, Baggage, and Harneſs, [o]being 302 Carts and Waggons, laden with Croſsbows, Quarrels, Armour, and Victuals, fell to the Conquerours ſhare; beſides 60 Gentlemen Priſoners.

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Thus the [p] King of *England* marched in Hoſtile Manner thrô *Vexin Francois* into *Beauvaiſis*; burning and deſtroying all before him. Now it is to be remembred, that on the Second Day after King *Edward* had paſſed the *Seyne*, he being then at *Auneuil*, within 3 Leagues of *Beauvais*, there [q] came Letters unto him from King *Philip*, ſignifying, that he would give him Battle, as on that *Thurſday*, or elſe on the *Saturday*, *Sunday*, or *Monday* following: On Condition he would in the mean while forbear deſtroying the Country. In Anſwer whereto King *Edward* immediately ſent him this Letter following.

[o] *Sr Tho. de la More apud Stow p.242.*

[p] *Froiſ. c. 125. fol.62.*

[q] *Aſhmole's* Garter *p.655. ex* Record.

"EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of *France*, and *England*, and Lord "of *Ireland*, unto the Illuſtrious Lord, *Philip*, Earl of *Valois*. [r] Sr. *Philip* of *Valois*, "We have read your Letters, wherein you ſignifie unto Us, that You will Combat "with our whole Power, between St. *Germaine de Prez*, and *Valgirart de la Paris*, "or between *Franconville* and *Pont-Oyſe*, this *Thurſday*, or on *Saturday*, *Sunday*, or "*Monday* next following; provided, that neither We nor our People, do any Dam"age, Spoil, or Waſte; Whereupon We give You to know, that thrô Aſſurance "in God, and the Clear Right which We have to the Crown of *France*, which You "Uſurp injuriouſly, to the Diſheriſon of Us, our Country, God and Right, We are "come, not in any Pride, or Preſumption, into our ſaid Realm of *France*, holding our "way toward You, to make an end of the War between Us: But that when it was "in Your Power to have Battle, You cauſed the Bridges to be broken down between "You and Us; ſo that We could not approach unto You, nor paſs the Water of "*Seyne*, till We were come to *Poiſſy*; and there We took Order to Repair the Bridge, "which You had cauſed to be broken; and We tarried there three Days, waiting for "You and your Power, which You have aſſembled; unto which Place You might have "come, either on the one ſide, or the other at your Pleaſure. And becauſe We can"not have Battle with You, We have taken a Reſolution to paſs further into our ſaid "Realm to comfort thoſe that are our Friends, and Faithfull, and to chaſtiſe thoſe, "who are Rebellious unto Us, whom You unjuſtly call your Subjects. And ſurely "We will ſtay in our ſaid Realm without departing, till We have atchieved our War, "as far as We may, to our Advantage, and the Grievance of our Adverſaries. Where"fore, if You are deſirous, as your Letters report, to fight with Us, and to ſave thoſe "whom You claim, as your Subjects (if You will let Us know at what time You will "come) You ſhall find Us ready in the Field to Encounter You by the help of God: "Which thing We ardently deſire for the Benefit of *Chriſtendom*; ſeeing that You "will not vouchſafe either to offer or admit of any Reaſonable way of Peace with Us. "But We are not at all adviſed to be directed by You, nor to accept of Place and Day "of Battle from You on the Conditions above written. Dated at *Auneville* this *Thurſ*"*day*, the 17th. of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Reign of *France* the *Seventh*, and of "*England* the *Twentieth*.

[r] *Ex Original.* Gallico *apud M.S. Vet.* Lat. *in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantabr. *cui titulus*, Acta *Edvardi* Filii, *Edvardi* Tertii, *& Rot. Norman. 20. Ed. 3. m. 21. in Dorſo.*

That [s] Night the King of *England* took up his Lodgings in a Fair Abbey, called *Meſſene*, near *Beauvais*: But being upon his March the next Morning, as he chanced to look behind him, and ſaw the Abbey on fire, he ſtraight commanded 20 of the Authors of that Fact to be hanged: For at [t] his firſt entrance into *France*, he had commanded by Proclamation through his Army, that no Man ſhould preſume on pain of Death to violate any Church, or burn any Religious Houſe.

[s] *Froiſ. c. 125. ibid.*

[t] *Froiſ. ibid. & Aſhmole p. 655.*

Then he paſſed by the City of *Beauvais*, without giving any Aſſault for the Reaſons aforemention'd: But his two Marſhals, while the King was drawing toward a little Town, called *Milly*, where he intended to encamp that Night, went ſo cloſe to *Beauvais*, that they made an Attempt in three Places, and gave a fierce Aſſault at the Barriers: But the Town was ſo well Defended, by reaſon, that the Biſhop was preſent with ſufficient Forces; that having only burnt the Suburbs, cloſe up to the very Gate, they left off toward the Evening, and proceeded, and encamped in the Kings Field. Thence the whole Army went, and encamped at *Granvillers*; and the next Morning, as they paſſed by *Argies*, finding it void, they ſet it on fire, and went directly to the Town of *Poix*, which was furniſhed with two Caſtles.

XI. In the Caſtles there were only [u] two Fair young Ladies (with their Servants) who were preſently taken, and had been villanouſly abuſed, had it not been for 2 Worthy *Engliſh* Knights, Sr. *John Chandos*, and Sr. *Ralph Baſſet* of *Sapcoat*; who preſerved the Honour of the two Ladies, and brought them with great Reſpect before the King, their

[u] *Froiſ. c. 125.*

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their Maſter. King *Edward* pittying their Youth and flouriſhing Beauty, and careſull not to ſully his Victories with any Ignoble Stain, entertained them with Princely humanity, and after a Noble Refection, demanded of them whither they moſt deſired to go. They being encouraged by the Kings Royal Behaviour, reply'd, "To *Corbie*: Whereupon the King immediately cauſed them to be ſafely and Honourably conducted thither, being little more than 9 Leagues diſtant from *Poix*, and about four from *Amiens*, *Eaſtward*, and ſtanding alſo on the *Somme*. That Night King *Edward* lodged near *Poix*; the mean while the Chief of the Town came to a Compoſition with the Marſhals, offering unto the King a certain Sum of *Florens*, on Condition their Town might neither be burnt, nor plunder'd, neither then, nor the next Day. This being granted, the King marched off next Morning with all his Army, except ſome few, whom he had left behind to receive the Money, which the Townſmen had engaged to pay, as a Ranſom for their Town. But when theſe *Frenchmen* perceived, that the Army was gone off, and out of ſight, and only theſe few Collectors left behind; they reſolved to pay never a penny, and ſo rang the Alarum Bell, and began to fall upon the *Engliſh*, who had already ſent for Succour to the Army; and were not wholly unprovided, for they had Harneſs under their Coats for fear of the Worſt, and a good Captain over them, and were altogether in a Body, as the King had order'd them. When the Lords Sr. *Reginald Cobham*, and Sr. *Thomas Holland*, who had Charge of the Reer, heard of this, they returned back to the Town upon the Spur, and as they entred, cryed, Treaſon, Treaſon: Being come thither, they found their friends ſtill fighting, and hardly maintaining their Poſt. The *Engliſh* Lords enraged at this falſhood, put all they met to the Sword, ranſack'd all the Town, and Demoliſhed the two Caſtles, and ſo return'd with their Spoil to the Camp (then at *Airaynes*) leaving nothing but Blood and Fire behind them. While the King of *England* lay about *Airaynes*, he cauſed Proclamation to be made thrô his Hoſt; that on pain of Death no Man ſhould do any harm to the Towns of thoſe Parts; for as much, as He was minded to tarry there two or three Days, to take Advice, how he might paſs the River of *Somme*: For it was neceſſary for him to paſs that River; but as yet there appeared no means, how it might be done; for the Bridges were all broken down; or ſtrongly Defended.

× *Froiſ.c.*126.

XII. King × *Philip* the mean while having gather'd all his Forces about him, began to March from St. *Dennis*, and went to *Compiegne*, in his way to *Amiens*, where he tarried a while waiting King *Edwards* Motions. He for his part was well inform'd of the *French* Kings approach, and reſolved to abide him; but thought it not fit to engage, while he was encloſed between two Rivers, the *Seyne* and the *Somme*, in that Manner: Wherefore he took great Care to get a convenient Paſſage: For the River was Large and Deep, and the Bridges, as we ſhew'd before, broken down, and if any Place was ſuſpected to be fordable, that was moſt ſtrongly guarded. Firſt therefore, the two Marſhals were ſent forth with 1000 Men of Arms, and 2000 Archers, to view along by the River ſide, if they could find, or win a Paſſage. Theſe Troops Marching by *Lompre*, came to the Bridge of *Pont de Remy*, which was very ſtrongly kept by a great Number of Knights, and Eſquires of *France*, together with the Inhabitants. Here the *Engliſh* alighted from their Horſes, and made a briſk attack upon the Place: But the Defence was ſo vigorous, that after a long conteſt, which laſted a whole Morning, the Aſſailants were fain to leave off, and go to ſeek better Fortune elſewhere. In the way they took *Fontaine-Sur Somme*, which they pillaged, and ſet on Fire; but there was no Paſſage there; thence they went to another Town, called *Longe* in *Ponthieu*, where a Bridge was laid over the River; but it was ſo well Defended, that after a briſk Aſſay, they were fain to quit all hopes of winning it. So they paſſed on to *Picquigny*, where again they found the Town, Bridge, and Caſtle, ſo ſurely fortfied, that it was next to impoſſible to force them. King *Philip* had taken ſuch Care to ſecure all the Paſſages, with deſign, by keeping the King of *England*, as it were, locked up between two Rivers, either ſo to famiſh him, or to give him Battle at his great Diſadvantage. So that when the two Marſhals had thus made Tryal all along by the River, and found no likelyhood of getting over, they return'd to King *Edward* their Maſter, ſhewing him their ill Succeſs, and how every where the Enemy had prevented them. That ſame Night the *French* King came to *Amiens*, with more than an Hundred Thouſand Men, to be nearer the *Engliſh*, whoſe Motions now he reſolved to obſerve more narrowly. *Amiens* is the Chief City of *Picardy*, lying upon the *Somme*, and diſtant about 10 Leagues from *Abbeville*, but little more than ſix from *Airaynes*, where now the King of *England* lay. He for his part, knowing the King of *France* ſo near him, behind; and the River before him, which he could

could not pass, remain'd very thoughtfull most part of that Night; but resolved now to seek a Passage himself with all his Forces: So the next Morning, having heard Mass before Sun-rise, he presently after began to decamp from about *Airaynes*, his two Marshals scouring along before him. As thus he rode thrô the Country of *Vimeux*, toward *Abbeville*, a good and large City of *Ponthieu*, upon the *Somme*, he found in his way a pretty considerable Town, called *Fountaines les Secques*, whither many of the Country People were fled with their Goods, in hopes of that little Defence that was there: But these hopes proved pernicious; for the Town was presently taken and spoil'd, and the Inhabitants put to the Sword. King *Edward* continued his March to *Oysemont*, which he also took, and lodged there for that Night, in a great Hospital near the Town.

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The mean time King *Philip* had left *Amiens*, and as in pursuit of the *English*, came about Noon to *Airaynes*, from whence King *Edward* was gone that Morning: Here he found great store of Provision, left there by the *English* upon their hasty departure, as meat ready spitted, Bread and Pasties in the Ovens, Tunns and Casks full of Wine, and Tables ready spread. All these things, as they were then Arguments to *Philip*, that *Edward* fled, so have they been to several, especially to the *French* Historians of the same. But whoever impartially considers, the Policy and Courage of King *Edward*; and that he not only now had the leisure to take Towns in his Flight, but also both before and after, shew'd his firm Resolution to abide his Enemies; and that Tables are not usually spread so early in the Morning, as when he left that Place, will easily imagine, that all these things were purposely, and designedly left there by that Prince, to nourish security in his Adversaries; as We shall find it did to their Destruction.

XIII. However there King *Philip* was obliged to stay that Night, for the Reer of his Army and some of his Lords which were not yet come up. King *Edward* the mean while, being at *Oysemont*, had sent out his Marshals, who overran the Country even to the Gates of *Abbeville*, and as far as St. *Valery*, where they had a brisk Skirmish at the Gates. Upon their return at Night, King *Edward* held a Council of War, wherein 'twas agreed to call certain of the *French* Prisoners before them, which being done, the King himself in a very Affable and Courteous Manner demanded, "if there "was any Man among them, that knew of any Passage beneath *Abbeville*, whereby "he and his Men might get over the *Somme*: And he added, that if any one could "rightly and truly inform him as to this point, he would grant him his Liberty, and "twenty other *Frenchmen* for his sake. Now there was among the Prisoners there present, a young lusty Yeoman called *Gobin* [y] *Agace*, who boldly stepping forth before the King, said, "Sir, I promise You on peril of my Neck to guide You to such a Ford, "where Your Majesty, and all your Men shall pass the *Somme* without Danger: There "are certain places at this Passage so broad, that 12 Men may go over in Front with "ease; and hardly knee-deep in the Water; for thô at the return of the Floud, the "River swells so intolerably, that the biggest Ships may ride there, yet during the "Ebbe, which happens twice in 12 Hours, the Water is so low, that either Horse or "Foot may pass over with security enough. And the bottom of this Passage is so "hard and firm, with Chalk, White-stones and Pebbles, (whence it is called *Blan-"chetteaque*, or *White-Water*) that all your Carriages also may go safely over. And "if it please Your Majesty to set forward very early, We may be there by Sun-rise; "for it is but about 4 Leagues of. The King said, if this proved true, he would set *Gobin* and all his Company at Liberty, and give him over and above an Hundred Nobles for his Pains. And thereupon, having committed the Fellow to the Marshals Custody, he sent Command thrô the Host, that every Man should be ready to March at the sound of the Trumpet.

[y] *Gaguin & Du Chesne, &c.*

About two days before, [z] King *Philip*, who understood the Country well, and doubted, that some one or other, either for hope or fear would inform King *Edward* of that Passage, for the more Security ordered Sr. *Gondemar du Fay*, a valiant Baron of *Normandy*, to go from *Amiens* on the other side the *Somme*, and defend *Blanchetteaque* with a 1000 Men of Arms, and 6000 Foot, together with the *Genouese* Crosbows; so this Lord went on by St. *Requier*, in *Ponthieu*, from whence he passed to *Crotoy*, to be there ready at hand, and he had such Help from *Arras*, *Montrevil*, *Abbeville* and St. *Requier*, that he now compleated [a] 12000 Men.

[z] *Froiss. c. 127.*

[a] *Gaguin p. 141. & Froiss. & Mezeray p. 26. Martin p. 118, &c.*

But King *Edward*, after he had heard of this Place by the Prisoner, took but little Rest that Night: For at Midnight he arose, commanded the Trumpets to be sounded, and all things to be ready for a March. About Break of day he left *Oysemont*, and rode

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rode after the Guidance of *Gobin Agace*; so that by Sun-rise they came to *Blanchetteaque* (by [b] *Saigneville*) a Place below *Abbeville*, between [c] St. *Valery* and *Crotoy*; where the *Somme* spreading it self more largely in Breadth, proves less rapid, and more shallow in Depth than elsewhere, thô even here it is not passable, but at Low Sea.

XIV. At their first coming thither, they found the Flood up; wherefore they tarried waiting for the Fall of the Water till Prime; in which time Sr. *Godmar du Fay* came thither from *Crotoy*, and ranged his Men in Order upon the Banks, and at the Ascent of the River, to defend the Passage against the *English*. But King *Edward* no way discouraged at this daring Appearance, when the Ebbe came, commanded his Marshals to enter the Water, and himself looking back on his Men said aloud, "*They that Love* "*me, let them Follow me*, plunged in after them, the whole Army following in good Order.

[b] *Fabian p.222. & Sanson's Map.*
[c] *D' Avila p. 1089.*
[d] *Du Serres, &c.*

Upon this the *French* Men of Arms on the other side, being attended with the Crossbows, descended also into the Water, and there the Gentlemen of *Artois* and *Picardy* behav'd themselves with much Resolution, and being back'd by the *Genouese* Crossbows, gave the *English* no small trouble: But King *Edwards* Archers shot with such Advantage against them, that they were forced to retire from the Men of Arms, who after an obstinate Dispute were also beaten back by the *English* Men of Arms: and so the *English* took land, and still as they came up, began to order themselves in the Field. When the Lord *Gondemar du Fay* saw how strangely his Men gave back, and that the Landing of the Enemy could no further be impeached, he presently fled away and left the Field, with the Chief of his Horsemen; some whereof recover'd *Abbeville*, others St. *Ricquier*: But most of the Foot were slain, for the Chace endured for above three Miles. So that there were slain more than [e] 2000 [f] Men of Arms, besides Footmen, and those that were taken Prisoners. Nor did the *English* escape wholly without Loss, for before their Reer could get quite over, the [g] Van-Currours of the King of *Bohemia*, and the Lord *John* of *Hainalt* came upon them, and slew some of them before they could gain the Ford, and took some Horses and a few Carriages.

[e] *Holinshead p.932. & Stow p. 242.*
[f] *Knighton p. 2587. n.40.*
[g] *Froiss. c. 127.*

When now the King of *England* with his Army had thus escaped the great Danger they were lately in, he [h] first return'd his Thanks to God, and then called *Gobin Agace* before him, and gave both him and all his Company their liberty, and an 100 Nobles and a good Horse to *Gobin*, as he had promised. And having so done, [i] he rode forth in his former Order, designing to take up his Quarters at a great Town called *Noyelle sur la Mer*; but being informed that it belonged to the Countess of *Aumale*, who was Sister to his late Friend the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*; for the Sake and in Memory of that Lord, he forbore to do the least harm either to the Town or the Lands belonging thereto, and so went forward. But his Marshals rode up to *Crotoy* by the Sea-side, which after some Opposition they took and burnt, having slain above 300 *Germans*, whom they found therein. Here in the Haven they found many Ships, and other Vessels laden with Wines of *Ponthieu*, which were taken up by the Merchants of *Xaintogne* and *Rochelle*; but now the Marshals seised thereon, and brought the best to the King, the rest they disposed of as they thought fitting. Then one of the Marshals rode up even to the Gates of *Abbeville*, and thence to St. *Ricquier*, and the other unto the Town of *Rue St. Esprit*, attempting, if they could find any of those Places at any Disadvantage. All this was done that Morning, on which the King passed the Ford at *Blanchetteaque*, and the Marshals return'd to the King early after Noon.

[h] *Froiss. ibid.*
[i] *Froiss. ibid. & Du Chesne p. 664.*

XV. That same Morning which was a *Fryday*, and the 25 of *August*, the *French* King marched from *Airaynes* in pursuit of King *Edward*, whom he expected to find enclosed between the River of *Somme* and his Army: But when he heard how the Passage was won, and that the Lord *Gondemar du Fay* was defeated, he complain'd aloud, [k] that he was betray'd: For he thought it impossible, that 12000 Men so well posted, should not be able to defend so narrow a Passage against all the World, if they had done their Duties. However he immediatly followed the *English* by the Banks of the River (on the other side whereof King *Edward* and his Army lay) and thô he had in his Company an Army of above an Hundred Thousand Men, yet King *Edward* [l] offer'd him free Passage over the Ford, provided he would come over the next Tide and choose a Place apt for Battle.

[k] *Gaguin p. 141.*
[l] *Sr. Tho. de la More apud Stow p. 242.*

King *Philip* demanded of his Marshals, what Course he should take in this Case, they said, "Sir, You cannot pass this River, but at the Bridge of *Abbeville*; for now "'tis

"'tis high Tide, and if it was not, thô your Adverſary would let you paſs freely over, yet "he would then have you at Diſadvantage; your Men being not duely order'd, and beſide "that wet and weary. But if your Majeſty returning to *Abbeville*, will take the benefit "of this following Night for the Refreſhment of your Men, we ſhall paſs the Bridge time "enough to Morrow, and fight with our Enemies without any Diſadvantage. Upon this Advice King *Philip* returned to *Abbeville*, and King *Edward* marched up further into *Ponthieu* about 3 Leagues, till he came to the Foreſt of *Creſſy*, near to the Town of *Creſſy*, which ſtands on the River *Maye*, exactly between *Abbeville* and *Heſdin*. When the King ſaw here, that there was convenient Ground for two Armies to meet, conjecturing rightly, that now his Adverſary of *France* was reſolved to give him Battle; he ſaid to his Lords, "We will now go no further till we have look'd our Enemies in "the Face; for I have good reaſon to expect them here, all this Land of *Ponthieu* be-"ing the Right Heritage of the Queen my Mother, which was given her for her Dow-"ry by her Father *Philip*; thô ſince it hath been unjuſtly taken away by mine Ad-"verſary *Philip* of *Valois*: Of whom now I will challenge this Country of Mine, and "*God defend the Right.* And becauſe he had not the [m] Fourth Part of that Number, which King *Philip* brought into the Field, he commanded his Marſhals to chooſe out a Plat of Ground ſomething for his Advantage. This was all done accordingly, and at the ſame time the King ſent out his Van-Currours towards *Abbeville*, to obſerve if they could ſee any Tokens of King *Philip's* Coming forward that Day. Theſe Men upon their return brought word to the Contrary, and ſo the *Engliſh* took their Reſt for the remaining part of that Day and the Night following; being firſt All commanded to be ready provided in the Place, which the Marſhals were Meeting out, the next Morning at Sound of Trumpet.

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[m] *Froiſ. c.* 127. Says not an 8th part.

This ſame *Fryday* the *French* King ſpent in *Abbeville*, waiting for all his Forces to come up, and eſpecially for the Earl of *Savoy*, whom he expected with a 1000 Spears, and had paid him for 3 Months by the Men of *Troyes* in *Champagne*. In the mean time he ſent out his two Marſhals to ride and view, how and where the *Engliſh* were encamped: And theſe coming back at night related, that they were lodged in the Field of *Creſſy*. Then King *Philip* made a moſt Royal and magnificent Supper for all his Chief Lords and Captains, and there he effectually exhorted them to lay aſide all private Animoſities, and to be perfect Friends one with another, and valiantly to joyn together, like true *Frenchmen* againſt the Common Enemy. About Supper-time there arrived at *Abbeville* the long-expected Earl of *Savoy*, named *Amè* or *Amadis*, with a 1000 Men of Arms, which encreaſed the Security the *French* were already too prone to entertain.

CHAPTER the THIRD.

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of the Field and Care for the Burial of the Dead. XV. *King* Edward *marches from* Cressy, *and lies down before* Calais.

I. THUS [a] were the *English* encamped in the Fields of *Cressy* in *Ponthieu*, where they found plenty of good Wines and all manner of Provision: Thô if it had been otherwise, the Army should not have wanted; for the King had providently gather'd before-hand a sufficient Store of all things necessary, which followed in Carts among the Carriages. On the *Fryday* Night King *Edward* also made a Supper in his Royal Pavilion for all his Chief Barons, Lords and Captains: At which he appeared wonderfull Chearfull and Pleasant, to the great Encouragement of his People. But when they were all dismist to their several Quarters, the King himself retired into his Private Oratory, and came before the Altar, and there prostrated himself to Almighty God and devoutly prayed, "That of his Infinite Goodness "he would vouchsafe to look down on the Justice of his Cause, and remember his un- "feigned Endeavours for a Reconcilement, althô they had all been rendred frustrate by his "Enemies: That if he should be brought to a Battle the next Day, it would please "him of his Great Mercy to grant him the Victory; as his Trust was only in him, and "in the Right which he had given him. Being thus armed with Faith, about Midnight he laid himself upon a Pallet or Mattress to take a little Repose; but he rose again betimes and heard Mass, with his Son the Young Prince, and received Absolution, and the Body and Blood of his Redeemer, as did the Prince also, and most of the Lords and others, who were so disposed.

[a] *Froiss. c.* 128.

Immediately after Mass was ended, he commanded that all Men should betake themselves to their Arms, and march in their appointed Order to the same place in the Field, which had been chosen by the Marshals, and approved by the King the day before. The Place was on the East-side of the Forest of *Cressy*, the Town and the River *Maye* being on their left Hands; and beside this Defence, the King now commanded a Park to be made by the Wood-side in the Reer of his Army, wherein were enclosed all the Carts and Carriages of the Army, in the Middle whereof were all the Horses; for it was the Kings Resolution (to enflame the Courages of his Men by Despair, as well as other Arguments) to fight that day on Foot. This Park had but one Entrance, and that was well defended with Men of Arms and Archers: Then the King divided his Host into three Battalia's. In the First whereof was his Eldest Son, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, now but 15 Years, two Months and 11 Days Old; but yet of Courage and Strength so far beyond his Age, that even then he seem'd neither unworthy that Place nor that Father: With him were joyned the Lord *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *the* Lord *Godfry Harcourt* of *Normandy*, the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, the Lord *John de la Ware*, the Lord *Thomas Holland*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwash* the Elder, and his Son, a valiant Knight of the same Name, with the Lord *John Mohun*, Son in Law to the Lord *Bartholomew* aforesaid; the Lord *Robert Bourchier*, the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *Thomas Clifford* and Sr. *Robert Neville*, Second Son to the Lord *Ralph Neville* of *Raby*, and several Others, Knights and Esquires, to the Number of 800 Men of Arms, 4000 Archers, and [b] 6000 valiant *Welchmen*: But the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *John Chandos*, had a particular Charge from the King to stand firm that day to his Sons Person, and direct and defend Him by their Counsel and Valour. The second Battalia was Headed by the Lord *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, with whom were the Lord *John Willoughby* the Elder, the Lord *William Roos*, the Lord *Ralph Basset* of *Sapcote*, the Lord *Multon*, Sr. *Lewis Tufton* of *Toketon*, from whence the Honourable *Nicolas* Earl of *Thanet* is derived; and many others to the Number of 800 Men of Arms, 2400 Archers, and 4000 strong Bill-Men. The third and last Battalia was Headed by the King himself, who had in his Company *John* Lord *Moubray*, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, *Thomas* Lord *Dagworth*, Sr. *Richard Goldesborough*, Sr. *Richard Damory* or *Damuor*, Sr. *Nele Loring*, Sr. *Hugh Hastings*, Sr. *John Butterell* and Others, to the Number of 700 Men of Arms, 6000 Archers, and 5300 Bill-men; the whole Battalia amounting to 12000 Men; and all Three to 30000 compleat. As for the Names of other Lords and Knights who were present in this Action, I have recovered these, thô here placed out of Order, because no certain Rank is any where assigned; Sr. *Peter Grandison* Banneret, *Robert* Lord *Morley*, the Lord *William Felton*, the Lord *Adam Everingham*, *Robert* Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Hugh Meinill*, the Lord *Maurice Berkley*, *Thomas* Lord *Furnival*, the Lord *William Kerdeston*, the Lord *Michael Poynings*, the

[b] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 66. *p.* 877.

Lord

Lord *Robert Vghtred*, the Lord *Thomas West*, the Lord *John Engaine* Banneret, the Lord *John Striveling*, the Lord *John Montgomery*, and Sr. *Giles Erdinton* of his Retinue, Sr. *Fouk* [c] *Bermingham*, *Peter* Lord *Mauley*, Sr. *William Swinnerton*, Sr. *Richard* [c] *Whitacre*, Sr. *John* [f] *Murdac*, Sr. *Gerard* [g] *Burdel*, besides many Others, whose Names it is both difficult to collect, and tedious to recite. Over and above all which, the King to encourage his Men the better to pursue Honour, created this Day no less than [h] 50 New Knights, the Chief whereof were Sr. *Guy Brian* a young Baron, Sr. *Robert Mauley* Brother to *Peter* Lord *Mauley*, Sr. *John Ravensholm*, Sr. *Peter Brewis*, Sr. *Thomas Lancaster*, Sr. *Henry d' Engaine*, and Sr. *John Beauchamp* younger Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*; to which [i] last was committed that Day the Honour of Bearing the Kings Standard. All things being thus order'd, every Lord and Captain under his own Banner and Pennon, and the Ranks duly settled, the Valorous Young King mounted on a lusty White Hobby, and with a white Wand in his Hand, rode between his two Marshals from Rank to Rank, and from one Battalia into another, "exhorting and encouraging every Man that Day to defend and maintain his Right and Honour. And this He did with [k] so cheerfull a Countenance, and with such sweet and obliging Words, that even the most Faint-hearted of the Army were sufficiently assured thereby. By that time the *English* were thus prepared, it was Nine a Clock in the Morning, and then the King commanded them all to take their Refreshment of Meat and Drink; which being done, with small Disturbance they all repaired to their Colours again, and then laid themselves in their Order on the dry and warm Grass, with their Bows and Helmets by their side, to be more fresh and vigorous upon the Approach of the Enemy.

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[c] *Dugd. Warw. p.* 658.
[e] *Id. p.* 750.
[f] *Id. p.* 434.
[g] *Id. p.* 623.
[h] *Ashmole p.* 655.
[i] *Dudg.* 1 *Vol. p.* 231. *Ubi tamen militari cingulo donatum biennio antehæc memorat: Aut verò in hoc errat, aut hæc in Campo Equitum Creatio differt ab aliâ: Hic* Ashmolæum *sequor.*
[k] *Froiss. c.* 128.

II. That [l] same Day King *Philip* on the other side, rose early in the Morning, and heard Mass at *Abbeville*, in the Abbey of St. *Peter*, where he had lodged; and exactly at Sun-rise began to March out of the City against the *English*, with more than an [m] Hundred Thousand Men. *Abbeville* is between three and four Leagues from *Cressy*; whereof when King *Philip* had passed about two Leagues, some of his Lords said to him; "Sir, it is now High time to set your Battails in good Order, and let your "Infantry pass on forward, while You range your Cavalry here. This Advice the King follow'd; and moreover sent out four Knights of great Experience, *viz.* the Lord *Moyne* of *Bastelberg* in *Bohemia*, the Lord of *Nogheres*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, and the Lord of *Aubigny*, to ride forward and discover the Face of the Enemy. These Lords rode so near, that they took notice of much part of their Order, and Behaviour; and yet the *English* made no offer to hinder them, but lay still, and let them alone, thô they saw their Business, and knew who it was that sent them. So these four Lords return'd to their Master, who presently demanded of them, what tidings? They look'd about upon One another, as being every Man loath to speak; since they had no good News to declare. Then the King Commanded the Lord *Moyne* of *Bastelberg* to tell him what discovery they had made, and freely to utter his opinion. Now this *Moyne* Lord of *Bastelberg* in *Bohemia*, was an Ancient Gentleman, a Native of that Country, who in his Youth had been an Esquire to *John* of *Luxemburgh*, the Valiant Old King of that Realm; and had behav'd himself in all his Masters Wars, with so much Gallantry, that he gain'd the Reputation of being One of the Bravest and most Expert Knights in the World: Thô now Age had rendred him more fit for Counsel, than Action. This Man thus Answer'd the King; "Sir, since it is your Pleasure, I shall speak under Correction "of my Fellows, if they should chance to think otherwise: Sir, We have ridden "forth, and at our Leisure view'd the Countenance of Your Enemies; and know for "certain, they are ready ranged in three Fair Battalia's, as resolved to wait Your coming; being in all by Estimation little more, or less, than 30000 Men. Sir, as for my "part, bateing Your Majesties Displeasure, I would Advise, that for this Day You go "no further; for before Your Reer is fully come up, and all Your Forces ranged in good "Order of Battle, it will be late. Not to say, that Your Footmen are weary with this "long March in their Armour, and their Ranks much disorder'd; whereas the Enemy is Fresh and Lusty, and ready to receive You. Thô by to morrow Morning, as "their Vigour will be more languid and pall'd, so Your now-tired Troops will then be "more Vigorous. And hereby also Your Majesty may with more Deliberation, and "greater Exactness both Order Your Men, and view the whole Posture of the Enemy; as well, as consider after what Manner to assail them: For doubtless, Sir, they "will not flinch from You.

[l] *Froiss. c.* 129.
[m] *Froiss. ibid. & Mezeray p.* 26.

This Counsel the King Commanded to be put in Execution; but the Evil Genius of *France* would not suffer that Command to take any Effect: Althô the Kings two Marshals rode forth, One to the Front, and the Other toward the Reer, saying to all

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the Captains and Enſigns, "Stand and tarry here in this place in the Name of God "and St. *Dennis*. They that were foremoſt, ſtood ſtill according to Command; but the Hindmoſt would hear nothing of Obedience, or Order, but with Words of great Bravery rode forward, ſaying, "they would make no ſtop, till they were as forward as "the Foremoſt. So that by their preſſing on, the Firſt were again forced to March, to make room for them that thus followed; by which means, neither the King, nor his Marſhals, could make them ſtand, till they came in ſight of the *Engliſh*. And then the Front recoyled back very diſorderly, to the great Wonder of thoſe behind; who thought the Firſt Troops were now engaged with the Enemy: And then they might have had Leiſure, and room enough to have gone forward, but they were content to make an Halt. Yet ſome went with Courage enough; and many of the Common Souldiers, of whom all the Ways between *Abbeville* and *Creſſy*, were full, when they perceived the Enemy was near them, drew their Swords, and cry'd "down with "'um, down with 'um; let us ſlay them every Mothers Son. There was no Man preſent could imagine, or gueſs at the Reaſon of all this Diſorder that happen'd among the *French*; but only for that they were ſuch a great Number, and deſpis'd the ſmall Power of their Enemies. This account Sr. *John Froiſard* [n] learn'd not only from ſeveral *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who were preſent, and ſaw all this, but alſo from certain Knights, belonging to the Lord *John* of *Hainalt*, who was all that Day near the Perſon of King *Philip*, and proved the Occaſion of ſaving him from being either ſlain or taken.

[n] *Froiſ. c.* 129. & *fol.* 66.

III. When the [o] *Engliſh*, who lay ſtill on the ground in three Battalia's ſaw the Approach of the *Frenchmen*, they ſprang up lightly from the Earth upon their Feet, and order'd themſelves fair and leiſurely. In the firſt Battail, which was govern'd by the Young Prince of *Wales*, his Chief Aſſiſtants being the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *John Chandos*, the Archers ſtood in Manner of an [p] Herſe, about 200 in Front, and but 40 in Depth; which is undoubtedly the beſt [q] way of embattelling Archers; eſpecially, when the Enemy is very numerous, as at this time: For by the Breadth of the Front, the extenſion of the Enemies Front is matched; and by reaſon of the Thinneſs in Flank, the Arrows do more certain Execution, being more likely to reach home. In the bottom of this Fatal Herſe ſtood the Prince of *Wales* on Foot, among his Men of Arms, in a cloſe ſquare Battail: On whoſe left Wing were the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton*, with a ſtrong Brigade of above 7000 Choice Men of Arms, Bill-men and Archers. And on their Left Hand ran a Ditch, new caſt up, toward the Town and the River, to prevent being ſurrounded: Which being like an Half-Moon, with One Horn reach'd the Park, behind the Princes ſquare Battail, and with the Other touch'd the Left-ſide of their Front, their Right-ſide being cover'd with the Princes Brigade. And afar off, on the Right-ſide of the Park, where the Carriages were, ſtood the Kings firm Battail of 12000 Men, near an Hill, whereon there was a Wind-mill, as a Forlorn, if need ſhould be.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 130.

[p] *Holinſhead p.* 933.

[q] *Vid. Clement Edmunds* notes on *Cæſ. Comment. l.* 7. *c.* 15.

Old *John* [r] of *Luxemburgh*, King of *Bohemia*, who in his Days had been a Great Souldier, and having in his Wars in *Italy* formerly loſt one Eye, was now by reaſon of his great Age reputed little better than Blind; having heard from the Lord *Moyne* this account of the good Order of the *Engliſh* Army, reply'd, as a Man of much Experience; "Then I ſee, the *Engliſh* are reſolv'd to win all, or die.

[r] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 157.

IV. 'Tis [s] reported, that King *Philip*, as fully ſecure of the Victory, and reſolving to make an end of the War at One Blow, had by erecting his Banner of *Oriflambe*, which was the Great and Holy Standard of *France*; ſignified thereby, that all the *Engliſh* ſhould be put to the Sword on pain of Death, and none taken to Mercy, except the Perſons of King *Edward*, and of his Son the Prince of *Wales*, only: And that on the other Hand, King *Edward* underſtanding of this cruel Determination of his Adverſary, cauſed alſo his *Burning-Dragon* to be raiſed up, which ſignified as little Mercy to be ſhew'd to the *Frenchmen*. And this preſents us with a ſufficient Reaſon, for King *Edwards* ſtanding ſtill all the time of the Battle; for on this account, he may well be ſuppoſed to alter his Firſt Reſolution of fighting himſelf; as ſeeing then, that without a Powerfull Reſerve, if Fortune ſhould be adverſe, all would be utterly loſt. And therefore, now ſending his Eldeſt Son, as his Deareſt and moſt valuable Pledge into the Field, with Good and Expert Captains about him, he himſelf tarried on the Hill, which he fortified, either thence to relieve his Men, if they ſhould be worſted, or to purſue the Victory, if they ſucceeded. And this Opinion ſeems highly probable; if We conſider, that this Banner, being by the *Frenchmen* held ſacred, as having come down from Heaven, was originally, only uſed in Wars, made againſt the Infi-

[s] *Sr. Tho. de la More, apud Stow p.* 242.

Infidels; however, afterward it was uſed againſt *Chriſtians* alſo, till at laſt it was wholly loſt in a Battle againſt the *Flemings*; and likewiſe, that according to the Rigour ſignified by the Burning-Dragon of *England*, not one *Frenchman* was taken Priſoner at this time, thô ſo many Thouſands were ſlain; which Calamity had happen'd in like Manner to the *Engliſh*, if the loſs had fell on their ſide. This *Standard* is [t] ſaid to have been of Red Silk, Adorned and beaten with very broad and fair Lillies of Gold; and bordered about with Gold and Vermilion. Thô *Villani* [u] doth not mention this Enſign to be taken down, or uſed in theſe Wars, till the next Year; when King *Philip* reſolved ſeverely to Revenge his Loſſes, and Diſhonour upon the King of *England*. However, We rather encline to believe, that at this time King *Philip* brought with him from St. *Dennis*, this Hallowed Banner into the Field, as well upon the foremention'd accounts; as becauſe without this Suppoſition, 'tis hard to give a Reaſon, why King *Edward* ſhould leave his Eldeſt Son to deal with ſo numerous an Enemy; and that ſo many being ſlain on the *French* Part, We yet hear not of ſo much as One taken Priſoner: Except, that this might be the Occaſion, which is alſo Reported, that King *Edward* ſeeing, how far the Enemy exceeded him in Number, and fearing his Forces would be too much diſtracted, if they were allowed to take Priſoners, gave a [x] ſevere Charge that Morning; that no Man ſhould be taken to Ranſom, till the Victory was Compleat.

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[t] *Gaguin.*
[u] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 86. *p.* 894.
[x] *Froiſ. c.* 130. *fol.* 65. *a.*

V. King *Philip* had divided his Army into [y] Nine Squadrons, which made alſo three Great Battails, thô the *French* Lords coming up one after another, there was much changing and confuſion among them. The Van was firſt committed to the King of *Bohemia*, and *Charles* Earl of *Alencon*, King *Philips* Brother, the One's Sagacity and Experience, being prudently joyn'd with the Others Youth and fiery heat to temper it: With them was the Marqueſs of *Moravia*, *Charles* of *Luxemburgh*, Son to the King of *Bohemia*, and afterwards Emperour of *Germany*; *Peter* of *Clermont* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorrain*, *James* the only Son of Prince *Humbert*, *Dauphin* of *Viennois*, *Henry*, ſirnamed the *Liberal*, Earl of *Vaudemont*, *Guy* Earl of *Blois*, and others, to the Number of [z] 3000 Men of Arms, 6000 Croſsbows of *Genoua*, with other *Italians*, under the Command of Sr. *Carolo Grimaldi*, and Sr. *Antonio Doria*, in all about 20000 Men. But afterwards it was encreaſed, when *John* the King of *Bohemia* adviſed; [a] that all thoſe *Genoueſe* Croſsbows, who were under the Leading of *Amè* Earl of *Genoua*, ſhould be joyned to the reſt of their Countrymen in the Front, as a Match for the *Engliſh* Archers; and ſo they were in all 15000 Croſsbows, and 29000 Men were contained in this Firſt Battail.

[y] *Stow p.* 242. *& Froiſ. c.* 130.
[z] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 66. *p.* 876.
[a] *Du Serres, &c.*

The Second Battail was headed by King *Philip* himſelf, having with him (thô ſome deny it) *James* [b] King of the *Baleares*, now call'd *Majorica* and *Minorica*; but I agree not with thoſe, who ſay that the Kings of *Scotland* and *Navarre*, were here alſo; for 'tis evident, that King *David* was now in his own Country, and *Charles* King of *Navarre* was at home, being a Minor, and under his Mothers Tuition, as *Mezeray* well obſerves. But there were in this Battalia with King *Philip*, Prince *Albert* Elector Palatine of the Empire, *Otho* Duke of *Auſtria*, the Biſhop of *Liege*, *John* Lord *Beaumont* of *Hainalt*, and others, to the Number of ſix Thouſand Men of Arms, and fourty Thouſand Foot: And hither was the King of *Bohemia* removed afterwards, at King *Philips* deſire.

[b] *M.S. Biblioth. Vatican. ſign. n.* 2040. *in Clem.* VI. *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 66. *p.* 879. *Odor. Rain. ad hunc an.* §. 41 *Æneas Sylvius Hiſt. Bohem. l.* 32 *Knighton, Walſingham, Stow, Speed & Joh. Aventin. Annal. Boiorum l.* 7. *p.* 629. *Una omnes teſtantur Regem Balearicarum in Creſſiacâ hâc Pugnâ occubuiſſe.*

The Third and Laſt Battail was Lead by *Amè* Earl of *Savoy*, a Valiant and Noble Lord, ſirnamed *le Vert*, who [c] afterwards became the Soveraign of a Knightly Order, called the *Snares* of Love, which in time was changed to that of the *Annunciada*; with him were joyn'd the Biſhop of *Noyon*, the Earl of St. *Paul*, the Earl of *Sancerre*, and other Noble Gentlemen, to the Number of about 5000 Lances, and 20000 Foot.

[c] *Favine le Pariſien Theatre of Honor l.* 8. *c.* 5. *p.* 310. *Ferne's Blazon of Gentry p.* 124.

VI. And now when this Numerous Army was with much ado order'd in the beſt manner that might be, by that time they ſtood in the open field ready embattel'd againſt the Enemies, it was about Three in the Afternoon: King *Philip*, when firſt in the Head of his Squadrons he beheld the Face of the *Engliſh*, his [d] Blood changed, and he ſaid aloud to his Marſhals, "Make the *Genouëſe* there go on before, and let them "begin the Battle in the Name of God and St. *Dennis*. Now it is to be remembred as we ſaid before, that in all there were 15000 Croſsbows of *Genoua*, rightly fitted for the War: But they were ſo weary with going on foot that day 3 long Leagues, armed and with their Bows, that they ſaid to their Conſtable, how they were not able to do any great Service at that time, for they had then more need of a little Reſt than of freſh Labour. But yet they followed their Commanders, and ſo were removed

[d] *Froiſ. c.* 130. *fol.* 64. *a.*

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to the Front of all the Battails; the mean while their words being told to the Earl of *Alencon*, he ſaid, "A Man has wonderfull advantage in hiring ſuch a Company of Raſ-"cals, who then begin to faint and flinch when there is moſt need. At that very In-ſtant, [c] before the Armies engaged, there fell ſuddainly a ſmart Shower of Rain, accompanied with loud Thunders, and a ſhort Eclipſe of the Sun; before which Storm there flew over the Hoſt an infinite Number of Ravens, and other Birds of Prey crying and cawing, which the Old King of *Bohemia* hearing of, ſaid to thoſe about him, "How that was indeed a Prodigy and an evil Token; for it ſignified many Carcaſſes "would fall. But immediately the Air began to clear again, and the burning Sun appearing out of a Cloud at the *Engliſhmen's* Backs, darted his Rays full in the *Frenchmen's* Faces, and made a ſpacious [f] Rainbow. At that very time the *Genouëſe* [g] began to approach, giving after their Manner a great Leap and Shouting horribly, to amaze their Enemies, who yet ſtood ſtill with their Bows ready, and their Arrows nock'd. Then the *Genouëſe* took a ſecond Leap, and ſhouted as before, but ſtill the *Engliſh* ſtirred not; laſtly, the *Genouëſe* after a third Leap, accompanied with the like Noiſe, being now within Shot, ſent forth all together their Quarrels againſt the *Engliſh*: But they all fell ſhort, becauſe their Strings had received Wet in the late Rain. Then at laſt the *Engliſh* Archers, whoſe Bows were kept cover'd in their Caſes during the Shower, ſtept forward one Pace, and altogether let fly their home-drawn Arrows among the *Genouëſe*, which fell as thick as Hail upon them; wherefore when they felt theſe ſtinging Scorpions, and ſaw them piercing the Heads, Arms and Bodies of their Fellows; and that the *Engliſh* were ready to ſend an other deadly Flight among them, many of them caſt down their Bows, and others cut their Strings and turned their Backs in much Diſorder. King *Philip* ſeeing them fly thus, cry'd out aloud ſaying, "Slay theſe Raſcals, for they will hinder us all by their Cowardiſe. And then the Lord *Charles* of *Alencon*, no leſs fierce than his Brother, cry'd out like a Deſperate Man, [h] "Come on my Friends, come on, and let us boldly Charge the *Engliſh*, ma-"king our Way over the bellies of theſe *Genouëſe*, who do but hinder us. Theſe Wo.ds were followed with Actions agreeable thereto; ſo that there aroſe a wonderfull Confuſion between the Horſe, contending to go forward, and the Foot who ſought to retire; the *Engliſh* Archers at the ſame time ſending their thick Flights of Arrows where the Confuſion was greateſt. Then the Cry of the *Genouëſe* and others aroſe unto the Stars, being overrun and trodden down by their own Horſe, as well as ſtung in their backs by the *Engliſh* Archers, who liberally beſtow'd whole Clouds of Shot upon them. So that many of the Men of Arms alſo fell down Horſe and Man among the *Genouëſe*, where they were ſo far from being able to riſe again, that they were an occaſion to Others of falling over them. And immediately certain [i] Rough Fellows that belonged to the *Engliſh* Army, ran in among them, and with Long Knives cut the Throats of thoſe that lay thus entangled on the ground, whether Earls, Lords, Knights or Eſquires; for none that Day were taken to Mercy. The mean while the Earl of *Alencon* and the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl of *Blois*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and *James* Dauphin of *Vienna* having at laſt got clear of the poor *Genouëſe*, coaſted wide about with their Troops, and came, though not without much Loſs, on the Right Side of the *Engliſh* Archers, where they fell to Handy-ſtrokes with the Prince's Battail right fiercely.

[c] *Villani p. 876. Knighton p.2587. Mezeray p.27. Froiſ. Speed, Holinſh. and Walſingh. hiſt. p.157. Seres, &c.*

[f] *Du Serres, &c.*

[g] *Froiſ. ibid. c. 130. &c.*

[h] *Du Serres, &c.*

[i] *Froiſ. ibid.*

VII. King *Philip* ſaw their Banners, and would willingly have come on to their Aſſiſtance, but if he had coaſted after their manner, all his Battails had been diſorder'd; and he thought it impoſſible yet to force a way thrô that great Hedge of Archers. So that after much Valour ſhew'd in vain, the Prince of *Wales* prevailed againſt this Battail of the *French*, and there all their Men of Arms were beaten down to the Ground, and cut in pieces by the obſtinate Proweſs of the *Engliſh*, and *Welchmen* with the Prince. Scarce was this done, when three Freſh Squadrons of *French* and *Germane* Gentlemen ruſhing forward with great fury, forced the Archers Battail to open, and ſo came full upon the Prince with ſuch Violence, and ſuch a Number of Men of Arms, that the Young Prince was very hard put to it: But then the Archers joyning their Ranks again, and ſtepping ſeveral Paces forward, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton* ſent out a ſtrong Brigade of Men of Arms to help the Prince, who falling in at their Reer and on their Flank, the Enemy was almoſt encloſed; while in the Front the Couragious Prince and his Men laid about them moſt furiouſly with Spear and Shield. When firſt theſe Men broke thrô the Archers, the Earl of *Warwick* doubting the worſt, and that the whole *French* Army follow'd them at the Heels, diſpatched a Knight away to King *Edward*, who ſaw all the manner of the Fight from the Windmill, deſiring

him

him to move forward and succour his Son. "Sir, said the Knight, the Earl of *War-* AN. DOM.
"*wick*, the Earl of *Oxford*, Sr. *John Chandos* and Sr. *Reginald Cobham* are so fiercely 1346.
"fought withall, and so hard put to it by the *French*, that they are in much danger; An. Regni
"wherefore they desire that You would please to set forward to their Aid: For they are *Angliæ*
"now disputing with the main Strength of the Enemy; so that if any more Troops should XX.
"break through upon them, both They and the Prince your Son would go nigh to *Franciæ*
"miscarry. "Well said the King, is my Son Dead, or Wounded, or Fell'd to the VII.
"Ground? For I see the *French* Standards drop, and conclude no otherwise, but that
"things are yet in good Case. "No Sir, replied the Knight, Thanks be to God, our
"Prince is yet well, but he begins to want your Assistance. "Go you back said the
"King, and bid them that sent you, take care to trouble me no further, while my
"Son is alive: But let him take pains to win his own Spurs, and to deserve the Ho-
"nour of Knighthood, which I so lately confer'd upon Him. For I am resolved, by
"the Grace of God, that the Reputation of this Glorious Day shall fall to his Portion,
"and to those that are with Him. This Answer being brought back to the Prince's Captains, they were wonderfully encouraged thereby, being displeased with themselves, that ever they should send so mean a Message to the King. But by this time the three Squadrons were utterly broken, beaten down and slain by the Prince and his brave Companions.

That Morning King *Philip* had given a lusty black Courser to the Lord *John* of *Hainalt*, who appointed his Standard-Bearer Sr. *John Fussels* to ride thereon: This mettlesome Horse in the Heat of the Battle, at the same time that the Archers were broken, taking the Bridle in his Teeth, carried his Master by force thrô the *English* Van, between the Prince's Battail, and the Earl of *Arundels* on the left Hand; and as Sr. *John* thought to return, he fell Horse and Man into the great Ditch which the *English* had made, and there had perished, had it not been for his faithfull Esquire, who having followed him thrô the Archers, saw now this Mischance of his Masters, thô he was in no other Danger but what he might receive from his Horse: For the *Englishmen* would never stirr that day out of their Ranks to take any Prisoner whatsoever. Wherefore the Esquire securely alighted and relieved his Master from under the Horse; but they went not back the same way they came, but coasted far about, and so at last came again in safety to the Lord *John* of *Hainalt*.

VIII. And now the Prince and his Men being throughly chafed and enflamed with Courage, began to March forward, the Archers being order'd to fall into a Wing on each Side; and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton* joyning the Prince. The *Frenchmen* met them with equal Courage, being refreshed with the Thoughts, that now their Deaths should not be sent them at a Distance; but that they might contend hand to hand for the Mastery.

And first the Marquess *Charles* Elect Emperour, resisted the Prince with great Courage, but his Banner was beaten to the ground, his Men slain miserably about him, and himself wounded in [k] Three places of his Body; wherefore thô not without much Difficulty, he turned his Horse and rode out of the Field, having cast away his Coat-Armour, that he might not be known. The mean while his Father *John* King of *Bohemia*, who was Son to the Noble Emperour, *Henry* of *Luxemburgh*, althô he was near blind with Age, when he understood how the Day was like to go, asked of his Captains, what was become of the Lord *Charles* his Son; "They told him, they knew "not, but that they supposed him somewhere in the Heat of Action. Then the good Old King, resolving by no means to Disgrace his former Victories, and Cancell the Glory of his Youth by a degenerous Old Age, said unto them, "Gentlemen, you are my "Men, my Companions and Friends in this Expedition: I only now desire this last "piece of Service from You, that You would bring me forward so near to these *Englishmen*, that I may deal among them One good Stroak with my Sword. They all said they would obey him to the Death; and lest by any Extremity they should be separated from him, they all with one Consent tied the Reins of their Horses one to another, and so attended their Royal Master into Battle. There this Valiant Old Heroe had his Desire, and came boldly up to the Prince of *Wales*, and gave more than one, or four or five good Stroaks, and fought couragiously, as also did all his Lords and Others about him; but they engaged themselves so far, that there they were all slain, and the next Day found dead about the Body of their King, and their Horses bridles tied together.

[k] *Villani p.* 878 *Mezeray p.* 27.

Then were the Arms of that Noble King (being the *Ostrich* Feathers, with the Motto ICH DIEN, signifying, I SERVE) taken and won [l] by the Prince of

[l] *Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p.* 182

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of *Wales*; in whoſe Memory they have ever ſince been called the Princes Arms, being alſo from that time worn by his Succeſſors, Princes of *Wales*, Eldeſt Sons to the Kings of *England*.

With him alſo fell the Unhappy King of *Majorica*, named *James*, by the Hands of that Incomparable Martialiſt, *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*; if We may believe the moſt [m] Creditable Authors: Thô ſome ſay, that he was afterwards ſlain by his Adverſary the King of *Aragon*, in Battle; and others, that he was by him ſtarved in Priſon.

[m] *Adam Murimouth, Henric. Knighton, Giov. Villani, Tho. Walſingh. & alii ſuprà citati Authores.*

Of the Death of which two Kings [n] One ſays thus; "On the Feaſt of St. *Ruffus* "the Battle of *Creſſy* was fought, between the *French* and *Engliſh*: Hence is that "Day ſtill accounted Black, Diſmal, and Unlucky; which took away the Lives of "two Kings by the Sword of the Enemy. The Hiſtorian was a Man in his Days of great Piety, Learning, and Judgement, and of ſo High Eſteem, that he became Pope of *Rome*, by the Name of *Pius* II. And the two Kings, He there means, were this *John* of *Bohemia*, and *James* of *Majorica*; whom alſo [o] *Giovani Villani*, an *Italian*, who died two Years after this Fight, averres to have fallen in this field: Thô *Mezeray* [p] denies it.

[n] *Æneas Sylvius Hiſt. Bohem. c. 32*

[o] *Giov. Villani l. 12 c. 66. p. 879. & Adam Murimouth, &c.*

[p] *Mezeray p. 27.*

IX. All [q] this while King *Philip* of *France* was not forgetfull to perform the part of a moſt Reſolute and Noble Captain; for at laſt he entred the hotteſt of the Battle, with ſome Choice Troops of his moſt Valiant Friends and Subjects about him, and being mingled with the *Engliſh* Men of Arms, he contended ſo long in his own Perſon, doing [r] Marvels in Arms, till having one Horſe ſlain under him with Arrows, he was again diſmounted, being [s] wounded both in the Neck and Thigh; and had certainly there been ſlain, or taken Priſoner, but that the Lord *John* of *Hainalt* quickly remounted him the Third time, and obliged him to quit the Field, ſaying, "Sir, 'tis "now too late to expect any Recovery: For Gods ſake ride away, and don't will- "fully fling Your ſelf into Deſtruction. What You have loſt at this time, may be re- "paired at another, if You do not make the Loſs irreparable, by adding Your ſelf to it. And with theſe Words, taking the Kings Horſe by the Bridle, he lead him out of the Field in a manner by Force. Thus did the Noble Lord of *Beaumont* in *Hainalt*, repay to his Brother in Law, King *Philip*, that Horſe, which the King had preſented him in the Morning; whereby he Dutifully compelled him to reſerve himſelf to a better Fortune, and to ſave that Life, which elſe in Deſpair he had flung away. And yet, I find, that the Honour of this piece of Service done thus to King *Philip*, is by [t] others attributed to *Don Juan Hernando d' Heredia*, a Native of *Aragon*, Prior of *Catalogna*, and *Caſtillian d' Empoſta*, Knight of the *Rhodes*, and Thirty Years after, Great Maſter of the ſaid Noble Order.

[q] *Giov. Villani ibid. p. 877. di ſua perſona fece Maraviglie in Arme, &c.*

[r] *Walſingh. Hypod. p. 119. Knighton p. 2588. n. 10.*

[s] *A. Mund's* Chronicle *p. 184.*

Upon the King of *France's* Departure, the Royal Standard of *France* was beaten down to the ground, (the Standard [u] Bearer having been ſlain before King *Philips* face) and had, no doubt, at laſt fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*; if it had not been for a certain *French* Knight, who alighting from his Horſe immediately, adventur'd his Life to ſave it; and while the Contention laſted hot about it, having ript it off from the ſhaft with his Sword, wrapt it in folds about his own Body, and ſo rode out of the Field. From this time there was little, or no Reſiſtance made, but by the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of St. *Paul*, and ſome *Germans*, who notwithſtanding were all at laſt ſlain, and their Men utterly diſcomfited.

[u] *Adam Murimouth.*

Before the Fight the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt* having underſtood for certain, that the Earl his Brother was in the Field on the *French* Part, [x] endeavour'd all he could to ſave him; and for his Sake there were particular Orders given to all the Captains, and Officers to that purpoſe. But for all this, He alſo among others fell in the Fury of the Battle, together with his Nephew, the Valiant Young Earl of *Aumale*, who had married a Siſter of the Lord *Robert* of *Artois*. This was ſo great a trouble to the Brotherly Mind of the Lord *Godfry*, that as many [y] *French* Writers ſay, reflecting afterwards upon this Ruine of his Family, and Deſolation of his Country (which thô he had not abſolutely intended, yet by his Revolt he gave Countenance thereto) he went at laſt bare-footed and bare-headed to King *Philip*, with a Napkin about his Neck, acknowledging his Offence with Tears, and moſt penitently begging pardon for the ſame.: Which King *Philip* out of great Compaſſion is ſaid to have granted, letting fall ſuch Words as theſe; "That it was not to be attributed to him as a Fault, but rather to "the Evil Genius of *France*, who ſtill made uſe of ſome of its own Children to fo- "ment its Miſeries. But however agreeable this Story may ſeem, I cannot allow it for currant; becauſe hereafter We ſhall find, that this Lord *Godfry* did not only from this time

[x] *Froiſ. c. 130.*

[y] *Du Cheſne &c.*

time live in a good Correſpondence with King *Edward*, but at laſt alſo laid down his Life in his Quarrel. AN. DOM. 1346.

X. This Battle indured from [z] before Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, till Dark Night, and if We reckon the ſeveral ſnatches, that ſome *French* Troops made by fits, till [a] two the next Morning. On the *French* Part were ſlain two Kings, *John* King of *Bohemia*, and *James* King of *Majorica*; *Charles* Earl of *Alenſon*, King *Philips* Brother, *Guy* Earl of *Blois*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorraine*, Nephew to the King of *France*, *James* Son of *Humbert*, the Old Dauphine of *Vienna*, *Henry* Earl of *Vaudemont*, Sirnamed the *Liberal*, the Earl of *Harcourt* and his Nephew, the Earl of *Aumale*, the Earl of St. *Paul*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of *Sancerre*, and others of the Chief Nobility of *France*: The Earl of *Salemmi* a *German* Lord, and the Lord *Moyne* of *Baſtelberg*, both of the King of *Bohemia's* Retinue, with ſeven other Lords of *Germany*, and *Seigniore* * *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria*, of *Genoua*: Beſides all whom there fell 24 Bannerets, 1200 Knights. 1500 Gentlemen, and Men of Arms, and Eſquires on Horſeback 4000, and of the Commons of *France*, at leaſt 30000. AN. Regni *Angliæ* XX. *Franciæ* VII.

On the *Engliſh* Part, I cannot meet with any Particulars, who were ſlain; excepting [b] that *Knighton* ſays, "There fell one Eſquire before the Fight, and three Knights "in Battle, God Almighty preſerved all the reſt. And ſurely, ſince neither *French*, nor *Engliſh*, nor any other Writer, are more particular in this Point, and it is moſt [c] certain, that not one of the *Engliſh* Nobility fell that Day, it is to be look'd upon, as a Remarkable Inſtance of Divine Favour to King *Edwards* Arms.

XI. One [d] Author only, and He a very late One, preſumes on his own Authority to Averre, "that King *Edward* brought into this Battle Four or Five pieces of Cannon, "which did no ſmall Execution; but ſcatter'd an Infinite Terrour and Confuſion among "the *Frenchmen*; for this, ſays He, was the Firſt time, that ever thoſe thundring Engines "were ſeen in the Wars of *Europe*. Of which Deadly Machines, both becauſe they may be menaged by Perſons of no Force or Courage, and alſo cannot be reſiſted, or eluded by any Natural Power or Conduct, We may juſtly ſay, as [e] *Archidamus* the Son of *Ageſilaus*, ſaid of a certain Engine, brought out of *Sicily*, "O *Hercules*, now is the Valour of Man-"kind at an *End*!

But as my Deſign is not preſently to admit every thing, thô back'd with never ſo great Authority of Perſon, if otherwiſe the Matter it ſelf is void of truth or probability: So neither ſhall I conceal what I have found, as to the Antiquity of this Wonderfull Invention of Guns; whatever Uſe the Reader may make thereof againſt my ſelf: For in ſuch a Caſe the Love of truth ought to overballance all other Reſpects. And thô the firſt Publique Uſe of Guns, that We read of, hath been generally held to be about the Year of our Lord 1380, as *Magius*, or 1400, as *Ramus*, in a Battle betwixt the *Venetians* and *Genoueſe*, fought at *Clodia-Foſſa*; in which the *Venetians* ſo galled their Enemies, that thô they ſaw Wounds and Death fly among them, yet they knew not how it came, or how to avoid it; as Witneſſeth *Platina* in the Life of *Urban* the VI. And thô *Laurentius Valla*, in a Book, which, as he ſays himſelf, he wrote in the Year 1438, affirms, that the [f] Gun grew in Uſe, not long before his time; yet my [g] Author ſays, he hath ſeen the Copy of a Record, that Great Ordnance were brought by the *French* to the Battery of a Caſtle or Fort, called *Outwick*, near *Calais*, and then in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*; whereof One *William Weſton* was Captain, who in the Firſt of *Richard* the Second, being queſtion'd in Parliament for yielding up the Place, doth in his excuſe alledge; that the Enemy brought to the Battery thereof Nine pieces of Great Cannon, whereby the Walls and Houſes of the ſaid Caſtle were in divers places rent in ſunder, and ſorely batter'd: And in another place, he calls the ſaid Pieces, moſt Huge, Grievous, and Admirable Ordnance: And this his Anſwer [h] Sr. *Robert Cotton* ſays, if it was true, as it was not diſproved, was very Reaſonable. Notwithſtanding he was for the ſame Surrender adjudged to Death, and ſent back to the Tower, from whence he came; becauſe without Commiſſion he yielded up the Place, whereas he took upon him the Defence of the ſame. And this Surrender happen'd in the laſt Year of King *Edward* the *Third*, Predeceſſor to the ſaid King *Richard* the Second. And [i] *Petrarch*, who died above three Years before King *Edward* the *Third*, ſays of theſe Guns, "This Peſtilent Device was lately ſo rare, that it was look'd on "with great Aſtoniſhment: Now, as Mens Minds are very apt to learn the Worſt, it "is as Common, as any other ſort of Arms. Nay, more than ſo, we are credibly informed, that a Commiſſion is to be ſeen for making of *Salt-Peter* in *Edward* the *Thirds* time; and another Record of *Ordnance* uſed in his Days, ſome Twenty Years before his

[z] *Mezeray ad hunc an.*
[a] *Æn. Sylv. hiſt. Bohem. c. 32. & Knighton p. 2630. n. 10. & Giov. Villani, &c. Froiſ. & Sleidan's* Epitome of *Froiſ. p. 193. Mezeray, Du Cheſne, &c.*
* *Giov. Villani l. 12. c. 66. p. 879.*
[b] *Knighton p. 2588. n. 30. & Adam Murimouth.*
[c] *Ut patet ex Dugd. 2 Voll. de Baronagio*
[d] *Mezeray ad hunc an. p. 26.*
[e] *Plutarch's* Apopthegms.
[f] *Nuper inventa eſt Machina, quam Bombardam vocant.*
[g] *Dr. Hakewill's* Apology of the Power and Providence of God, *&c. l. 3. c. 3. p. 322.*
[h] *M. S. Rot. Parl. & Sr. Rob. Cotton's* Exact Abridgement. *An°. 1 Rich. 2. n. 38. &c.*
[i] *Fran. Petrarch de Remediis utriuſque Fortunæ, l. 1. Dial. 99. p. 84. Erat hæc Peſtis nuper rara; ut cum ingenti Miraculo cerneretur: Nunc, ut rerum peſſimarum dociles ſunt animi, ita communis eſt, ut unum quodlibet genus armorum.*

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his Death. Nay, We can go Higher yet, and refer to that part of the Record of the [k] 14 Year of this Kings Reign, six Years before the Battle of *Cressy*, in which is mention made of *Thirty two Tuns of Powder*.

And thô We are able to trace the Original of Guns thus High, yet surely it doth not appear, by any other Author except *Mezeray*, that King *Edward* brought any such thing into the Field at this Battle: The first time, that Old Writers say he used them, was at the Siege of *Calais*: where, thô he might be allowed to bring such Machines against Walls, with more Generosity, than Men: Yet We shall shew hereafter, that he only intended to reduce that Place by Famine, and not to win them by Assault or Battery. Nor can We find, that during at least the greater part of his Reign, any such Engines on either Part were brought into the Field, or planted against any Castle, or Fortress; which doubtless would have been, had they been well known at that time, in these Parts, or had either of those Princes, been minded to make use of such inhuman Executioners. No! Hitherto Men fought like Men; and thô those Devillish Engines, I grant, were invented something about, perhaps before this time; yet either for a while they were not known, or at least not made use of. But if these Instruments were so Wonderfull to that Age, how much more Admirable is the later Invention of our Days; of Guns, that are not actuated by Sulpher, or any Combustible Matter, but only by Wind. Of which a late * Author says thus, "There is in *Basile* a Gun-"smith, that maketh *Wind-Guns*, and he shewed me One, that as it received at once "Air for 10 shot, so it had this Peculiar to it, which he pretends for his own Invention, "That he can discharge all the Air, which may be parcelled out in 10 shot, at once, to "give an home blow. These are terrible Instruments indeed; and it seems the Interest of Mankind to forbid them quite; since they can be employed to assasine Persons so dextrously, that neither Noise, nor Fire, will discover from what Hand the shot cometh: But to return.

[k] *M.S. Rot. Parl. p.* 34. §. 40. *Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 24. §. 40. 14 *Edw.* 3. *vid l.* 1. *c.* 16. §. 1. *p.* 179.

* *Dr.* Burnet's *Letters. p.* 265. *Letter from* Nimigen 20 May 1686.

XII. King *Philip* of *France* retired, as We have shewn, out of the Battle, under favour of the Night: Having not above [l] sixty Persons in his Company, of whom, only Five were Barons, *John* Lord of *Beaumont* in *Hainalt*, the Lord *Charles Monmorency*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, the Lord of *Aubigny*, and the Lord of *Monfort l' Amaury*; besides the Archbishop of *Rheimes*, the Bishop of *Amiens*, and the Chancellor of *France*'s Son, all under the Standard of the Young Prince *James*, Son of *Humbert*, Dauphin of *Vienna*, who was himself slain in the Battle. The *French* Nation so well at that time allowed of this Flight of King *Philips*, that as the *Roman* Senate approved of *Terentius Varro*, who, escaping from the Battle of *Cannæ*, did not yet despair of the Common-Wealth, as his Collegue *Æmylius* had done; by way of Commendation it hath been called to this Day, [m] *la Beau Retracte*. Thus slightly now attended, this Unhappy Prince, rode out of the Field, till he came to the Castle of *Broye* on the *Authie*, about two Leagues *Northward* from the Place of Battle. The Castle was now shut up, for it was by this time dark, wherefore he called out for the Captain, in haste; who coming to the Walls, demanded, who it was, that expected to be let in there at Dark Night? The King reply'd, "*Open your Gates quickly: For I am the* "*Fortune of* France. Perhaps secretly thereby taxing those Flatterers, who had sirnamed him *le Bien-Fortunè*, or the Fortunate King, which Title he holds to this Day; thô, as *Mezeray* observes, at this time he was the *Unfortunate*. The Captain understanding by his Voice, that it was the King, made haste, and open'd the Gate, and let down the Bridge, where he was Dutifully received; but not without many sad Cries, and condoling Lamentations of his sorrowfull Subjects, who like poor frighted Children came flocking about the Distressed Father of their Country. The Unhappy Prince could not long endure so pittifull a Spectacle, and perhaps neither did he think himself secure so near the Enemy: Wherefore having drank, and taken some refreshment, he departed thence about Midnight, and by the help of his Guides, which knew the Country, came to *Amiens* the next Morning; where having tarried a few Days, he went to *Paris*. But during his stay at *Amiens*, instead of looking up to the Hand of God, and Humbling himself under his Judgements, the Passionate [n] King began to rail against several of his Captains; but especially he was so Highly incensed at the Lord *Gondemar du Fay*, that if he could have got him in his Fury, it had cost him his Head; for he said, and believed, "that he did not do his Devoir truly in Defending the Passage at *Blanchetteaque*, where the *English* went over the *Somme*. Nor did the King only say thus, but many of his Council also were of the Mind, that he ought to die, saying, that he was a Traytor, and the Chief Occasion of that Great Loss at *Cressy*. But then *John* Lord of *Beaumont* began wisely to excuse him, and to qualifie

[l] *Froiss. c.* 130. *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 66. *p.* 877.

[m] *Walsingh. Hypod. Neustr. p.* 119. Beau *olim Masc. & Fœm. &* Bel, *tunc Masc. ut* Philip le Bel. *Nunc* le Beau, *&* la Belle.

[n] *Froiss. c.* 134.

qualifie the Kings unjuſt Diſpleaſure, by putting in theſe few words only, "How could "it lye in *Gondemar's* Power to Reſiſt the whole Puiſſance of the King of *England*; "when a Royal Army it ſelf, and all the Flower of the Realm of *France* could not "prevail againſt him?" This apt ſaying pacified the Kings Diſpleaſure, and ſoon after he return'd to *Paris* to conſider of his Weighty Affairs in ſo ſad a juncture. AN. DOM. 1346. An. Regni *Angliæ* XX. *Franciæ* VII.

XIII. All that *Saturday*, being the Day of Battle, the *Engliſh* never broke their Ranks, for taking of any Priſoners whatſoever; but knowing how Numerous the Enemy was, and that there were two or three Freſh Armies near thoſe Parts, they never offer'd to follow the Chace, but ſtood ready upon their Defence: And if [o] One ſays True, they had need to do ſo; for the *French* rallied upon them ſeveral times that Night, thô they were ſtill repulſed with Loſs. Certainly this Day King *Edward* ſhewed himſelf a moſt Accompliſh'd Captain, and all the Night too the greater Part of the Army, eſpecially all the Freſh Men who had not fought, kept the Field, ſtanding to their Arms: But I can no ways believe, that the *Frenchmen* after ſo abſolute a Diſcomfiture, the Flight of their King, and the Death of ſo many of their Prime Leaders, could have the Courage to aſſault their Enemies: Eſpecially in the Night, when all things are doubtfull even to a Conquerour. Yet indeed the Earl of St. *Paul* had drawn off ſeveral entire Troops, and had done more, if in his laſt Attempt he had not been ſlain; and more than Half the *French* Army eſcaped away, thô in ſmall ſcatter'd Parties, that ſingly were no way formidable, and ſome whereof by the errour of the Night fell among the *Engliſh*; where they found no better Uſage than they would have done in Battle.

[o] *Knighton p.* 2588.

Now [p] *Edward* the Young Prince of *Wales*, whom from this time the *French* began to call *Le Neoir*, or the [q] *Black-Prince*, when he heard no more of his Enemies (for it was now ſo dark he could make no further Diſcovery) began to repute the Victory his own, and that all the *French* Hoſt was totally diſcomfited. Then he gave order for huge Fires to be made, and Links, Torches and Flambeaus to be lighted up all about: At which time the King his Father, being come down from the little Hill, where he had ſtood with his Helmet on his Head, which never came off, till now, all the time of the Battle, drew near in the Head of all his Men, and ran up to the Young Prince, and embraced him in his Arms, and kiſſed him and ſaid, "My Fair Son, God "Almighty give you Grace to perſevere as you have begun: Now are you my Good "Son, and have acquitted your ſelf right Nobly, You are well worthy of a large King-"dom: The Prince reply'd only by humbly enclining himſelf to the Earth, honouring the King his Father. That Night [r] the whole Army return'd their publique Thanks to God for their good Succeſs, and made no manner of Boaſting; for it was the expreſs Command of the King, that none ſhould inſult, or make any Brags in Songs or otherwiſe, but all humbly to give Thanks to God Almighty: And [s] ſo the High Maſs of the Holy Spirit was ſolemnly ſung, and the Victory acknowledged to the Author thereof. Moreover the next Day for the ſake of the Dead, the Pious King * cauſed the Place of Battle to be Conſecrated, for the decent Sepulture both of his Enemies and Friends; and that the Wounded, being removed from among the Dead, ſhould be dreſſed; to the meaner ſort of whom he afterward gave Money, and ſent them away. That Morning being a *Sunday*, [t] there was ſuch a Miſt, that a Man could hardly ſee the breadth of an Acre from him; but however the King of *England* and his Marſhals ſent out [u] 500 Spears, and 2000 Archers on Horſeback to ſcour the Fields, and to ſee whether any *Frenchmen* were again gather'd together. Now many Inhabitants of *Abbeville* and St. *Requier* in *Ponthieu*, with the Commons of *Rouën* and *Beauvais* had early that Morning, (being the Day before joyned together) come into the Field, not knowing of the late Diſcomfiture. Some ſay that the *Engliſh* had reared *French* Colours, which they had taken in the Fight, whereby thoſe *Frenchmen* being deceived, came up to joyn them as if they had been their Friends. The *Engliſh* immediately made them know their Errour, and ſet upon them ſo luſtily, that within a little while they put them to Flight, and chaſed them, and ſlew in the Ways, and among the Hedges and Buſhes more than 7000 Men; nor had one of them eſcaped if the Day had been clear. They had ſcarce wip'd their Swords and recover'd their Order, when they had an other Occaſion to beſtir themſelves: For now they met with a more formidable Number of their Enemies, who were conducted by two Noble Leaders, the Archbiſhop of *Rouën* and the Grand Prior of *France*; they alſo being ignorant of the Overthrow given to their Friends the Day before: For they had heard, how King *Philip* intended not to fight till the *Sunday*, and therefore came thither now to his Aſſiſtance. Upon theſe (the Day beginning now to clear) the *Engliſhmen* under the Leading of the Earls of *Arundel*,

[p] *Froiſ. c.* 131.

[q] In the Records of 2 *Ric.* 2. *n.* 12. he is called the Black Prince. *vid. M.S. Rot. Parl. ad an. prædict. p.* 171. *Sr Rob. Cotton p.* 168.

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 131.

[s] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 66. *p.* 878.

* *Id. ibid.*

[t] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[u] *Id. & Mezeray, &c.*

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Arundel, [x] *Northampton* and *Suffolk*, ſet with a Courage, which their laſt acquired Victory had doubled; and fought ſo obſtinately, that after a Stout Reſiſtance they gain'd a Compleat Conqueſt, having ſlain the two Leaders, with 2000 of their beſt Men upon the Spot, and purſuing the Chace for 3 Leagues together. Beſide theſe two Succeſſes, they met with ſeveral *Frenchmen*, who had ſtrayed in the Dark night, and not knowing, where the King or any of his Captains were, had lain about in the Fields: But their Reſpit was not long, for now they were all put to the Sword, as many as were found, and ſent to bear them Company, who were ſlain the Day before: Whereby it was thought, that of the Commons and Footmen of the Cities and Good Towns of *France*, there fell now four times as many as were ſlain on the *Saturday* in the great Battle.

[x] *Vid. Michael Northburgh's Letter l. 2. c. 4. §. 5.*

XIV. That ſame [y] *Sunday* about Noon, as the King came from Hearing Divine Service, the Captains of this Brigade return'd and ſhew'd the King what they had ſeen and done, and how they had ſucceeded; and aſſured him, that there was no more Appearance of any Enemy in the Field. Then the King order'd the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, and Sr. *Richard Stafford* Brother to the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, with three Heralds in their Company, to go and ſearch the Field, and view the Number and Quality of the Slain: For in thoſe Days every Great Man wore a Surcoat of his Arms over his Armour, to diſtinguiſh him according to his Quality. Theſe viſited in Order the Bodies of all them that were ſlain, and when they had taken a full and exact Account of every Parcel; certain Men, who were thereto appointed of the King, ſpoil'd their Bodies, taking their Money and Rings, and what elſe was moſt valuable, but with ſo much Decency, that they left their Apparel on to cover their Nakedneſs: All which Booty the King cauſed to be diſtributed among his Souldiers by equal Portions. Theſe Lords with the Heralds returned from viſiting the Dead, and brought along with them all the Spoil of the Field juſt as the King was going to Supper; and after Supper they reported to the King a juſt Account of what they had found, namely, that there lay Dead in the Field 11 Great Princes, 80 Bannerets, 1200 Knights, and more than 30000 of the Common Souldiers. The Contemplation of this Succeſs made a [z] pious Hiſtorian of thoſe Days break out after this manner, "O Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God "of Hoſts, how great is thy Power in Heaven and Earth, and eſpecially in Battles? "Since ſometimes, nay very often, he brings to paſs, that a ſmall People and Power doth "vanquiſh Mighty Armies; thereby to ſet forth his own Power, and to pull down the "Proud and Arrogant, and to puniſh the Sins of Kings, Lords and People. And particularly in this Diſcomfiture he ſhew'd his Power evidently, for there were Thrice as "many *Frenchmen* as *Engliſh*: But yet this was not, ſays he, without juſt Cauſe, that "ſuch Miſchief ſhould happen to the King of *France*. Since among his other Offences, "that we may not inſtance in the Wrong done to the King of *England*, and other his "Lords, in Uſurping their Inheritance and Lordſhips; but Ten years before being ſworn "to Pope *John* to undertake the Croiſade, and promiſing within two Years to go beyond the Seas and to regain the Holy Land, he took the Tenths and Subſidies of all his "Realm; and yet made War againſt Chriſtian Princes unjuſtly: On occaſion whereof, "there died and were taken Priſoners by the *Saracens* beyond the Seas, of *Armenians* "and other *Chriſtians* above an 100000, who in Confidence of his Aſſiſtance, had begun the War againſt the *Saracens* in *Syria*. Thus far *Giovanni Villani*.

[y] *Froiſ. c. 132.*

[z] *Giov. Villani p. 879.*

XV. The King of *England* kept the Field all *Sunday*-Night alſo, and on the *Monday* Morning he prepared to March thence; but [a] firſt by Proclamation granted a Truce to all the Towns thereabouts for Three Days, that ſo the Country People might be encouraged to come forth and ſearch the Fields of *Creſſy*, and to bury their Dead. But as for the Bodies of the Kings and Great Princes, he cauſed them to be taken up decently, and conveyed along with him in ſolemn Pomp to *Monſtrevil*, were they were all depoſited in Holy Ground in the Great Abby: The King [b] Himſelf and his Chief Lords wearing Blacks at their Funerals, eſpecially for the Sake of *John* the Famous Old King of *Bohemia*, whoſe Death he took heavily, and proſecuted with Lamentations: After which he ſent his Body with much Honour to the Marqueſs his Son, then at the Abby of *Riſcampo*, whence afterwards it was honourably conveyed to *Luxemburgh* by his Son aforeſaid.

[a] *Froiſ. c. 132.*

[b] *Giov. Villan. l. 12. c. 66. p. 878.*

While the King lay thus at *Monſtrevil*, his Marſhals made an Excurſion towards *Heſdin*, and burnt *Campagne* and *Beauraine*; but they let the Caſtle alone, becauſe it required ſome time to win it, and that Night they lodged by the River of *Canche* near *Heſdin* towards *Blangy*.

[c] *Froiſ. & Knighton p. 2588. & Du Cheſne p. 665.*

The next Day the whole Army began to March forward [c] towards *Boulogne*, and by the

the way took St. *Josse*, the Town of *Estaples*, *Neufchastel*, St. *Estienne*, and burnt and wasted all the Country for about 8 Leagues; as also they did to the Suburbs of *Boulogne*. After this the King, with the Prince his Son, went and encamped by *Wissan*, on the Sea-side, about 3 Leagues from *Calais*: And having tarried here one Day to refresh his Army, on the [d] *Thursday* being the last of *August* (others say the [e] 7 of *September*) he came and lay down before the strong Town of *Calais*; which had been of old a great Nuisance both to Him and his Kingdom.

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[d] *Du Chesne &c.*

[e] *Knighton p.* 2588.

CHAPTER the FOURTH.

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I. THE City [a] of *Calais*, thô of no considerable Extent, is a famous Market-Town, Rich, and strongly Fortified, being scituate on the Marches of *Artois* five Leagues Northward of *Boulogne*, and three Westward of *Gravelines*; and but little more than fourteen from the neareſt Coast of *England* or *Dover* Castle, which it directly confronts: And the Sea between is by the *English* called the Strait of *Calais*, and by the *French*, *La Manche*. It is furnished with a strong Castle and a spacious Haven, where a considerable Navy may take safe Harbour; and is also enclosed about with a Double Wall and a Double Ditch, besides that on the West-side from *Risban* to *Cologne*; it is fenced with [b] *an Arm of the Sea* in a Semicircular manner. This Town and Castle are reported to have been first built by *Julius Cæsar* the Famous *Roman* Emperour, after he had brought all *France* to do Homage to his Eagles: As he is also said to have built the Castle of *Chepstow* in *Monmouthshire* in *Venodocia* or *South-Wales*; and that of *Dover* in *Kent*, when he was about the Conquest of *Brittain*, now called *England*.

[a] *Stow p.* 243. *Froiss. c.* 133. *vid. Ferrarium in titulo* Caletum, *&c.*

[b] Marish grounds, which are only passable by *Newland* Bridge.

Wherefore thô it was of incredible Strength, as well for its advantagious Scituation, as those wonderfull Accessions of Art, which made it almost Impregnable by any human Power; yet because it was a most convenient Landing-place for any out of *England* to set Footing in *France*, and had also by its Piracies, exercised on the *English* Seas, done many great Displeasures to King *Edward* and his People, he resolved to lay Siege unto the Place, knowing that having already given such a Blow to *France*, if he could not

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not be able to reduce them by Force, he might yet overcome them by Famine, which enters thrô the ſtrongeſt Fortifications.

All along as the King marched hither by Land, his Fleet being return'd out of *England*, took the ſame way by Sea, under the Command of *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntington*, and then Lord High [c] Admiral of *England*, together with the Lord *John Mongomery* Vice-Admiral, which Two at the very Inſtant of King *Edward's* Inveſting the Town of *Calais* by Land, came and block'd it up alſo by Sea, with a Mighty Navy, conſiſting in all of [d] 738 Ships, wherein were no leſs than 14956 Mariners, together with Souldiers, and Proviſions of all ſorts accordingly.

[c] *Weever's Fun. Mon. p.* 259
[d] *Hacluit's* Voyages 1 *Vol. p.* 119. &c.
[e] *Froiſ. ibid.*

II. Now the [e] King knew, that the ſtrength of the Place, and the Courage of the Garriſon, were likely enough to give him ſome trouble; but conſidering the Opportunities he had, while he lay here, of receiving Aſſiſtance either from *England* or *Flanders*, he reſolved to ſtarve them, if they would not otherwiſe accept his Mercy. Firſt therefore by his Herald he Summons the Captain to yield up unto him, as Rightfull King of *France*, that his Caſtle and Town of *Calais*; otherwiſe, that he would put them all to the Sword for their Obſtinacy. The Captain Anſwer'd, "He knew but "One King of *France*, who had ſent him thither to keep the Place for his behoof; "and him only was he reſolved to obey, being ready either to live or die in his Ser- "vice: Thô upon Occaſion he doubted not, but to have ſufficient Aſſiſtance from him. Upon this peremptory Anſwer of the Captain, King *Edward* began to entrench himſelf ſtrongly about the City, ſetting his own Tent directly againſt the Chief Gates, at which he intended to enter, then he placed Baſtions between the Town and the River, and ſet out Regular Streets, and reared up decent Buildings of ſtrong Timber between the Trenches, which he cover'd with Thatch, Reed, Broom, and Skins: Thus he encompaſſed the whole Town of *Calais*, from *Risban* on the *Northweſt* ſide to *Courgaine*, on the *Northeaſt*, all along by *Sangate*, at *Port* and *Fort de Nieulay*, commonly by the *Engliſh* call'd *Newland*-Bridge, down by *Hammes*, *Cologne* and *Marke*: So that his Camp look'd like a ſpacious City, and was uſually by Strangers, that came thither to Market, called *New-Calais*. For this Prince's Reputation for Juſtice was ſo Great, that to his Markets (which he held in his Camp twice every Week, *viz.* on *Tueſdays* and *Saturdays*, for Fleſh, Fiſh, Bread, Wine, and Ale, with Cloth and all other Neceſſaries) there came not only his Friends and Allies from *England*, *Flanders*, and *Aquitain*; but even many of King *Philips* Subjects and Confederates convey'd thither their Cattle, and other Commodities to be ſold. Beſides which, the Marſhals of the Hoſt would ſcour the Country daily, and rode often toward *Guiſnes* and *Terouenne*, and to the Gates of *Ardres* and St. *Omers*, and ſometimes to *Boulogne*, and mightily refreſhed the Army with Prey, which they brought thither in great abundance.

[f] *Knighton p.* 2588.

III. One time eſpecially, the [f] Earl of *Warwick* went forth with a Detachment of Men of Arms, as far as *Terouenne*, where he heard a Great Fair was then kept: Here they found the Biſhop of *Terouenne* with 10000 Souldiers, ready to Defend the Fair; but this ſtrength was not ſufficient, for they were all Worſted by the *Engliſh*, the Biſhop himſelf being grievouſly Wounded, and hardly eſcaping with Life; all the Merchandiſe and Riches of the Fair taken, and carried away in Carts, and upon Horſes to the Camp before *Calais*, to the Infinite Loſs of the *French*, and the Comfort and Satisfaction of their Enemies. But as to this Action, [g] another Reports, that the Biſhop himſelf, not daring to expect the *Engliſh*, fled away to St. *Omers*, leaving the Defence of *Terouenne* to a Valiant Captain, Sr. *Arnold D' Andreghan*; who is ſaid to have made a good Reſiſtance thô in vain: For the *Engliſh* enter'd the Place by fine Force, ſlew all his Souldiers, and took him Priſoner: And having Sacked the City, ſet it on Fire. But as for my part, I rather encline to believe the firſt Account; becauſe We ſhall find the Lord *Arnold D' Andreghan* to be now in *Calais*; and the Biſhop could not come with any hope of Protection to St. *Omers*; for that was the ſame time actually Beſieged by King *Edwards* Friends and Allies of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Hainalt*, who [h] ſeeing the Great Fortune of the King of *England*, not only ſent [i] 38 Veſſels well Mann'd to encreaſe his Fleet before *Calais*, but alſo raiſed an Army by Land, werewith they laid Siege to St. *Omers*, and other Places; as We ſhall ſhew hereafter. And theſe *Flemings*, [k] when they underſtood, what the *Engliſh* had done at *Terouenne*, ſent out a Party of their own thither, who began a new Spoil and Slaughter, of thoſe Perſons and things, which had eſcaped the *Engliſh*: Particularly, they fired the Canons Houſes, and other Religious Places, which in Devotion the Earl of *Warwick* had ſpared.

[g] *Holinſhead Eng. Chron. p.* 937.
[h] *Knighton p.* 2588. *n.* 60.
[i] *Hackluit's* Voyages 1 *Vol. p.* 119.
[k] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 937.

IV. Now

IV. Now there was at this time Captain of *Calais*, a Renowned Knight of *Burgundy*, named [1] *John de Vienne*, afterwards Marshal of *France*, and with him the Valiant Lord *Arnold D' Andreghan*, Sr. *John Surrey*, Sr. *Barton Belborne*, Sr. *Godfry de Lament*, Sr. *Pepin de Vermand*, and divers other Knights and Esquires, were there in Garrison; all Brave and Resolute Men, full of Courage and Loyalty to the King their Master. When Sr. *John de Vienne* perceived, that King *Edward* intended to lye long there, he thought to rid the Town of as many useless Mouths as he could; and so on a *Wednesday*, being the 13 of *September*, he forced out of the Town more than 1700 of the pooreſt, and least necessary People, Old Men, Women, and Children, and shut the Gates upon them: Who being demanded, wherefore they came out of the Town, Answer'd with great Lamentation; that it was, because they had nothing to live on. Then King *Edward*, who was so fierce in Battle, shew'd a truly Royal Disposition, by considering the sad Condition of these Forlorn Wretches: For he not only would not force them back again into the Town, whereby they might help to consume the Victuals, but he gave them all a Dinner, and two-pence a piece, and leave to pass thrô the Army without the least Molestation: Whereby he so wrought upon the hearts of these poor Creatures, that many of them prayed to God for his Prosperity.

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[1] *Froiſ. c.* 133.

V. Of all this Years Expedition, from the time that King *Edward* wan the City of *Caen* in *Normandy*, even to this time; One of the Kings Chaplains, who was present and attended him all along, wrote two Letters; which for their Authority, and further Confirmation of what We have said, We here think good to subjoyn.

The First Letter of *Michael Northborough*, a *Dominican Fryer*, and Chaplain, and Confessor to King *Edward* the *Third*.

"[m] *Benedicere Debemus Deum Cœli, &c.* We have great Cause to Bless and "Magnifie the God of Heaven, and Worthily to Confess his Holy Name; who hath "so wrought his Mercies for Us. After the Conflict at *Caen*, where many were put "to the Sword, and the City taken, and sack'd even to the bare Walls; the City of "*Bayeux* immediately yielded of its own accord; fearing least their Councils had been "discover'd. Thence our Lord, the King, directed his Progress towards *Rouën*; and "being at the City of *Lisieux*, there came unto him from the Pope, two Cardinals, "to perswade him to admit of Peace. These Cardinals being Graciously Received by "the King, had this Answer: How the King being very desirous of Peace, had used "all Reasonable Ways and Methods to cultivate it, and therefore had made many Fair "Overtures and Conditions, to the no small Prejudice of his own Cause: And even yet "was ready to admit of any Reasonable Offer, if it might be secured unto him. With "this Answer the Cardinals being dismiss'd, went to the *French* King, the Kings Adversary, to Treat and Sound him in like Manner; and upon their Return to King "*Edward*, offer'd unto him in the *French* Kings Name, the whole Dukedom of "*Aquitaine*, in as Ample Manner, and as Full Assurance, as ever the King his "Father had it before him: Besides further hopes of Obtaining more, if a Treaty of Peace might take Place. But forasmuch, as that could not satisfie the Kings "Mind, and the Cardinals had not found the *French* King so tractable and inclin'd to the "study of Peace, as they expected, they return'd [to *Avignon*] leaving the Matter, as "they found it. And so the King Marching forward in his intended journey, subdued all the "Country, and the great Towns, without any Resistance of the Inhabitants; who all fled "and ran away before us; God Almighty strack such a terrour into them, as if they had lost "their hearts: So that in this Expedition, as the King had taken many Towns and Villages, he also subdued several strong Castles, and fortify'd Places, with little Labour. "His Enemy being then at *Rouën*, had Raised a Mighty Army; yet notwithstanding his "Forces were so Numerous, he still kept on the other side of the River *Seyne*, breaking down all the Bridges, that We might not come over to him. And thô the Country was continually harassed, spoiled, sacked, and consumed with fire, for more than 20 "Miles in circuit, yet the *French* King, thô sometimes distant scarce a Mile from us, either "would not, or else durst not (for he might have easily passed over the River) make any "Resistance for the Defence of his Country and People. And so our King proceeding forward came to *Poissy*, where the *French* King had likewise broken down the Bridge; "and keeping on the other side, would rest in no certain Place. *Dat. apud* Pusiacum *Festo* "*Assumptionis B.* Mariæ *Virginis, &c.*

[m] *Fox Acts and Mon. p.* 504. *ex Rob. Avesbury, &c.*

The other Letter of the said *Michael Northborough* begins where this ends, and proceeds even to the Siege of *Calais*, in this manner.[n]

"Salutations premised, we give you to understand, that our Sovereign Lord the King "came

[n] *Rob. Avesbury, Fox Acts and Mon. p.* 504. *Holinshead Eng. Chron. p.* 930.

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"came to the Town of *Poissy* on the Vigil of the Assumption of our Lady, where "was a certain Bridge over the Water of *Seyne* broken down by the Enemy: But the "King tarried there so long, till the Bridge was made again. And whilst the Bridge "was in Repairing, there came thither a great Number of Men of Arms and other "Souldiers to hinder the same. But the Earl of *Northampton* went out against them, "and slew of them more than a Thousand; the rest fled away, Thanks be to God. "And at another time our Men passed the Water (althô with much Difficulty) and "slew a great Number of the Common Souldies of *France*, about the City of *Paris*, "and Country adjoyning, being part of the *French* Kings Army, well and throughly "appointed: So that our People had soon made other good Bridges in spight of our "Enemies (God be thanked) without any great Loss or Dammage on our Part. On "the Morrow after the Assumption of our Lady, the King passed the Water of *Seyne*, "and marched toward *Pont-Oyse*, which is a Town of great Defence, and strongly im-"mured, being also furnished with a marvellous strong Castle, which our Enemies kept: "And when our Van-guard was passed the Town, the Reer made an Assault thereto, "and took the same, where more than 300 Men of Arms on the Enemies Part were "slain. And the next Day following, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sr. *Hugh Spencer* march-"ed forth against the Commons of the Country, who were assembled together and "well-armed; and in fine, slew of them more than [o] 1200, and besides others took "60 Gentlemen Prisoners. After that the King marched toward *Grandvillers*, and "while he was there encamped, his Van-guard was descried by the King of *Bohemia's* "Men of Arms: Whereupon certain of our Men issued forth in great haste, and be-"gan to joyn Battle with them, but were enforced to retire; notwithstanding (thanks "be to God) the Earl of *Northampton* issued out, and rescued the Horsemen with o-"ther Souldiers, so that few or none of them were either taken or slain, saving only "*Thomas Talbot*, but had again the Enemy in Chace, till within two Leagues of *Ami-*"*ens*; of whom we took 8 and slew 12 of their best Men of Arms, the rest being well "horsed got to the Town of *Amiens*. After this the King of *England* marched towards "*Ponthieu* upon the [p] Feast of St. *Bartholomew*, and came unto the Water of *Somme*, "where the *French* had posted 500 Men of Arms, and 3000 Footmen, with design to keep "and defend that Passage against us; but Thanks be to God, the next Morning the "King of *England* and his Host entred the same Water of *Somme*, where never Man "passed before, without the loss of any of our Men: And after that encounter'd with "the Enemy, and slew of them more than 2000, the rest fled toward *Abbeville*; but in "the Chace many Knights, Esquires, and Men of Arms were taken. The same Day "Sr. *Hugh Spencer* took the Town of *Crotoy*, where He and his Men slew 400 Men "of Arms, and kept the Town, wherein they found good store of Provision. That "same Night the King of *England* encamped in the Forest of *Cressy*, bordering upon "the same Water: For that the *French* Kings Host came on the other side of the "Town near unto our Passage, but declining to take the Water of us, he marched back "to *Abbeville*. And upon the *Saturday* the King being still encamped in the said Forest, "our Van-currours descried the *French* King, who marched toward us in Four Great "Battails: And having by this means, as it pleased God, understanding of our Ene-"mies a little before Even-song, We set our Battails in Array, and presently the Fight "began, which was sore and cruel, and endured long: For our Enemies behaved them-"selves right Nobly. But Thanks be to God the Victory fell on our Side, and the "King our Adversary was discomfited, with all his Host and put to Flight. Where al-"so was slain the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Alençon*, the "Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl of *Blois*, the Earl of *Harcourt* with his two Sons, the Earl "of *Aumale*, the Earl of *Nevers* and his Brother, the Lord of *Thonon*, the Archbi-"shop of *Nismes*, the Archbishop of *Sennes*, the Grand Prior of *France*, the Lord of "*Marle*, the Lord of *Guise*, the Lord of St. *Venant*, the Lord of *Rosemburgh*, with six "Earls of *Almain*, and divers other Earls, Barons, Knights and Esquires, whose Names "are unknown: But *Philip* of *Valois* himself with another Marquess, who was called "Lord Elector of the *Romans*, escaped from the Battle. The Number of the Men of "Arms which were found dead in the Field, besides the Common Souldiers and Foot-"men, came to 1542: And all that Night the King with his Host abode armed in "the Field where the Battle was fought. On the next Morning before the Sun-rise, "there marched towards us another huge Host of *Frenchmen*, mighty and strong: But "the Earl of *Northampton* and the Earl of [q] *Suffolk* went out against them in three Bat-"talions, and after a long and terrible Fight discomfited them likewise, by Gods great "Help and Grace (for otherwise it could not have been done) where they took of Knights "and

[o] 1200 *hîc lego, non ut* Fox, *&c.* 200, *ex* Froiss. Ashmole, Martin *& aliis, ita corrigendo: vid. l.2.c.2. §.10. p.348.*

[p] A. Lit. Dom. 24 *Aug.* Thurs.

[q] *Ita lego pro illorum* Norfolk; *nam nullus his diebus erat Comes* Norfolciæ.

"and Esquires a good Number, and slew above 2000, following the Chace three "Leagues from the place where the Battle was fought. The same Night also the King "encamped still in the Forest of *Cressy*, and on the Morrow marched towards *Bou-* "*logne*, and by the way took the Town of *Estaples*, and from thence he marched to- "ward *Calais*, where he intendeth to plant his Siege and lay Battery to the same. AN. DOM. 1346. An. Regni *Angliæ* XX. *Franciæ* VII.

"Wherefore our Sovereign Lord the King, willeth and commandeth you in all that "ever you may, to send unto the said Siege Victuals convenient: For from the time of "our departing from *Caen*, we have travelled thrô the Country in great peril and hazard of "our People, but yet always had Plenty of Victuals; Thanks be to God for it. But now "as the Case stands, we partly stand in need of your Help to be refreshed with Victu- "als: Thus fare you well. Dated at the Siege before the Town of *Calais* 14 day of "*September*.

VI. And now for a while we shall leave King *Edward* at the Siege of *Calais*, and look what became of the Siege of *Aiguillon* in *Agenois*, the News whereof had lately incited the King of *England* to make this Expedition. All this while [r] the Duke of *Normandy* lay before the strong Castle of *Aiguillon*, not now so much in hopes to win the Place (for, not only the *English* held out still with their usual Bravery; but he also himself was held short by the Earl of *Darby*) as because he had rashly made a solemn Vow never to depart thence till he had the Fortress at his Devotion. Now a few Days before the Battle of *Cressy* was fought, Duke *John* hearing, that King *Edward* was marching through *France*, resolved to give one more general Assault, if by any means he might by Carrying the Place, both save his Oath, and also be at liberty to go and assist his Father. It was then about the middle of *August*, and the *Frenchmen* being irritated with their long stay here, became more resolved to do their Utmost, in order to end so tedious a Siege with Honour: Nor were encouragements wanting from the Duke, nor provocations from the Enemy. But for all that, althô in a manner the whole Army was engaged in a general Assault, carried on with the utmost vigour for the space of an whole Day, yet all was in vain, and their Losses were doubled, but their Advantages no whit better'd. Among many others, there fell that day the young Lord *Philip* of *Burgundy* (Eldest Son to *Eudo* the IV. Duke of *Burgundy*) who was Earl of *Artois* and *Boulogne*, and Cousin-German to the Duke of *Normandy*. This Gallant Gentleman was in the Flower of his Youth, and but newly come thither: But being desirous at this time to signalize himself, when the Skirmish was begun, he set Spurs to his Courser, and came onward to the Assault. But the mettlesome Horse taking the Curb between his Teeth, ran away with his Master, and chanced to stumble in a Ditch, where they fell both Horse and Man: The young Lord being so rudely handled, that he died within a few days after, leaving behind him [s] one Infant Son and a Daughter.

[r] *Froiss. c.* 134.

[s] *Favine le Parisien l.*4. *c.*3. *p.*7.

VII. Now King *Philip* was returned to *Paris*, where he busied himself in Thoughts nothing unworthy the Grandeur of such a Monarch; nor did all this Adversity abate his Courage, or extort one Low thought from him: He resolves to try all means to uphold his Sinking Honour, and take a severe Vengeance of his Enemies for the Loss he had received. First therefore he sends a peremptory Command to his Son *John*, who lay still before *Aiguillon* with a very considerable Army, immediately to rise up; and all Excuses laid aside, to come away to aid his Country nearer Home against the Enemy, who had already drank deep draughts of her best Blood, and now lay gnawing at her very Bowels. At the same time he seriously bestirs himself to raise another Mighty Army, wherewith he design'd to go and drive away King *Edward* from before *Calais*: Which he intended to succour in Person very early the next Campagne. And besides this, in hopes to divert the War from his own Doors into *England*, or at least to repay the Losses of *France* with the like in *England*; he presently after the Battle of *Cressy*, sent his special Messengers to his Old Friend and Ally, *David Bruce* King of *Scotland*, "Not only desiring him earnestly to remember former Obligations, and their late strict "Alliance, but encouraging him at such a time, [t] when all the strength of *England* was "drain'd out in the parts of *Gascogne*, *Bretagne*, and before *Calais*; to invade the "Northern Borders of his and their Inveterate Enemys the *English*, and to revenge the "manifold Injuries they had Both received; earnestly requesting him not so much "to stand upon a slight Truce, which King *Edward* had only made for his own Advan- "tage, as to value and respect those sacred Tyes of mutual Amity and Entercourses, "that have been not only for many Generations inviolably maintain'd between both "their Ancestors; but also in especial manner had been cultivated and confirmed be- "tween them two. And besides all these Arguments, he sent him a good round Summ

[t] *Knighton p.* 2589. *n.*40.

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of Mony, and 15000 Crosbows of *Genoua* to his Assistance, thô not as some say, under the Command of *Antonio Doria* and *Carolo Grimaldi*, for they were both slain in *Cressy*-Field, as we have shewn from the Testimony of *Giovanni Villani*, who was himself an *Italian*. And truly it might be wondred, that any of the *Genouese* should now care to serve King *Philip* any more after that great Affront at *Cressy*; but that it is to be remembred, how these People were in those Days Mercenaries to the Crown of *France*, as of late the *Swissers* have been; and so might well be now appeased with gracious Words, especially attended with Gold, which always bears a Great Sway not only among Souldiers of Fortune, but also with the major Part of Mankind.

The Effects of this Message we shall shew by and by, when we have first related how the Siege was broken up from before *Aiguillon*.

VIII. And as for *John* Duke of *Normandy*, when he had received his Fathers peremtory Command, he became infinitely displeas'd, as well at the unhappy News of King *Edwards* Victorious Progress, as because he saw his own Honour so apparently touched, in that he had received such Opposition before so inconsiderable a Fortress. Indeed he had met with many Checks and Rebuffs during this Siege, not only from the Besieged themselves, who maintain'd the Place with invincible Courage, as we have particularly shew'd; but also from the most Noble Earl of *Darby*, who held him so short with his flying Troops, that scoured about the Country for that purpose, having certain strong Garrisons for their Retreat, that he could never get in Provisions fast enough to supply the wants of his Army; and what he got was not many times without great Labour, thô fetch'd in by Considerable Bodies. Wherefore that he suffer'd some Difficulty is very easily granted, but that he was thereby obliged secretly to forsake his Army, and escape away by stealth, I cannot by any means allow, thô [u] some of our Writers have too heedlesly ventur'd to say as much: And that his Headless Army thereupon flying away after him in much Confusion, they were between the People of the Country and the Earl of *Darby*, almost all reduced to nothing.

[u] *Knighton p. 2589. n. 30. &c.*

I have all along professed to have a zeal for Truth, and must not therefore here allow of those improbable Relations of some of our Countrymen: For it is certain, that Prince *John* was a Man of truly Royal Courage and Magnanimity; and the Army he lead very formidable for the Fame of its Captains and Officers, as well as its own Numbers. And we are sure, not only that the Earl of *Darby* was unable to keep the Field against him; but that King *Edward*, who also well knew as much, chiefly at first undertook this Expedition, as was generally reputed, with a design to raise that Siege: Thô as we have shewn he was diverted into *Normandy*, as well by the Necessity of the Weather, as afterwards by New-Counsels. And also we shall presently see this Duke in the Head of a considerable Army, watching King *Edwards* Motions, which could not have been, had he so unworthily deserted these Forces and betray'd them to Ruine. Wherefore we shall embrace the more probable Account, which [x] *Froisard* gives in this manner: That when Duke *John* received this expres Command from his Father, that he should forthwith break up his Siege from before *Aiguillon*, and with all Expedition return into *France*, to defend his Heritage against the *English*, he call'd his Chief Lords and Captains about him to a Council of War, to know what Course he had best to take in that Juncture: For as he said, he had solemnly sworn, never to depart thence till he had won the Castle. The Lords all agreed with one Consent, "That since his Father commanded him, he must obey, notwithstanding his Oath, which "must be implied but Conditional, since being both a Son and a Subject, he was not "therein at his own Dispose: For his Duty to his King and Father had laid a greater "and more early Obligation upon him.

[x] *Froisc. 134.*

IX. According to this Advice, the next Morning early he prepared to March back with his Host toward *Paris*, having [y] sent unto the Pope to *Avignon*, requesting to be absolved of his Oath, which he had made not to part thence, till he had the Castle; whereupon he receiv'd the Popes Absolution. It is said by [z] some, that *Ralph* Lord *Stafford* was at this time Captain of *Aiguillon*; but it appears, that althô indeed, upon the Death of *Oliver* Lord *Ingham*, he was by the King made Seneschal of *Gascogne*, yet early this Year he Resign'd that Office into the Kings Hands, and was actually in the Battle of *Cressy*, as We have declared; which Battle preceded the raising of this Siege: As appears by the Confession even of those, [a] who otherwise say the Contrary, though imprudently; for yet they allow the Battle of *Cressy* to have been fought on the 26 of *August*, and acknowledge this Siege was not raised, till the Feast of the Decollation of St. *John Baptist*, which is known to be not till the 29 of *August*; althô

[y] *Giov. Villani, l. 12. c. 60. p. 870.*

[z] *Stow p. 240. & ex eo Dugd. & Ashmole.*

[a] *Ashmole p. 689, &c.*

thô for want of comparing they make the latter to be before the former. And then with what Forces could this Lord *Stafford* pretend to go above an 100 Miles thrô *France*, to meet with the King at *Creſſy*, unleſs he left *Aiguillon* void? We ſhall therefore leave theſe Idle Tales, and go to a more probable and better atteſted Narration. The Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lord *Walter Manny* were with ſome other aforemention'd Chief Captains of *Aiguillon*: Who when they ſaw the Departure of the Duke of *Normandy* (for he had [b] fired his Tents to the great Damage of thoſe that were Infirm, and the Loſs of their Neceſſaries) reſolved to give him a brisk Farewell. And ſo the Lord [c] *Walter Manny* iſſued out with his Banner before him, and daſhed in among the hindmoſt of the *French*, and fell upon them with ſuch Vigour, that he ſlew one with another 600 of them; and took about 60 Priſoners, whom he brought back with him into the Fortreſs. Of theſe Priſoners, upon enquiry, he underſtood, how the King of *England*, his Maſter, had made an Expedition into *France*, and had won a notable Victory in the Fields of *Creſſy*, and was intended to lay his Siege before *Calais*.

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[b] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 60. *p.* 870.

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 134.

Hereupon [f] Sr. *Walter Manny* ſome days after fell into Communication with one of the Chief of all his Priſoners, who was a Noble Knight of *Normandy*, and both very Dear, and alſo nearly Allied to Duke *John*; demanding of him, how much Money he was content to pay for his Ranſom. The Knight reply'd, "He would very willingly give him 3000 Crowns. "Well, ſaid the Lord *Manny*, I am fully enformed, "that You are of Kin to the Duke of *Normandy*, and very High in his Favour; of "that I am ſure. And if I would preſs upon You, I am certain, You could pay me "10000 Crowns: But I ſhall deal otherwiſe with You, and only rely upon your "Faith and Promiſe. You ſhall go to the Duke your Lord, and endeavour to obtain "of him a Safe-Conduct for me, and 20 more of my Company to ride thrô *France* "to *Calais*, We paying courteouſly for all our Expences, and lying but One Night "in a place, till We come thither; and not offering the leaſt Wrong or Violence to "any ſoul whatſoever. And if You can get this Grant of the Duke, or of the King, "his Father, I ſhall clearly quit You your Ranſom with many Thanks: For I am "very deſirous to ſee the King, my Maſter. But if You cannot procure thus much "for me, You ſhall return hither again within a Moneth, and yield your Body up, as "my Priſoner.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 135. *&c.*

X. To all this the Knight agreed, and gave his Promiſe to keep the Bargain truly and honeſtly, and ſo went to *Paris*; where having found the Duke of *Normandy*, he Obtained of him a Paſs-port and Safe-Conduct for Sr. *Walter Manny*, and only 20 Horſemen beſide, and therewithall returning punctually to *Aiguillon*, upon delivery of the ſaid Conduct, he was freely acquitted of his Ranſom and Impriſonment.

Then the Lord *Walter Manny*, made ſufficient Proviſion for his journey, and having took leave of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the other *Engliſh* Lords and Captains, left the Fortreſs with 20 Gallant Fellows in his Company, all well Mounted, and rode thrô *Auvergne*, and when he came to any City or Town, he produced his Letters, and ſo was let paſs unmoleſted. But being come to *Orleans*, for all his Letters, he was arreſted, together with all his Company, and hurried away to *Paris*; where by the Kings Order they were Impriſon'd in the Chaſtelet, or Chief Priſon. The Duke of *Normandy*, having got notice hereof, went immediately to the King, his Father, and told him, how Sr. *Walter Manny* had his Safe-Conduct; wherefore he earneſtly deſired him to deliver him; "Sir, ſaid he, for Gods-ſake, blemiſh not Your Royal Ho"nour by ſuch an Unjuſt and Unprincely Action. I was furniſhed with full Power "from Your own Commiſſion, to grant a Safe-Conduct, or to Treat with any of Your "Enemies, in what Manner I ſhould think fit. Neither did I make this Grant, which "yet is of ſmall conſideration, to an Enemy, but for the ſake of a Loyal and Valiant "Subject, who was redeem'd from Priſon thereby. Nor could he have been reduced "into Your Power by the Force of Your Arms (for that was try'd in vain) but by "the Faith he repoſed in Your Princely Honour; which all Kings ſhould take the "utmoſt Care to keep inviolate. My Lord and Father, let it not be ſaid, that the "Heir of *France*, after a Fruitleſs Siege of many Months, was fain to falſifie his Word, "confirmed with his, nay with Your, Royal Seal, to trepan a Generous Enemy into "an Ignoble Death: For thô all this proceeded of Your Majeſties Pleaſure alone, yet "there is no Man, but will believe, that it was I, who betray'd him; and ſo they "juſtly may, unleſs they ſhall ſee him ſet free again by my Endeavours. "Set Free "again (reply'd the incenſed Prince) let me ſee, who dare pretend to diſpoſe of my

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"Priſoners, otherwiſe, than I ſhall think Convenient. Be this your ſatisfaction; that "your Father and your King is reſolved, He ſhall die: For I look upon him as One "of my moſt Deadly Enemies, and ſo would You, if You knew, how he aims to ra- "viſh away for another, that Crown, which You may one Day Wear. "Father, "ſaid the Duke, if this be Your final Determination, ſurely I ſhall never bear Arms "on Your behalf againſt the King of *England*, nor ſhall any of thoſe, on whom I have "any Influence: For I am not greatly Ambitious to Wear a Crown, that is upheld "by any Unjuſt Action; and then, going out of the Preſence in Great Diſpleaſure, he repeated his former Words, Vowing on that Condition, never more to bear Arms for the King, his Father again. Thus the Matter ſtood a while, King *Philip* in doubt, whether to appeaſe his Son, or rid himſelf of an Enemy, the Prince in deep Sorrow, Shame, and Diſpleaſure, and the Lord *Manny* in great Danger of Death. But there was at Court a Worthy Knight of *Hainalt*, named Sr. *Manſart de Sue*, who made it his ſole Endeavour to deliver the Lord *Manny*; he held about this Matter ſeveral private Conferences with the Duke of *Normandy*, and by his means with the greateſt Peers, and Barons of *France*; whereupon at laſt King *Philip* was ſo importun'd by their joynt Prayers, and Remonſtrances, that he was content to let him go out of Priſon, with all his Men, their Horſes, Goods, and Armour, and all their Coſts paid. And becauſe now the King himſelf was aſhamed of what he had done, he ſent for the Lord *Manny* to his Palace of *Neſle* in *Paris*, and made him ſit down with him at Dinner, at his own Table. All which time the King ſpake ſo familiarly with him, and ſhew'd him ſo good a Countenance, as might become the moſt Gracious King in *Europe*, to uſe with his moſt Loyal Friend and Favourite: After all he preſented him with great Gifts and Jewels, to the Value of a 1000 *Florens* of Gold. But Sr. *Walter* would not receive this Preſent, ſaving on this Condition; that if his Maſter, the King of *England*, upon his Arrival before *Calais*, ſhould allow thereof, then he would keep them, as Tokens of his Princely Bounty; but otherwiſe, he muſt crave Pardon, thô he ſend them all back again to the Royal Donor. The King ſaid, "how he ſpake like a Man of Honour; and ſo the Lord *Manny* took his leave, and rode *Northward*, till he came into *Hainalt*, where he had his Birth; and having only tarried three Days at *Valenciennes*, he proceeded, till he came to *Calais*, where he and all his Men were welcome to the King of *England*.

But when he had ſhew'd the King the Particulars of all his Journey, and the Danger he was in at firſt, as alſo how afterwards, on certain Conditions, he had accepted of Gifts from the *French* King, *Edward* took him aſide and ſaid, "Sr. *Walter*, You have "hitherto ſerved Us with much Loyalty, and We doubt not, but You will continue "ſo to do. Send again to *Philip* of *Valois* his Preſents; You have no need of them; "We thank God, We have enough for our ſelves and for You too. And ſurely "We deſign for You both great Honour, and other Rewards according to the Good "and Laudable Service, You have done Us. Upon theſe Words of the King, the Lord *Manny* took immediately all the foreſaid Jewels, and delivering them to a Couſin of his, named Sr. *Manſel*, a young Gentleman of Gallant Shape, Deportment and Courage, thô at that time of no conſiderable Office, becauſe of his Youth, he ſaid, "Cou- "ſin *Manſel*, ride into *France* to the King there, and recommend me to him, and "tell him, that I thank his Majeſty a Thouſand times for the Favours he was pleaſed "to ſhew me, and the Gifts he gave me: But let him know, that it is not the Plea- "ſure of the King, my Maſter, that I ſhould keep them: Wherefore I now ſend them a- "gain unto him. This young Knight rode to *Paris* accordingly, and deliver'd his Meſſage with the Jewels to the King: But he thought it agreed not with his Honour to take them back again; wherefore (as Sr. *Walter* had imagin'd) He bad Sr. *Manſel* take them to himſelf. He for his part (as one, whoſe Place laid no ſuch Obligation upon him, as the Lord *Manny's* did) thanked his Majeſty heartily, and made no ſcruple to bring them along with him to *Calais*.

§ *Froiſ. c.* 136. *Aſhmole p.* 681. *Du Cheſne. p.* 665. *Holinſhead p.* 938. *Mezeray p.* 28. *& Giov. Villan. l.* 12. *c.* 76. *p.* 887.

XI. Now as ſoon § as the Duke of *Normandy* had Raiſed his Siege from before *Aiguillon*, and was returned to *Paris*, *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Darby*, who during the Siege had kept at *Bourdeaux*, or *la Reole*, and thereabout, when he heard of the Duke's Departure, ſent his Summons throughout *Gaſcogne*, to all the Lords, Knights, and Eſquires of *England*, beſides ſuch *Gaſcogners*, as held for King *Edward*: Among whom were the Lord of *Albret*, the Lord *de Le Sparre*, the Lord of *Roſam*, the Lord of *Mucidan*, the Lord of *Pamiers*, the Lord of *Tourton*, the Lord of *Bouqueton*, Sr. *Emery* of *Traſton*, and others; ſo that the Earls Forces amounted in all to 1200 Men of Arms, 2000 Archers, and 3000 Foot. With this ſmall, but well compacted Army, he paſ-

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sed the *Garonne*, between *Bourdeaux* and *Blaye*, and marching up the way toward *Saintogne*, came to *Mirembeau*, which he took by Storm, both Town and Castle, and set therein a Garrison of *English*. Then he turned to *Mortagne* by the Sea-side in *Poictou*, which he took by Assault, and Garrison'd also: From hence he rode to *Taillebourg*, and wan the Bridge, Town, and Castle, putting all whom he found to the Sword, in Revenge of the Death of a Knight of his, who was slain in the Assault. After this he advanced to *Aunay*, *Surgieres*, and *Benon*, all which he took; but the Castle of *Marans* beyond *Rochelle* he could not prevail upon by any means. Then he went and laid Siege to the Fair Town of St. *John* the *Evangelist*, called in *French* St. *Jean D' Angely*, and gave there a great Assault, which lasted, till almost Night. There were no very Expert Captains at that time in the Place, wherefore Sr. *William de Rions*, their Mayor, and the greater part of the Aldermen, sent to the Earl of *Lancaster* for a Safe-Conduct, whereby six of them might have security, to wait upon him, and Treat with him that Night, or early the next Morning. This latter was granted, and so next Day six Burgesses were brought to the Earls Tent, where presently they concluded to become good Subjects of *England*, as long as King *Edward*, or some of his Captains would protect them, and their Town against the *French* King. So the Earl tarried there three Days to refresh himself, and to take the Homage of all the Inhabitants: After which, he proceeded to *Lusignan*, where, as some say, he only burnt the Town, but could not win the Castle: Thô on better Authority [h] it seems, that both the Town and Castle of *Lusignan* were now taken, and Garrison'd by the *English*, as will further appear in the close of this Paragraph. Thence the Earl rode to the strong Town of *Niort*, whereof the Lord *Guischard Dangle* was Captain, who maintain'd his Honour, and the Place so well, that after three Vigorous Attacks spent in vain, the Earl was content to leave it, and go on the Right Hand to *Bourg* St. *Maixent*, where he found better Success, and entring the Place by Storm put all to the Sword.

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[h] *Giov. Villani l. 12. c. 76. p. 887.*

The whole [i] Country was so terrify'd with his Name, that every Man fled before him into strong Holds and Towns Defensible, forsaking their own Houses, and their Goods: Nor was there the least Preparation made by any to stop his Career; for all Knights, Gentlemen, and other Captains kept close in their Fortresses, without making any show of presenting Battle to the *English*. Then the Earl went forward to *Monstrevill-Bonnin*, wherein he heard, there were no less than 200 Coyners, making Money for the *French* King. The Inhabitants were resolved by no means to yield, but to Defend the Place to the extreamity: Thô therein they shew'd much more Courage, than Discretion; if We ought not rather to call that Brutish Valour, than Courage, which is not guided by Discretion. For the Earl with his Men of War gave them so fierce an Assault, whereto he encouraged his Men, by promising, that every One should freely and entirely Possess, what he could first light on in the City; that all Opposition being soon surmounted, the Place was enter'd by Storm, and all within put to the Sword. And here I shall make bold to supply *Froisard* with a Story, the truth whereof is notably attested by many, thô by none yet refer'd to this Place, as every Judicious Reader will easily grant it ought to be; when he shall consider our Reasons.

[i] *Froiss. 136. &c.*

XII. The Relation is this, that at the Assaulting of a certain Town in *France*, the Earl of *Lancaster* to encourage his Men the better, proposed to them as a Reward, the Spoil of whatever House or Person every one should first have in his Power: Now it chanced that the *French* Kings Mint being there, one man among the rest, who was but a Common Souldier, and named *Reth*, had the good hap to light upon that House wherein it was. And finding there several Sacks of Coined Money besides Bullion, he was almost carried beyond himself for joy and wonder: But at last considering, that such vast Riches were too disproportionable to his Condition, and only proper for the Coffers of Kings, he secur'd the entrance of the House, and went and told the Earl of *Lancaster*, desiring him to take Care and Possession thereof. The Earl bad him keep what Fortune had put into his Hands, for it was and should be his own: But the honest Fellow finding upon a more particular search, that the Immensity of the Treasure exceeded all imagination, went again to the Earl, protesting it was too much for any Private man to possess; and that he neither would nor durst accept of it. The Earl replied, "Fear nothing honest Archer, but be content with what God hath given "thee: For the Treasure thou hast found cannot possibly be so much as to make me "break my Word to my Souldiers: Since a Prince ought not to do so for all the "Treasures in the World. And hereupon some of his Captains disallowing of that his

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too profuse Liberality, and saying, that he might without any imputation of Injustice, have abundantly contented that poor Fellow with a good Part, and reserved the greater Quantity for his own and his Country's Use; he nobly answer'd in these [k] Words, "It is not for my State to play Childrens Play, to give a thing and take it back again: "Since he has my Word, let him hold the Money if it were thrice as much.

This is the Substance of the Story, which after so great a Man as *Cambden* I have not doubted to relate, notwithstanding the Diversity of Authors, as to the Place and Time, when and where the Action was done. For [l] thô *Knighton* says, the Earl of *Darby* found a Pipe of Gold at *Bergerac*; yet since we shewed before how that Place was not taken by Force, but yielded upon Composition, it certainly ought not to be given to the Plunder. And [m] *Froisard* and [n] *Du Chesne* say expressly, that in *Monstrevil Bonnin* there were 200 Money-makers that coyned for the *French* King; not to say that this Place being confessedly taken by Storm, and the Inhabitants consequently put to the Sword, all this Money must of necessity have been found: Thô *Froisard* might not have heard of this heroick and magnificent Act of the Earl of *Lancaster's* thereupon.

[k] *Cambdens Remains in titulo* Wise Speeches, *p.* 239.
[l] *Knighton p.* 2585.
[m] *Froiss. c.* 136.
[n] *Du Chesne p.* 665. *& Holinshead p.* 938.

XIII. The Earl having repaired the Fortifications of the Castle, and left a Garison for its Defence, went homeward now again, but in his way presented himself before the City of *Poictiers*. This Place was of so large Extent, that his small Army was not sufficient to invest it round; wherefore he laid his Siege to it but on one side, and began to assault them fiercely. But the Inhabitants being very numerous, thô for the most part mean People, and without any sufficient Number of expert Captains or choice Souldiers, did yet defend themselves so well, that they took but little Dammage at that time; and so the *English* retired to their Lodgings. Whereat, as [o] one says, the Townsmen were so puffed up with fond Conceit, that the next morning they adventur'd to Sally forth with no less than a 1000 Men of Arms, such as they were, and a mighty number of Footmen: Who scorning the small Forces of the *English* defied them to a Battle. But the Earl of *Lancaster* marched forth against them in good Order, and came upon them with so much Fury, beating down their Ranks with his Chosen men of Arms, and terrifying them with his Archers; that they presently turned their Backs with as much Dishonour, as they had sallied out with Vain-glory: For they had no manner of Conduct, nor Skill in matters of War any further, than their ordinary Trainings of the Militia in Peace might have instructed them with. The *English* enter'd the Town with them Pell-mell, where seising immediatly upon the Gates, they held them open till the Earl of *Lancaster* and all his Men were enter'd. And this is the manner as an ancient Author witnesses, of Taking *Poictiers*, thô [p] *Froisard* gives a different Account thereof, which is this. That the *English* having after the first Assault, rested that Night in their Camp, the next Morning certain Knights and Gentlemen of the Army, by the Earls Order took their Horses, and coasted about the Town to view it, if peradventure any where they might find it more Assaultable. These upon their return reported to the Earl, that they had found a Place of more easie Access than ordinary, by which they doubted not to carry the City. Hereupon the Earl determin'd to renew the Assault the next Day in three several Places, the greatest Noise and Show to appear elsewhere; but the whole stress of the Business to lie there, where it was most likely to succeed. Now as *Froisard* also witnesses, there was not in the Town any Captain of Name or Experience in matters of War; nor were the Inhabitants of any great Skill or Conduct in making good a Defence, whatever Courage they had in holding out thus long. Wherefore the Assault being on the third Day renewed, according to the former Device, the *English* who attacked the weakest part enter'd by Force, and so presently became Masters of the City. When they within saw this, they fled away in heaps at other Gates, and escaped away because the Place was not surrounded; but yet there were slain more than 700 of them, for at the beginning all were put to the Sword, who were found, both Men, Women and Children: And the whole City was overrun and robbed, as well of what the Inhabitants had owned, as of what was brought thither from Parts adjoining for better Security. Several Churches and Houses of Religion were robbed and defaced, and many Rapes and other Licentious deeds committed; and more had been, but that the Pious Earl of *Lancaster* commanded the contrary on Pain of Death; proclaiming, that no House, much less Church, should be fired, forasmuch as he said he designed to tarry there ten or twelve Days: So that the Rage of the Souldiers being thus repressed, far less Harm was done than would else have happen'd; but however as it falls out in such Cases, there was Plundering and Mischief enough.

[o] *Knighton p.* 2592.

[p] *Froiss. c.* 136, &c.

Here

Here the Earl tarried 12 Days, and might have done longer, if he had ſo pleaſed, for there was none to reſiſt him; all the Country was in ſuch a Conſternation. During his Stay here, becauſe the Place was of too large extent to be Garriſon'd, without great Numbers, which he could not ſpare at that time, he reſolved to leave it void, and ſo it was Diſmantled, given up to Plunder and laid wholly deſolate; except that they forbore to fire it, the Souldiers finding ſo much Spoil, they hardly knew what to do with it; inſomuch that they valued nothing but Gold, Silver, and Feathers for Men of War. AN. DOM. 1346. An. Regni *Angliæ* XX. *Franciæ* VII.

From hence the Earl returned by eaſie Marches to St. *Jean D' Angely*, where he tarried a while treating and careſſing the Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Town, with Banquets and Collations, beſides Gifts of Jewels and other rich Preſents, and he behaved himſelf ſo gallantly amid theſe Sports and Revels, that the People ſaid, "*He* "*was the Nobleſt Prince that ever rode on Horſeback.*" After ſome ſhort Continuance here, during which time he took a new Oath in the King his Maſters Name, of the Mayor and Burgeſſes of the Town, to keep and defend it as the Indubitate Right and Inheritance of the King of *England*, he took his leave, and return'd by ſuch Fortreſſes as he had won before, to the City of *Bourdeaux*; where having largely ſatisfied his Men of War with Spoil, Thanks, Pay and Commendation, he diſpoſed them into their ſeveral Quarters, the Winter being far entred at that time.

XIV. When the Earl of *Lancaſter* had thus reſpited the Country, the Inhabitants of *Poictiers* who had eſcaped, repaired again thither, and fell with all their might to fortifie the Place: And ſoon after being joyned with great Numbers of their Neighbouring Friends, and headed with ſufficient Captains, they ſent forth a ſtrong Detachment of Men of Arms and others, deſigning to ſurpriſe *Luſignan*, the Garriſon whereof hugely annoyed them. But in this their Attempt, thô [q] treble the Number of the *Engliſh*, they were with great Loſs diſcomfited, and their Captain the Earl of *Monferrand*, with many others ſlain: Which was look'd upon as another wonderfull Inſtance of King *Edwards* invincible Fortune.

[q] *Giov. Villani l.12. c.76. p. 887.*

CHAPTER the FIFTH.

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I. NOR

An. Dom. 1346. An. Regni *Angliæ* XX. *Franciæ* VII.

I. NOR were these all the Triumphs of this glorious Year: King *Edward's* Good Fortune is providing another King to be Conquer'd, and another Royal Army to be overthrown by his Successfull Arms. We spake in the former Chapter, how King *Philip* sought by his Ambassadors to provoke King *David* of *Scotland* to break the Truce made with *England*; and with all Expedition strongly to invade the *Northern* Borders. But this Matter however closely carried on, came to be scented by King *Edward*, who then lay before *Calais*: Thô he resolved for all that not to quit the Siege, as well becaufe he had Confidence in the Courage and Sufficiency of those, to whom he had left the Care of the Government in his Absence; as becaufe he had some hope that the *Scots* themselves, either in Respect to their Faith given, or thrô Remembrance of their former Losses, would not easily venture to break the Truce, so solemnly taken between them. Yet however to prevent if possible the Calamities, that might ensue upon an Invasion from *Scotland*, he presently dispatched away from *Calais* certain of his Lords, being Captains of great Experience, either to perswade King *David* to a punctual Observance of the Truce, or if that might not be obtained, to help to defend his Subjects against him. Among these were *John* Lord *Moubray*, *William* Lord *Ros*, and *Thomas* Lord *Lucy* of *Cockermouth*, who bare for his Arms Gules, Three *Lucies* Hariant, Argent. These with other the Kings Ambassadors are said by the *Scotch* Writers, [a] to have offer'd King *David* in their Masters Name, "Not only to deliver into his Hands the strong Town and "Castle of *Barwick*, but even the Person of his old Competitor King *Bailiol*, for whose "Sake the War was first begun betwixt them; on Condition, that he would reject the "Motions of the *French* King, and agree to observe the Truce, as both in Equity and "Honour he was bound. These Offers (if the *Scotch* Authors do not enlarge them, as we have good reason to doubt, especially in that part which relates to the Delivery of the *Bailiol*) being propounded to the King of *Scotland* in his Council, caused the more Prudent Sort to advise their Master, "that in no wise they ought to be reject-"ed: Since the Friendship of a Conquerour, especially on Conditions both Honoura-"ble and Advantageous, was more preferable than to abett the Weaker Side, both a-"gainst Equity and Profit. But *David* himself thrô the great Love he bore to the *French* King (with whom he had also sojourned about seven Years, during his Exile) and the Major Part of his Nobility being such, as had either Younger Heads or more Daring Hearts; or who were either sway'd by their Princes Example or *France's* Gold, were all desirous to take this Opportunity of King *Edward's* Absence, to revenge themselves on the *English* Nation, and so were fatally drawn to condescend to King *Philips* chargeable and hazardous Request, and reject King *Edward's* more safe and profitable Offers.

[a] *Hector l.15.p. 325. Buchan. l.9. p.302. & Holinshead Hist. Scot.p.240.vid. Froiss.c.137. & Du Chesne p. 666. Mezeray & Aiscues* Hist. of Scotland, *p. 178. & Walsin. Hypod.p.119.id. Hist.p.157. & Giov.Villani l. 12.c.75. vid. Odoric. Rainal. ad hunc ann. §. 43. Adam Murimouth, &c.*

II. Wherefore a [b] Parliament of all his Earls, Prelates, and Barons of *Scotland*, being met at St. *John's* Town, it was concluded, that *England* should speedily be invaded with a Puissant Army: Now that, King *Edward* being at *Calais*, and such other of his Forces in *Bretagne*, *Gascogne*, and *Poictou*, a pleasing hope of Success began to smile upon *Scotland*. So a War was resolved, an Army appointed to be levyed forthwith, and Solemn Proclamation made, that all who were able and fit to bear Arms, should come to the King to the General Rendezvous at St. *Johnston* upon the *Tay*, by such a Day, well appointed. Accordingly toward the latter end of *September*, there came to St. *Johnston* the Earls, Barons, and Prelates of *Scotland*, all ready to serve their King against their old Enemies the *English*. Among other great Captains, thither came [c] *Reginald*, Lord of the Isles of *Hebrides*, who govern'd the Wild *Scots*; for they would not endure the Government of any Man else, thô others desired to obtain it: And he brought with him no less than 3000 of the most Couragious and Hardy People of all that Country. There came also thither at the same time, *David* Earl of *Rosse* with his Troops, and made his Musters before the King: But the Night following he treacherously slew the Noble Lord of the Isles, with seven of his Kinsmen, as they lay in their Beds, and immediately fled thereupon, and gat him into *Rosse*: At which horrid Fact, as the Army was greatly troubled, so it was very much weakned, the Friends of both Parties, for fear of a Civil Combustion between the two Families, departing to their several Homes.

[b] *Du Chesne p. 666.*

[c] *Ita Hector & Buchan. sed* John *apud Froiss.*

King *David*, thô he was extreamly incensed hereby, and eagerly bent, and fully resolved severely to punish that insolent and daring Fact; yet becaufe he would not break off this Expedition, defer'd the Prosecution thereof, till a more convenient Opportunity. Althô the Lord *William Douglas* of *Liddisdale*, us'd his utmost to perswade him, rather for that time to defer this journey, and first to Chastise these Insolencies at Home,

Home, thereby to allay those unkind heats, that might else raise a General Conflagration in his Absence. But all would not do, the King was so hot upon his purposed War with *England*; to which his Affection and Obligations to the *French* Nation, and his own evil Destiny, hurried him on continually. AN. DOM. 1346. An. Regni *Angliæ* XX. *Franciæ* VII.

When the whole Army was assembled at St. *Johnston*, it amounted to between 50000 and 60000 Fighting Men; with which Forces King *David* began his March from St. *Johnston* in the beginning of *October*, about a Moneth after King *Edward* had lay'd his Siege before *Calais*. On the first Day he reach'd *Dumfermeling*, which was about 20 *Scottish* Miles onward: The next Day passing a little Arm of the Sea, he came to *Sterling*, and thence to *Edinburgh*; where again he muster'd all his Men and found them to be 3000 Men of Arms, Knights, and Esquires, and 30000 other on Geldings, and *Gallowayes*, besides the 15000 Crossbows of *Genoua*, and the *French* Auxiliaries. From *Edinburgh* he marched to *Roxborough*, the first Fortress that was then on the *English* side that way. The Captain whereof was a Famous Souldier, Sr. *Edward Montagu*, Uncle to the present Earl of *Salisbury*: Of whose Valour We had occasion [d] to speak in the *Fifteenth* Year. King *David*, whether in doubt of a Man, whom he had already experienced to be unconquerable, even when in a Place of less strength and importance, or rather because he designed greater things, passed him by, without offering the least Assault to the Castle; and on the sixth of *October* began to enter *Northumberland*. Upon his first coming to the Borders, before he set foot within the *English* pale, he made many new Knights, to encourage and animate his Men: But especially he created the Lord *William Douglas*, the Son of *Archimbald Douglas*, who fell in the Battle of *Halliden*, Earl of *Douglas*; and committed to his Charge the Leading of one Brigade.

[d] *L. 1. c. 19. §. 19. p. 251. &c.*

III. The first [e] Fortress they came to, near the Borders, was *Lidel*, round which they lay encamped for three Days; but on the *Fourth*, after a Vigorous Attack, carried it by fine force, where they put most of those they found to the Sword: But the Captain Sr. *Walter Selby*, before he would deliver his Sword, compounded with a *Scotch* Knight, to have his Life and the Lives of his Children saved; which was thereupon assured him. But when King [f] *David* heard of the Captains being taken, he gave order, that his Head should be cut off: Then the *Scotch* Knight, who had taken him, began to intreat in his behalf, at least, that he might be admitted into the Kings Presence; this with much adoe being granted, the *English* Knight upon his knees requested, that his Life might be saved for a Ransom: But notwithstanding he was again adjudged to die: Nor only so, but the Cruel Prince commanded two of his Children to be strangled in sight of their Father; and having thereby afflicted his Mind almost to Madness, with rage and grief, he presently caused his Head to be stricken off; not allowing him so much time, as to make a Confession; thô like a good *Christian*, he instantly desired that Ghostly comfort. Surely that hatred is Diabolical and Implacable, nor only unworthy of a *Christian*, but even exceeding the Barbarity of Infidels; which extends beyond this Life, and endeavours, not only to destroy the Body, but also to plunge the Soul into Eternal Ruine.

[e] *Holinshead Scotl. p. 240. &c. ut ante.*

[f] *Stow p. 243. Holinshead ibid. &c.*

After this Merciless Execution, the *Scotch* Army marched to *Lenercost*; where they spoil'd the Abbey of all its Ornaments, and whatever was valuable therein, and so passing the River *Irthing*, they went by *Naworth* Castle, and leaving *Cumberland*, enter'd on the other side the *Picts-Wall* into *Northumberland*, wasting all along with fire and sword, till they came to the Priory of *Hexham*, which was also pillaged and sacked; but the Town was saved from fire by the Kings Command; for he was advised to spare four Towns from fire in his Passage to *York* (whither he thought to go without Resistance) namely this of *Hexham*, *Cerbridge*, *Durham*, and *Darlington*; to the end they might serve him as so many storehouses, to lay in what quantities of Victuals and Provender, he should find about in the Country; therewith to sustain his Army upon Necessity, if he should either stay long in *England*, or be reduced to any extremity. At *Hexham* he lay three Days, and thence Marched to *Ebchester*, beyond the River *Derwen*, being one of the first Towns on that side within the Bishoprick of *Durham*. As thus he marched, wasting and spoiling the Country on every side, toward the City of *Durham*, he destroyed many of the Farms, belonging to the Abbey of that City; and had utterly ruin'd them all, had [g] not some of the Monks, who were taken thereabouts, and were kept, as Prisoners to be Ransomed, made an agreement for themselves, and the rest of their Fraternity, to pay the next Day ready down a 1000 pounds Sterling, on Condition they would forbear spoiling the Residue of their Mannors, or their Tenents: But of all others, they [h] took one penny for every Head, and one

[g] *Knighton p. 2590. n. 40. & Stow p. 243.*

[h] *Knighton ibid. n. 10.*

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penny for every Foot, which being done, they were left free; but otherwise put to the sword: And thus they intended to do to every Soul they should meet with, even to the River *Trent*; but that they found a stop long before. At last King *David* came, and encamped by the Wood of *Beare-Park*, within three Leagues of *Durham*, not far from *Nevils-Cross*: He took up his Lodgings in the Mannor there, and daily sent forth strong Detachments to fetch in Booty, and to burn and destroy Houses and Villages. The Spoil, Desolation, and Slaughter, which Rapine, Fire, and Sword, spread along before the Enemy, was both Barbarous and terrible; for they spared neither Young, nor Old, neither Church, Chappel, nor Monastery; but in their blind fury, made one General Heap of both Sacred and Profane. Not so much as the Goods and Lands, belonging to the Patrimony of St. *Cuthbert* were exempted from Rapine and Plunder, as the *Scotch* Writers themselves confess; thô not only the Monks of the Abbey dedicated to that Saint, had compounded for their exemption; but also, as *Hector* says, King *David* was strictly admonished in a Dream, by no means to presume to touch any thing belonging unto his Church.

IV. Now the Noble Queen of *England*, *Philippa*, being at that time in the North-parts about *York*, when she heard of the first Motions of the *Scots*, was not forgetfull of the King, her Husbands Honour, and of the Good of his Kingdom: But putting on a Spirit, worthy of Her that was Consort to King *Edward*, and Mother to the *Black-Prince*, sent out her Summons to all the Lords and Prelates of those Parts, and others, left by the King for the Defence of the Borders, to repair with all speed unto her. The Summons were sent forth in the Name of the King of *England*, by the Queen, and the Archbishop of *York*; and soon after there came the Lords and Captains of *England*, with their Retinues to *York*, to the Queen; where she made her General Musters. Then the Queen and the Archbishop sent away an Herald at Arms to King *David*, "requiring him to desist from further invading the Country, and to return into *Scotland*, till "some Reasonable Order for a final Peace might be agreed betwixt him, and the King "his Master: Otherwise he should be sure to have Battle to the Uttermost within "three Days after. [1] But that if he refused all terms of Agreement, he should remember, that there was in Heaven a Just God, of Power sufficient to Revenge the Injuries done unto *England*; and especially to his Servants the Priests, and other Holy Persons, whom he had slain with the Sword, neither sparing Church, nor Church-Lands, nor weak Women, nor Innocent Children. But all this signified little, or nothing, to that Prince, who was not only stirr'd up by his Youth, and an Emulation of his Fathers Glory, but also provoked to Revenge, as well by the former dealings of his *English* Enemies, as by the manifold Benefits received of his Friend of *France*: Wherefore he sends back a Mortal Defiance, and the next Day set his Men in Order to receive their Enemies; if they should come forward.

[1] *Hector Boeth. l.15. fol.324.*

The first Battalia he committed to the Care of the Lord *Robert Stuart*, Prince of *Scotland*, as being Eldest Son of King *Davids* Eldest Sister, *Margaret Bruce*; with whom was the Lord *Patrick Dumbar* Earl of *March*: The Second was commanded by *John Randulph* Earl of *Murray*, and *William* Earl of *Douglas*: And the Third he Lead himself, having with him the *French* Auxiliaries, and the Flower of the Nobility of *Scotland*. Thô *Buchanan*, by I know not what Authority, contradicts his Friend *Hector* here, and gives the first Battail to the Earls of *Murray* and *Douglas*, the Middle to the King, and the last to Prince *Robert Stuart* and *Dumbar*. In the same manner also, the *Scotch* Historians divide the *English* Army, contrary to what we shall manifest forthwith.

V. Now were the *English* come from *York* within about three Miles of *Durham*, being in Number 1200 Men of Arms, 3000 Archers, and 7000 Footmen; besides a Choice Band of Expert Souldiers, newly come from before *Calais*; the whole amounting to [k] 16000 compleat. Then they were Order'd into Four Bodies, *Three* to engage with the Enemy, and the *Fourth* to stand behind, as a Reserve on Horseback: For since the *Scots* exceeded them in Number, it seem'd best to the *English* thus to dispose their Men, because if one of their Battails should be broken, by this fresh Reserve, it might be again Repaired. And their Fronts being little less large, than the *Scots*, their Paucity was not so well observed; nor were they unlikely to make good their Part with the Enemy, because (thô the *Scots* Numbers were greater) while things should be doubtfull, no more Hands among them could be employ'd, than among the *English*; who well-nigh equall'd them in Front; and if the *English* should prevail, their Enemies Numbers would rather encrease the Confusion, than give them any Advantage. Of these a great Part were Clergymen; Priests, Chaplains, Fryers, and the like;

[k] *Giov. Villani l.12. c.75. p. 887.*

like; but, as my [l] Author says, good tall Trenchermen, such, as were not afraid of a Crack'd Crown, thô they had no hair to hide the Wound. But [m] Piety, and a Love to their Country, laid the Foundation of this Courage, for seeing what havock King *David* had made of Hôly Places and Persons, they armed themselves with Faith in him, who sets himself in Array against those, who defie Religion, and reared up the Banner of their Saviour, as if now they fought against Infidels. AN. DOM. 1346. An. Regni *Angliæ* XX. *Franciæ* VII.

The First Brigade was govern'd by the Lord *Henry Piercy*, who was General of all the Army, thô not Earl of *Northumberland*, as *Hector* foolishly calls him; since it appears, [n] that his Grandson was the first Earl of that Title. With him was *Thomas Hatfield* Lord Bishop of *Durham*, *Gilbert Umphravile* Earl of *Angos*, the Lord *Thomas Musgrave*, and the Lord *Henry Scroop* of *Masham*. In the Second *Battalia* was *William Zouch* Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Warden of the North, and *John Kirkeby* Bishop of *Carlile*; with whom were the Lord *Ralph Nevil* of *Raby*, and his Son Sr. *John Nevil*, and [o] *Ralph* Lord *Hastings* and Others: Althô I must not dissemble, that [p] *Tinemouth* places the Lord *Nevil* in the Van. The Third Battail was lead by *Thomas Beck* Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, a Man of great Fame and Merit, being assisted with the Lord *John Moubray*, the Lord *John Leyburn*, and Sr. *Thomas Rokeby* High-Sheriff of *Yorkshire*; of whose first Advancement from an Esquire we have spoken in the first Year of this History. The Fourth and Last Battalia was govern'd by *Edward Bailiol*, *David's* Competitor for the Crown of *Scotland*, with whom were *John Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* Lord *Ros* of *Hamlake*, and [q] *Robert* Lord *Bertram*, High-Sheriff of *Northumberland*, and Governour of *Newcastle* on the *Tine*. Besides all which, *William* Lord *Deincourt*, and *Robert* Lord *Ogle*, Sr. [r] *Nicolas Charnells*, and Sr. *Henry Bellasis* of *Durham*, were appointed with a strong Guard to attend the Queens Person, who by the best Authors is affirmed to have kept the Field all the time of the Battle. Each of these Four Battalia's consisted of 4000 Choice Men, among and besides whom were, as we said, many Clergymen, who came thither now of their own Accord, with wonderfull Zeal to fight against the *Scots*; who had so profan'd and violated the Honour of God in his Members the Clergy, that with great Devotion and Faith, these Holy Men had already marked them forth for Ruine: Some whereof refused not to fight against these Enemies of Religion, and Others carried their Crosses, as Banners before the Men of War, singing at the joyning of the Battle *Miserere*, to the great Encouragement of the Sword-men, who thought themselves unconquerable, since they fought now as well with the Sword of the Spirit, as with an Arm of Flesh.

[l] *Aiscue's hist. Scotl. p.* 179.
[m] *Knighton p.* 2590. *n.* 10.
[n] *Mill's Catal. Honor. p.* 718. *& Dudg.* 1 *Vol. p.* 276.
[o] *Monast. Angl. Vol.* 2. *p.* 918. *a. n.* 30.
[p] *Joh. Tinemouth Aur. Hist. M.S. in Bibl. Bodlei. l.* 21. *c.* 26.
[q] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 545.
[r] *Dugd. Warw. p.* 19.

VI. When thus on both Sides the Armies were order'd, the *Amazon* Queen *Philippa* [t] rode before the Battles on a white Courser, being attended with her Guard, and passing from Rank to Rank, she sweetly desired them all "to use their utmost endea-"vour to defend the Honour of her Dear Lord, the King of *England*, and wished them "every Man in the Name of God to take Heart and be of good Courage, graciously "promising, that to her Power she would remember and consider the Well-deserving "no less, than if her Lord the King was there personally to bear witness of all their A-"ctions: And so she recommended the whole Army and her Self to God and St. *George*. This was done early in the Morning.

[t] *Froiss. c.* 138.

Now before the Armies began to move, Earl *Douglas* by the Kings Command rode forth with a good Brigade of Horse to discover the Face of the Enemy, and as Occasion was offer'd, to skirmish with them. But he coming suddenly e'r he was aware, into their Danger, was received so sharply, and upon his flight pursued so warmly, that having lost [u] 500 of his best Men, he very narrowly escaped himself to the Main Body. Where as soon as he had recover'd himself, the whole *English* Army appeared in Three Battalia's, for the Fourth was not yet discover'd, marching forward very couragiously. Whereupon Sr. *David Graham*, [x] a valiant Baron of *Scotland*, with a Wing of 500 Horse well appointed, gave a full Charge upon the left Flank of the *English* Archers, hoping to disorder and overrun them: But he was mistaken, for they received him with such a Showre of Arrows, that after two or three Attempts in vain, having lost many of his Men, he also was fain to fly back to the Main Battle upon the Spurr, in great danger of being taken by his Pursuers.

[u] *Buchan. l.* 9. *p.* 302. *Aiscue's Hist. Scotl. p.* 180.
[x] *Hector l.* 15. *fol.* 324. *n.* 50. *Aiscue's Hist. Scotl. p.* 180, 181.

VII. These inauspicious Beginnings did nothing at all startle the Courage of the *Scotch* King: Who was both Young and Valiant, and because he had never yet in Person maintain'd a just Fight, greedy of War, hoping to be no less Victorious than his Father *Robert Bruce* had been before him. Wherefore he presently commanded to sound a Charge: And immediately the Lord *Robert Stuart*, Prince of *Scotland* joyn'd furiously with the *English* Van; the other two Battails disposing themselves the same

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way. This fight was well maintain'd, and with much Bravery on both Sides: And the *Engliſh* Archers and the Croſsbows of *Genoua* brought up the firſt Courſe of this Martial Banquet; but the *Engliſh* had much the better ſhare, for their Shot endured longer and did more Execution. But Prince *Robert* reſolving not to ſtand aloof at ſuch Diſadvantage, preſſed hard forward to come to handy Strokes, ſo that the Archers were obliged to yield him Way, as their manner was in Extremity by opening to the Right and Left: Thô even at that inſtant they gall'd him on each Flank. However now he joyn'd with the Lord *Percy's* Battail, and maintain'd the Fight with much Courage and Honour, the *Scots* manfully laying about them with ſharp and heavy Axes, with which they gave mighty Strokes, cleaving Helmets and Shields; ſo that for a while the *Engliſh* were very hard put to it. Which when King *Bailiol* ſaw, as one that conſider'd (no ſuch Danger being in other places) the chief Power of the *Scots* lay here, and not doubting, but if the *Engliſh* were rendred abſolute at the beginning, ſo good an Omen would add Courage to them and Terrour to the Enemy, he reſolved preſently to fall on here; and accordingly comes up with 4000 Horſe, on a good round Trot in very dreadfull Order. This new and unforeſeen Enemy ſo amazed the Hearts of that Battalia of *Scots*, who already had found themſelves well enough match'd, that all their Martial Ardour began to languiſh immediately; and the *Engliſh* were exceedingly exalted in their Courages: Which when Prince *Robert* and the Earl of *March* perceived, and that already their Men began to give back in ſome Diſorder, hoping to bring them off by an early Care, and ſo to prevent that Loſs, which elſe they ſaw inevitable; they gave Order to Retreat, and drew off not only pretty well, but conſidering the Circumſtances, wiſely. Nor let any Man here reckon me Partial, as if becauſe our Preſent Soveraign King *James* the Second, is derived from the Loyns of that Lord *Robert Stuart*, I ſhould appear diligent in putting a fair Gloſs upon this his Flight, which ſome Authors have condemned, and for which King *David* afterwards for a while diſinherited, and excluded him in his Paſſion from the Right of Succeſſion. For I appeal to all, that have duely conſider'd the Hiſtory of *Robert Stuart*, as well before as after this Day; not only in theſe Papers which yet are ſincere, but in any either *Scotch* or other Writer, whether he was not generally reputed for a Perſon both of good Conduct and Courage unqueſtionable: Inſomuch, that during King *Davids* Abſence in *France*, he had in a manner freed all *Scotland* from the *Engliſh* Yoke, and when in time he came by Right of Succeſſion to wear that Crown himſelf, he certainly maintained his Honour and his Kingdom, not only againſt King *Edward* himſelf, but even to the very end of his Life.

But to return; whatever King *David*, whoſe Heat and Raſhneſs could not let him ſee ſo clearly, thought of this Matter either then or afterwards, either his Military Skill, or at leaſt the *Genius*, whoſe Care it was to preſerve the Founder of the Illuſtrious Family of the *Stuarts*, perſwaded him to this timely Retreat: Which Example had King *David* with the reſt of his Army follow'd, either their Loſs had been nothing at all, or very inconſiderable: The *Engliſh* being not able to compell them to any thing againſt their Minds, much leſs to purſue them too cloſe without breaking their Order, and perhaps expoſing themſelves to ſome notable Diſadvantage.

VIII. However King *David* diſdained to follow thoſe, whom now he look'd on, if not as Cowards, yet as Traytors and Deſertors: For he was jealous, that his Nephew *Robert* retreated thus, with deſign to leave him expos'd to be cut off, that ſo the Crown might fall to Him. Wherefore now he fought with the more Reſolution, being fully determin'd, either to repair this Fault or not to ſurvive it. But at that inſtant his Adverſary King *Bailiol*, having clear'd his hands of the Van of the Enemy, whom he thought not fit as yet to purſue, comes in with his freſh Troops, and falls upon King *Davids* Battail in the Flank, the *Engliſh* Van preſſing hard upon him in the Front, which together with the late Diſaſter ſo diſcouraged the *Scots*, that they were no longer able to endure unſhaken, but began by degrees to give back: At what time the [y] Monks of *Durham* being in the Steeple of their Church, and upon the Leads and Battlements, beholding the *Scots* upon the point of Looſing all, and ſome actually flying and fled, lifted up their Voices altogether, and fill'd the Air with the Noiſe thereof, crying aloud, and praiſing God and ſinging for Joy, even with weeping Tears, *Te Deum laudamus*: Which Voice the *Engliſh* hearing, as if it had been juſt at their backs, took thence a more confident Faith in God, and reſiſted the Enemy more vigorouſly, and trod them down more valiantly. For whatever ſome ſay, affirming that *Durham* was now deſtroy'd alſo; it is certain, that as we ſaid before, the Monks of that City had compounded with the *Scots* for themſelves, their Mannors and Tenants thereabouts,

[y] *Knighton p.* 2590. *n.* 30 & 40.

abouts, on Conſideration of a 1000 *l.* Sterling, to be by them paid the next Day without any further Delay: Which yet, being deliver'd by this Victory, they did not pay. And it was King *Davids* Deſign to leave theſe Parts in pretty good Caſe till his Return; for he [z] thought to viſit the Monaſtery of *Beverly*, and other Religious Places in *Yorkſhire*, that abounded with Riches, and even to attempt the City of *York* it ſelf: For he imagin'd there would be none able to reſiſt him; but that all the Strength of *England* was now before *Calais*.

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When therefore King *Davids* Battail alſo was broken, and the *Scots* began to fly, the *Engliſh* fell more furiouſly on thoſe that ſtill kept the Field, reſolving not to hazard ſo glorious a Victory by an inconſiderate and raſh Purſuit. Wherefore many *Scots* were gather'd up by Prince *Robert* and Earl *Patrick*, who hover'd a far off in ſo conſiderable a Body, that the *Engliſh* durſt not too freely follow the Chace, eſpecially the Victory not being yet clearly their own: And yet neither could they by any means prevail with their Men to make another Attempt againſt the Enemy; becauſe their Friends came flying that way continually, and ſo added to their former Diſcouragements.

[z] *Knighton ib.*

As for King *David* he failed nothing, either in the Duty of a Good Captain or of a Valiant Souldier; but more than once rallied his diſorder'd Men, and encouraged them both by his Words and his Example: So that thoſe, who were moſt near unto him, were even aſham'd to forſake ſo Valiant a Prince, and therefore long they held together cloſe in a Ring, like a Tower of Steel about their Maſter, fighting deſperately with Spear and Shield, ſharp Battle-Axes and Halberds, till not above 80 of them remain'd with the King alive. He for his part being ſenſible of the unhappy Event of the Day, and not willing to outlive ſo many of his Nobility and other Loyal Subjects, preſſed now forward to meet a like Death himſelf: When a valiant Eſquire of *Northumberland* named *John Copland*, who well knew him to be the King, ſtept forward with one hundred Men of Arms, whom he had retained for that Service, and bad him yield himſelf. Here the *Scotch* Writers ſay, [a] that King *David* thô wounded in two Places, and having his Weapons beat out of his Hands, yet thrô Indignation gave Eſquire *Copland* ſuch a Stroke over the Mouth with his Gauntlet, that he beat out two of his Fore-teeth. But in my Opinion ſo ſmall an Effect ought not to be aſcribed to ſo great a Cauſe, as the Hand of an angry young Warrier, eſpecially when arm'd with a Gauntlet. For if *Copland's* Viſor was down, the Stroke would not have reach'd his Teeth, and if his Face was unarm'd, it muſt have been much more ſevere, if not fatal unto him. Wherefore I rather believe what Others alſo report, that King *David* upon *Coplands* Summons refuſed to yield, but to ſome Perſon of Quality, whereupon the Eſquire deceived him, by telling him that he was a Baron of *England*, on which account perhaps it is, that *Hector* calls him a Knight, thô indeed he was not ſo: However King *David* believing him, gave him his Gauntlet, in token he was his Priſoner alone, and ſo yielded.

[a] *Hector l. 15. f. 325. n. 80. Buchan. l. 9. p. 302.*

Yet certainly it ſurpriſes me not a little, that of all the *Engliſh* Lords there preſent, not one was found, to have any Ambition to take ſo great a King; eſpecially, when the Matter was ſo feaſible, his Men being moſt either ſlain, or routed; but that they all left the Task to a mean Eſquire: Upon theſe Reaſons, I confeſs, that I am rather enduced to believe, what is alſo deliver'd by no mean [b] Author, that ſeeing all things run to ruine, and having received ſome Wounds himſelf, beſides an Arrow in his Head, he endeavour'd to eſcape, but in the Chace, was taken by this Valiant Eſquire at *Merington*; which is the more confirmed by what follows; when we ſhall find, how it was ſome time, e're it was known to the Queen of *England*; that this Royal Priſoner was taken.

[b] *Knighton p. 2591. n. 10.*

IX. Now before this Second Battalia of the *Scots* was thus overcome, their Third Battail alſo, as well by their Diſcouragement from the ill Succeſs of their Fellows, as by the Valour of their Oppoſers, was diſcomfited, broken, ſlain, and put to Flight: Thô few eſcaped of this Brigade. One of the Leaders, *John* [c] *Randulph*, Earl of *Murray* was ſlain, with a great Number of the Nobility of *Scotland*, beſide the Commons; and the other Leader *William* Earl of *Douglas*, was taken Priſoner. So that the *Engliſh* gain'd an entire Victory; and as one [d] ſays, had they totally joyn'd in a cloſe purſuit, and not been diſtracted in taking Priſoners and Plunder, that Day had been the laſt, to the Obſtinate Rebellion of the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh* Nation, and they might have blotted out their Name from the Land of the Living. But it pleaſed God in his Providence to order it otherwiſe.

[c] *Hector p. 325.*

[d] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 158. n. 1.*

X. This Cruel Battle (thô ſome [e] by miſtake place it near *Newcaſtle*, and ſo call

[e] *Froiſ. c. 138.*

it

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it the Battle of *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*) was fought at *Nevils-Cross* near *Durham*, whence also it bears the Name of the Battle of *Nevils-Cross*, with most Authors; as [f] also it is called the Battle of *Durham* in the Record it self. And as thrô mistake there is some variety among Authors, as to the Place, where it was fought; so neither do they agree, as to the time; notwithstanding it fell [g] most certainly on the 17 of *October*, or St. *Lukes* Eve, which that Year proved to be *Tuesday*: Thô *Froisard* in this point is much in the wrong, who expresly affirms, that it was fought on the *Saturday* next after St. *Michael*, which that Year was the 30 of *September*; and *Du Chesne*, who generally follows *Froisard*, yet here mistakes him, saying, that it was the *Saturday* next before St. *Michael*, which must have been the 23d. of the said Moneth. But these differences are nothing so Material, as that of *Hector Boetius*, who positively, and in Words at length averres, that this Misfortune happen'd to their Nation, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand, Three Hundred, Fourty and Eight, which is wide two Years, and most notoriously false and erroneous, as appears not only from the joynt Testimonies of Records and Histories; but from all other Concurrences in the World.

[f] *Stow p.* 243.
[g] Tho. Stubbs *de Episc. Ebor. f.* 1732. *Knighton p.* 2591. *Asmole p.* 656. *Walsing. Fabian, Fox, Holinsh. &c.*

XI. The Fight continued in all three Hours, *viz.* from Nine in the Morning, till High Noon; and therefore, thô [h] one says, the *English* lost but four Knights, and five Esquires; yet that must not be allowed, unless we understand, that besides them, many of the Commons were slain also: For we are assured by a good [i] Author, as well as sound Reason, that this Victory was not bought without the Lives of many Men; and we find from [k] undeniable Proof, that particularly the Lord *Ralph Hastings*, was here Mortally wounded, of which hurts he died, leaving however, a *Scotch* Prisoner, whom he had taken in this Battle, to his Nephew, *Edmund Hastings* of *Rousby*, and *John de Kirkeby* of *Wigginthorp*, a Gentleman of an Ancient *Family*, to be shared betwixt them.

[h] *Knighton p.* 2591.
[i] *Froisf. ibid.*
[k] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 579.

But of the *Scots*, we are assured, there fell no less, than 15000, one says above [l] 20000, together with many great Lords, and an 100 of the best Knights in *Scotland*: Namely, *John Randulph* Earl of *Murray*, the Earl of *Stratherne*, the Lord *David Hay*, Constable, the Lord *Edward Keth* Marshal, the Lord *Straqutrin* Chamberlain, together with the Chancellor of *Scotland*: The Lord *Philip Meldron*, the Lord *John Stuart*, and *Alan Stuart* his Brother; *Maurice Murray*, *John Crawford*, *William Haliburton*, *Reginald Kirk-Patrick*, *Patrick Herring*, Sr. *Michael Scot*, Sr. *Alexander Gurdon*, Sr. *William Frasier*, Sr. *John Lindesay* of *Gleenesk*, Sr. *Thomas Vaux*, Sr. *Dongal Campbell*, Sr. *Alexander Ramsey*, a Valiant Knight, who bore that Day the Kings Standard, and Sr. *Alexander Bodeval*, who was called by the Souldiers the Flour of Chevalry, and would not depart from the Kings side, but died there by him: Besides these *Frenchmen*, Sr. *Humphry Blois*, Sr. *Robert Maltalent*, Sr. *John de la Motte*, and Sr. *John Bonville*. These are the Names of the slain, as many as were found with their Coat-Armours on, whereby they were known; besides the Prisoners, who were, *David Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Fife*, the Earl of *Menteith*, the Earl of *Southerland*, the Earl of *Wigton*, the Earl of *Carrick*, the Earl *Douglas*, with a Brother of his, the Lord *James Douglas*, the Lord *Robert Vescy*, the Bishop of *Aberdeen*, and the Bishop of St. *Andrews*, the Lord *William Kinaston*, the Lord *William Ramsey*, the Lord *Malcolm Flemin*, the Lord *David Banant*, the Lord *John* St. *Clare*, the Lord *Willliam Moubray*; besides those of less Mark. In the Field many Spoils of great Value were taken, together with the Holy-Cross of *Halyrood* House, which was found upon the King, who bare it about him in confidence of its Vertue; and that thereby he should be secur'd from all Danger: But he was now spoil'd both of that, and other his Jewels, which were found about him. Now also was all the Booty recover'd, which the *Scots* had taken in this Expedition, and all the Provision, which they had left for their own use at *Hexham*, or elsewhere, and the Chace of them was held as far as [m] *Pruddo-Castle*, and *Cerbridge*, for about 14 or 16 Miles together.

[l] *Knighton p.* 2591. *Hector Boet. l.* 15. *fol.* 325. *n.* 10.
[m] *Stow p.* 243.

XII. *John Copland*, the Esquire of *Northumberland*, immediately, after he had taken his Royal Prey, rôde out of the Field with him, and having Eight of his Friends and Servants in his Company, all well mounted and armed, never left riding, till he had gotten above twenty Miles from the Place of Battle, unto the strong Castle of *Ogle* in *Northumberland*, on the River *Blithe*, whereof He was Captain; and then he said, "He would not deliver the King of *Scots* to any Man or Woman, living; "but only at the Command of the King of *England*, his Sovereign: And so with great Care he apply'd himself to heal the Kings Wounds, and sent for his Friends and Allies, and others, whom he could procure for Money, or Friendship, to help to defend the Castle,

Caſtle, becauſe he well knew, he muſt give an exact Account of this his Royal Priſoner. AN. DOM. 1346.

The Queen of *England* tarried in the Field till toward the Evening, with her Guard about her; at which time moſt of the *Engliſh* Captains were returned from the Chace unto her. But when ſhe heard, that an Eſquire, named *John Copland*, had taken the King of *Scots* Priſoner, and carried him away, no Man could tell whither: She diſpatched a *Purſuivant* after him, with Command to bring forth his Priſoner, the King of *Scots* unto her; gently admoniſhing him, that he had not done well in carrying Him away without leave. All the Remainder of that Day, and the Night following the *Engliſh* Army kept the Field, as well for their greater Honour, as for the ſecurity of their Friends, many whereof were ſtill in the Chace: But the Queen had Lodgings provided for her in the City of *Durham*. After which ſhe rode back with her Guard to *York*, leaving *Edward* [n] *Bailiol*, and the other *Engliſh* Lords of the *North* to proſecute the War with *Scotland*; who forthwith entring that Land with fire and ſword, took the ſtrong Caſtle of *Hermitage* (for *Roxborough* was *Engliſh* before) and without any Reſiſtance ſubdued the Countries of *Anandale*, and *Galloway*, the *Marches*, *Tividale*, and *Ethrick* Foreſt, extending their Arms to *Cockburne-Peke*, and *Sowtray-Hedge*: And thus for that time *Scotland* was ſubdued.

[n] *Hector. Buch. Aiſcue's Hiſt. Scotl. Holinſh. &c.*

XIII. The mean while Eſquire *John Copland*, [o] having received and peruſed the Queens Letters, returned this bold Anſwer; "That as for the King of *Scots*, he "ſhould be ſafely kept, and he would be anſwerable for his forth coming upon occa- "ſion: But that He was reſolved to deliver him at the Command of no Man, or Wo- "man living, but only at the Pleaſure of his Sovereign Lord and Maſter, the King of "*England*. This Anſwer did not well ſatisfie the Queen; wherefore ſhe ſent to the King, her Husband, who lay before *Calais*, Letters of Complaint, deſiring to know, what he would have done in this caſe; when one of his Subjects refus'd to Obey her Commands: And fully enforming him of the Affairs of the Realm, particularly of this laſt Succeſs near *Durham*. King *Edward* having received theſe Letters from his beloved Queen, ſent immediately for *John Copland* to come over the Sea to him to *Calais*; which Command the Eſquire moſt readily obey'd, and having put his Royal Priſoner in ſafe Cuſtody, under the Hands of the Lord *Ralph Nevill*, and other his Friends and Allies; he rode thrô *England*, till he came to the Lands end at *Dover*: Where he went on Board a good Veſſel, arrived ſafe at the Camp before *Calais*, and ſo was brought to the Preſence of the King. As ſoon as the King ſaw him, he took him graciouſly by the hand, and ſaid, "Ha! now welcome, my Loyal Eſquire, that by "your Hardineſs have taken mine Adverſary, the King of *Scots*. "Sir, ſaid the Eſquire "kneeling, if God of his Grace have ſuffer'd me to take the King of *Scots* by true "Conqueſt of Arms, I think, no Man ought to look with an Evil Eye upon me; "For God of his Goodneſs may as well ſend ſuch Fortune to a poor Eſquire, as to a "Great Baron. And Sir, I humbly intreat Your Majeſty, not to be diſpleaſed with "me, thô I did not deliver the King of *Scots* at the Queens Command: For Sir, I "hold Service of Your Majeſty (as mine Oath is alſo made only to You) and not of "the Queen; but only in Good Manners. Beſides, I did not think fit to commit ſo "great a Priſoner to any ſmall Company, leaſt had he been loſt by a Reſcue, I my "ſelf had incurr'd the forfeiture of my Head to Your Majeſty; and thô the Queen "ſent Meſſengers indeed, yet there came no Forces ſufficient to have ſecur'd his car- "rying up to *London*, if I had deliver'd him upon Command. The King took him up graciouſly from the ground, ſaying, "*John*, the good Service that You have done "Us, and your known Loyalty and Valour are of ſo high Merit, that they muſt coun- "tervail your treſpaſs: So that We admit well of your Excuſe; and ſhame light on "them, that bear You any Envy or Evil Will. But now it is our Pleaſure, that with- "in theſe three days You return home, and upon the next demand, deliver up your Pri- "ſoner to the Queen, my Wife: And to encourage You to purſue Honour, as well as "to requite this laſt piece of Service, I hereby aſſign You, near to your Houſe, where "You ſhall think beſt, 500 pounds Sterling of yearly Rent for You and your Heirs "for ever. Which till it ſhall be fully ſettled, ſhall from this day forward be paid You "yearly out of my Exchequer, and here I make You Eſquire for my Body.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 139.

By this we muſt underſtand him to be made Knight *Banneret*, as Mr. [p] *Stow* proves out of the Record, who alſo ſhews from thence, how this Annual Donation was paid, *viz.* 400 *l.* out of the Kings Cuſtom of the City of *London*, and an 100 *l.* out of his Cuſtom of the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, till 500 *l.* lands were firmly ſettled upon him for him and his Heirs for ever. And there it appears, that the King gave him further

[p] Stow *ex Recordo p.* 243. & Speed *p.* 580.

for

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for his good Service at the Battle of *Durham* with one hundred Men of Arms, one hundred Pounds *per annum* out of the Custom of the Kings Port of *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, till he should settle upon him so much in Land for him and his Heirs for ever.

After so truly a Royal Bounty, King *Edward* enquired of him concerning what he knew as to the Particulars of that Battle, and afterwards he was fain to repeat this News to a great many Lords and Gentlemen of the Army. But on the third Day he went on Board, and return'd for *England*, and with him there went a [q] Command from the King to all and singular High-Sheriffs and Others, that no *Scotch* Prisoner should be deliver'd for any Ransom whatsoever, but that they should be all kept in safe Custody, and the King himself would satisfie all those, who took them, for the Redemption of all and every of their Prisoners. And this Command of the Kings was generally published throughout all *England*, to be observed on forfeiture of Life and Limb.

[q] *Knighton p. 2591. n. 20.*

XIV. Sr. *John Copland* (for so now we shall call him) being come into *England*, [r] went to *York* where the Queen was, and there made his Excuse before the Queen and the Lords of the Council, in so dutifull and rational a manner, that they were all very well satisfied with his Conduct in that Affair, and immediately took Order how, and with what Forces, and at what time the King of *Scots* should be conveyed to the Tower of *London*. After this Sr. *John Copland* went home to his own Castle of *Ogle* and assembled his Kindred and Friends, who together with those of the North-parts, and Others made up 20000 fighting Men: With whom Sr. *John Copland*, the Lord *Ralph Nevil*, and the Lord *Henry Piercy* convey'd him to the Limits of *Yorkshire*, [t] where on the 20 of *December* he was deliver'd, according to the Kings Command to Sr. *Thomas Rokeby* High-Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, who received him from the Lord *Ralph Nevill* by Indenture: And this Sr. *Thomas Rokeby* with all the Forces aforesaid conducted the King of *Scots* up to *London*, where the said King being mounted on an huge Black Courser, was, at the Kings Command signifi'd in his Letters, received by the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *London* with great Pomp and Solemnity, every Company in their Proper Liveries attending the Cavalcade from Street to Street; vast Multitudes of People following him, and infinite Numbers from Belconies, and the Tops of Houses beholding this Triumphant Spectacle. And being thus brought to the Tower of *London*, he was lastly deliver'd up from the Hands of Sr. *Thomas Rokeby* aforesaid by [t] Indenture, dated the second of *January*, to the Lord *John Darcy* senior, Constable of the Tower of *London*, there to be kept in safe Custody. King *David* himself was thus secured in a safe, but respectfull manner, and the rest of the *Scotch* Prisoners bestow'd in other Places of Safety: But in *February* following, [u] *John* Earl of *Menteith*, forasmuch as he had done Homage and sworn Allegiance to King *Edward* of *England*, and had now contrary to his Oath and Duty broken his Faith, and taken up Arms in behalf of *David Bruce* against the King of *England* and the *Bailiol*, was by the said King of *Englands* Command indited of High-Treason, and thereupon arraign'd, condemn'd, hang'd, drawn and quarter'd; as also the Earl of *Fife* was at the same time condemn'd to the same punishment.

[r] *Speed. p. 580.*

[t] *Ashmole p. 656. ex Rot. Scot. 20. Ed. 3. m. 2. Decemb. 20mo.*

[t] *Ashmole p. 656. ex Claus. 20. Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 1. Dorso.*

[u] *Knighton. p. 2592. n. 30. & Holinsh. Scotl. p. 241. & Stow p. 245.*

XV. This Winter the Noble and Valiant [x] Earl of *Lancaster* and *Darby*, together with the Earl of *Pembroke*, and some of their Chief Knights and Captains, things being first settled in *Gascogne*, return'd for *England*. In which Voyage on the 8 of *December*, they were taken in a Storm and in great Danger, according to the King their Masters Fate, who usually was thus handled at his return for *England*: But God deliver'd them also this time, and they arrived safe whither they were bound.

[x] *Knighton p. 2592. n. 20.*

After the Battle of *Durham*, [y] Queen *Philippa* made good Provision for the Defence of the Cities of *York* and *Durham*, for the Castles of *Roxborough* and *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, and other Frontier Towns on the Marches of *Scotland*; and having set the Lord *Henry Piercy*, and the Lord *Ralph Nevill* as Governours over that side of the Country, she went from *York* to *London*: Where having taken order for the safe Custody of the King of the *Scots*, and the rest of the Prisoners; she then went with an Honourable Company of Ladies of the Highest Quality, whose Husbands, Fathers, Brethren and other Friends lay then before *Calais* and with a good Convoy, among whom was the Bishop of *Durham* and many other great Personages, took the Sea and had so good a Wind, that She arrived safe in the Camp that same day, being three days before the Feast of St. *Andrew*. The King received her with extream delight and satisfaction, and made a great and splendid Feast for all the Lords and Ladies that were with him; especially for those that came with the Queen: For the Sea being his own, he had all things, that might serve either for Use or Pleasure in great Abundance. But the City of *Calais* began to be very much straitned for want of Victuals.

[y] *Froiss. c. 139. fol. 68. b.*

XVI. And

XVI. And yet all this while many Overtures were made by his Holineſs toward the Concerting of Matters, inſomuch, that by the inſtant Mediation of the Cardinals of *Naples* and *Cleremont*, five [z] days after the Battle of *Durham*, a Commiſſion was made out to *William* Marqueſs of *Juliers*, *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, Conſtable, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, Marſhall, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, the Lord *Richard Talbot* Steward of the Kings Houſe, Dr. *Thomas Bradwardin* Chancellor of *London*, *John Thoresby* Canon of *Lincoln*, and *Andrew Hufford* Canon of *York*, either to all Eight, or to any Seven, Six, Five, Four, or Three of them, to treat and conclude with the ſaid Cardinals of and upon all Quarrels and Controverſies, depending between the King and the Lord *Philip* of *Valois* and their ſeveral Allies: But we ſhall ſay no more of this Meeting, becauſe it took no Effect, the Conceſſions of *France* being no way anſwerable to King *Edwards* Demands. So that this Year paſſed away without cloſing that Breach, which threatned to prove an Inlet to many great Calamities the Year following.

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[z] 22 *Octob. Rot. Norm.* 20. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 18. *Aſhmole p.* 656.

CHAPTER the SIXTH.

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I. THE mean while King *Philip* of *France*, having now about him his Son the Duke of *Normandy* with his Forces (thô he had by this heard alſo of the great Loſs that his Friend the King of *Scots* had ſuffer'd for his Sake) was not able as yet to attempt any thing againſt his Enemy of *England*, becauſe of the Winter Seaſon, further, than that he provided [a] for the Cities of *Picardy* that lay neareſt unto Danger, and ſet Men of War in every Fortreſs in the Marches of *Guiſnes*, *Artois*, *Boulogne* and about *Calais*. But however, being deſirous to employ that Unactive time of the Year to the beſt Advantage; that he might as well further the

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[a] *Froiſ. c.* 140. *& Du Serres.*

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next Campagne, as alſo ſeek the Advice of his Peers, Lords and Commons of *France*, he [b] calls a Parliament of the Eſtates to meet together at *Paris* on the *Palm-Sunday* following, which fell that Year [c] on the 25 of *March*, or the *Annunciation* of the Bleſſed Virgin; and ſo became a double Holy-day: Requiring all the Barons, Prelates and Commons of his Realm, to aſſiſt him in Leavying a mighty Army againſt the King of *England*, who lay as then before *Calais*: For he ſaid, how he had ſworn, not to make a Peace, or ſo much as a Truce with his Enemies, untill he had taken full Revenge for the Loſs he had received at *Creſſy*, and of the high Indignities which the King of *England* had put upon the Crown of *France*, as well by Invading his Realm in Hoſtile Manner, as now by holding a Siege before *Calais*. Which Oath, thô it could not be punctually obſerved, yet prov'd a ſtrong Enforcement to aſſemble together all his Barons, Prelates, Chief Burgeſſes and Citizens to his Parliament.

[b] *Giov. Villani l.12.c.85.p.893*
[c] Lit.Dom.G. *Paſch.Kal.*Apr.

Here ſeveral Ways were in this Great Council deviſed to raiſe Mony for the maintenance of his Wars, and leavying of two Formidable Armies: For King *Philip* had long ſince in his Secret Council reſolved to carry on the War againſt *England* with an High hand this next Campagne, Himſelf intending in Perſon to go at the Head of one Army againſt King *Edward* to raiſe the Siege of *Calais*; and at the ſame time to ſend his Son, the Duke of *Normandy*, with another mighty Army into *England*, to attempt the Conqueſt thereof. And upon this latter Point there had been an Ordinance drawn up and contrived, called the Ordinance of *Normandy*, of which we ſhall ſpeak when we come to the *Engliſh* Parliament, held at *Weſtminſter* in the beginning of this Year.

[d] *Du Serres p.12.*

Now for the Procuring of a ſufficient ſtock of Money for the Kings Service, it was in this Aſſembly agreed, firſt of all to call the old Treaſurers, and other Great Officers and Miniſters of State to an exact Account for Abuſing their Places, and embezling or converting to their own Uſe, the Taxes and other the Kings Monies they had been entruſted with; and to leavy and raiſe of all ſuch Offenders Fines and Mulcts proportionable to their Offences: And for the future to refer the Government of the Treaſury to the moſt eminent Perſons of the Clergy and Nobility; thereby to free the People from ſuſpecting that their Contributions were any more like to be ill employed. Of this Affair the Abbots of *Marmoutier* and *Corbie* are choſen Superintendants, to whom Four Biſhops and Four Temporal Lords were joyned Aſſiſtants. Monſieur *Peter* of *Eſſars*, Treaſurer of *France* is flung into Priſon, and condemned in a vaſt Fine to the King; and together with him many other great Officers being condemned, whether juſtly or unjuſtly, yield up that at once for a ſatisfaction, which they had been ſo long in heaping together; the Golden Spunge of Oppreſſion being now ſqueez'd by the Iron Hand of the Law. Then the Banquers, *Lombards* and other Uſurers, are call'd to a ſtrict Account for all their unjuſt Exactions upon the poor Subjects of *France*: The intereſt is proved to exceed the Principall; wherefore the Principal is adjudged forfeit to the King, and the Intereſt to be remitted if not paid, or if paid to be refunded to the Debtor, who had borrowed the Mony upon ſuch Intereſt; and all the Bonds and Obligations therefore to be cancell'd and made void: And yet after [e] this Wipe, the Uſurers themſelves were not releaſed out of Priſon without large Fines to the King.

[e] *Fabian p.274.*

But the chief Honour of this Aſſembly was, that the whole Body tenderly ſympathizing with the Head, was unanimous to ſerve the King with their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of his Crown and Dignity: Wherefore at that time they leavied vaſt Contributions among themſelves according to their Qualities, Eſtates and Offices, and ordained the like thrô the whole Kingdom. They ſet alſo a general Tax upon the whole Clergy, nor were they ſhie to make bold with what Sums had been gathered through *France* for the Holy War; and with the Plate, Shrines, and other Riches and Profits of Abbeys and Monaſteries. Particularly the King having received a Subſidy, which was required of the Monks of St. *Dennis*; among certain other Jewels of that Place which he would needs have, demanded a great Crucifix of Maſſie Gold, ſtanding over the High Altar of the Monaſtery. But to this the Monks replied, that it could not be taken away without great hazard of the Souls of thoſe who ſhould be concerned in that Action. For Pope *Eugenius* the III, more than 200 Years before, had in the Days of *Lewis* the VII, King of *France*, ſolemnly accurſed all thoſe of any Degree whatſoever, that ſhould offer to lay violent hands upon that Crucifix, ſacrilegiouſly to take it away from its Place, or to convert it to any Secular Uſe; as [f] appeareth by a Plate engraven under the Pedeſtall of the Croſs: With which Anſwer King *Philip* was ſatisfied.

[f] *Fabian ibid.*

In this Parliament it was alſo Ordained, that the King ſhould ſend forth his general Summons throughout the whole Realm, commanding all Perſons, who any way held of the

the Crown of *France*, to be with the King at the City of *Amiens* by *Whitſuntide* next following ([g] *Whitſunday* falling on the 20 of *May* that Year) there to attend at the Rendezvous with all their ſeveral Retinues, in their beſt Array. Nor did they forget to invite all the Friends and Allies of the Houſe of *France*, eſpecially the Lord *Charles* of *Luxemburgh*, Son to the late King of *Bohemia* and Elect Emperour, or King of the *Romans*; ſet up by the Pope and his Adherents againſt the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who again lay under the Cenſures of the Church. AN. DOM. 1347. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXI. *Franciæ* VIII.

And laſtly, to enflame the Minds of the *French* Nation more eagerly to proſecute their Revenge againſt the *Engliſh*, King *Philip* [h] cauſed to be brought from St. *Dennis* the ſacred Banner of *Oriflambe*, which of old was never taken down but in the Cauſe of *Chriſt* againſt Infidels, or upon ſome great Diſtreſs or Neceſſity of the King and the Realm of *France*: But now it was taken down to be uſed againſt King *Edward*, and was committed to the Cuſtody of a *Burgundian* Lord, a Noble Gentleman and approved in Arms; and having repeated his Commands to all Men to be ready to follow this Banner when he ſhould require them, for that time he diſmiſt the Parliament.

[g] *Kal.* April *Paſch.*
[h] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 85. *p.* 894.

II. Having ſeen in what manner King *Philip* beſtirr'd himſelf to rear his Half-ruin'd Affairs, let us now take notice, how King *Edward*, thô abroad, influences Matters at home, towards the Eſtabliſhing, what he had already done, and was yet undertaking. For both theſe Princes underſtood well, that the time, which was unfit for Action, was the moſt proper for Counſel; and that they could not better paſs the Winter, then in providing againſt the Caſualties of the Summer. Wherefore at King *Edward's* Command, a Parliament was alſo called at *Weſtminſter* by his ſecond Son, Prince *Lionel*, then Lord Warden of *England*, for the King his Father; [i] which Parliament began the third Day of the New-year, on the *Monday* next after *Chriſtmas*-day; as if it was the beſt Auſpice, not only to end the Old-year, but to begin the New, by wholſome Advice and Counſel.

[i] *M.S. Rec. Parl.* 61. *& Sr. Rob. Cottons Abridgment p.* 46.

On which Day Command was given by Prince *Lionel*, that Proclamation ſhould be made againſt wearing of Armour, and uſing of Games in and about *Weſtminſter*, during this Seſſions. Then alſo a time was appointed for all ſuch, as would exhibit any Petitions, and Receivers alſo, and Tryers were conſtituted to take and conſider of the ſeveral Petitions, referring to *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Scotland*, *Gaſcogne*, and other Foreign Parts and Iſles; and thereupon Sr. *Thomas Drayton* being appointed Clerk of the Parliament, becauſe ſeveral of the Lords and Commons were not yet come, they adjourn'd till next Day: At which time the Houſe being informed, that Sr. *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, Sr. *John Darcy* Lord Chamberlain, Mr. *John Thoresby*, and Mr. *John Charleton*, were arrived, as Meſſengers from the King, then lying before *Calais*; but could not be ready to make their appearance there, till *Wedneſday* next after the Morrow, the Parliament was prorogued, until that Day.

At which time Declaration was made in open Parliament, that the Reaſons of that their preſent meeting, were, becauſe the King, ſince his paſſing the Sea, and his Attempts in *France*, was now uncertain of his Condition; that according to the Iſſue, or Exigence of Affairs abroad, Matters might be concerted at home, for the ſafety of his Majeſty, and the Common Peace and Wealth of his Kingdom; which latter was viſibly damnified by the ſufferance of falſe Money.

Then were produced the Kings Letters Patents, Credential; wherein among other Matters, the foreſaid Declaration was *verbatim* expreſſed, the Letters bearing Date before *Calais*. Which being read in open Parliament, Sr. *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, for, and in the Name of himſelf, and the reſt of his Colleagues, in preſence of the Lord Warden of *England*, and of the Three Eſtates, "declared the good Succeſs of the King, "ſince his Arrival at *la Hogue* in *Normandy*, as in ſurpriſing and taking of many Towns "and Caſtles of War, as well at *Caën*, as elſewhere, and alſo of the Great Victory ob"tain'd at *Creſſy*, where the whole Power of *France* was diſcomfited; and how the "King was now come before *Calais*, from whence he intended not to depart, till by "the help of God, he had won the ſame. After which he intended to purſue the E"nemy without return, till the War ſhould be fully ended. This done, he produced the Copy of an Order, made by the King of *France*, in reference to his Son the Duke of *Normandy*, and others, Nobles of that Country; which was particularly recited, being called the *Ordinance* of *Normandy*, and was to this effect; "That the Duke of "*Normandy* ſhould paſs as Chief, with other Nobles of that Province, into *England*, "with 40000 Men of Arms, Knights, Eſquires, and Perſons of good Eſtate, and 40000 "Footmen, Methods being there preſcribed for keeping the Sea; and an Order alſo "added, that the ſaid Duke ſhould remain in *England* with the ſaid Forces, for the

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"ſpace of ten Weeks. And in caſe the Realm of *England* ſhould in this Expedition "be Conquer'd, that then the Conqueſt ſhould ſolely be to the Name, Honour, and "Advantage of the ſaid Duke, and all whatſoever the King of *England* at that time "had there, ſhould remain entirely to the ſaid Duke, and the Knights and Lords with "him. That all that which belonged to the Nobles, and ſecular Perſons of *England*, "ſhould be beſtowed on the Churches, and Famous Towns of *Normandy*, only of the "Revenues of the Church of *England*, the *French* King ſhall receive yearly 20000 *l.* "ſterling; ſaving the Rights of his Holineſs. And that hereupon Surrender be made "unto the *Scots*, of whatſoever hath at any time been taken from them, and annexed un- "to the Crown of *England*.

This being read, the ſaid Meſſengers, by the Mouth of Sr. *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, required to know, what aid they thought fit to grant to the King, toward the furtherance of his Enterpriſes, and the Defence of the Realm: In Anſwer to which the Commons (having deſired reſpite for their Anſwer, till the *Thurſday* next enſuing) declared on the ſaid *Thurſday* by a ſchedule at large, the ſundry, particular, former Aids, the Impoſition of 40 s. Cuſtom of Wooll, extorted of them againſt Law, beſides the Arraying of Men, and common taking of Purveyors: Notwithſtanding which, they freely Grant the King Two Fifteens in two Years, ſo as that, if within two Years the Wars do ceaſe, then the latter fifteen to ceaſe alſo.

After this follow the Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers, made by Prince *Lionel*, by Commiſſion from the King, in the Kings Name in Manner following, *viz.*

Pet. That all Acts of Parliament, not repealed, may be fully and entirely obſerved; ſo as there paſs forth no Commiſſions of Array.

Reſp. The firſt Point the King Grants, of the Reſt, he will be Adviſed.

Pet. That ſuch, as were fined for not Arraying of Men, may be diſcharged.

Reſp. The King will take Advice.

Pet. That all within ſix Miles of the Sea may have a *Superſedeas* for Arraying of Men.

Reſp. Only ſuch, as keep the Sea-coaſts ſhall have a *Superſedeas*. It is Enacted; that the Coynage in all places ſhall be open, as heretofore; *Item*, that thoſe who import falſe Money into the Realm, ſhall forfeit Life and Limb, and that the Juſtice of Aſſiſe, and of the Peace ſhall enquire thereafter.

Pet. That the Kings Receivers may receive as well Gold, as Silver, and that the Changers thereof be not without Parliament.

Reſp. The firſt is Granted, the other Reſpited.

Pet. That the Fourty ſhillings Subſidy of every ſack of Wooll may ceaſe.

Reſp. The Kings mind muſt be known firſt.

Pet. That Payment may be made for the laſt taking up of Victuals.

Reſp. Order ſhall be taken for that.

Pet. That the Chief of every County may be Juſtices of the Peace, and that they may Determine all Felonies.

Reſp. The firſt is Granted: For the ſecond, the King will appoint Juſtices learned in the Laws.

Pet. That the keeping of the Sea be at the Kings Charge thenceforward.

Reſp. The Sea ſhall be kept, as it hath been heretofore.

Pet. That Sheriffs in every County may have ſufficient in their Counties; and that none of thoſe Offices be granted for Life, or in Fee: *Item*, that Purveyors, who have not the Conſtables with them, according to the Statute of *Weſtminſter*, may be look'd on, as Thieves; and that Juſtices of the Aſſiſe, and of the Peace may enquire of the ſame.

Reſp. The Statute made ſhall be obſerved.

Pet. That the Fifteens in Towns, and Ancient Demeſnes be levyed, as in the Bodies of Counties, without encreaſe.

Reſp. They ſhall be levyed after the accuſtomed manner.

Pet. That all Juſtices of the Inqueſt may be ſworn, as Juſtices of the Bench; and that the Chief of them may have Power to ſwear the Reſt.

Reſp. Such Juſtices ſhall be ſworn, as ought to be; ſo as they take nothing, but Meat and Drink, and that of ſmall Value: And the Chief ſhall be impowred to ſwear the Reſt.

Pet That the Fifteenths beyond the *Trent* be employ'd only for Defence of the *North*.

Reſp. The King will provide for Defence of thoſe Parts.

Pet. That

Pet. That Strangers, Enemies of the Realm, who remain now in *Newgate*, may be adjudged, during the Parliament.

Resp. They shall remain there, till further Order.

Pet. That no Charter of Pardon be granted, since the Kings last Expedition.

Resp. Advice shall be taken. It is Enacted, that *Lombards*, and other Merchants shall receive Gold for their Ware, without any Compact, on pain of Fine and Imprisonment.

Pet. That all Alien Monks do avoid the Realm by *Michaelmas*, and that their Livings be disposed of to young *English* Scholars: And that such Aliens, Enemies, as are advanced to Livings; they being in their own Countries, but *Shoemakers*, *Taylors*, or *Chamberlains* to Cardinals, may depart the Realm before *Michaelmas*, and their Livings be bestowed on poor *English* Scholars.

Resp. To these two Petitions, this One Answer was given; that the Persons being Spiritual, were not to be tryed by Parliament; and that their Livings being in the Kings hands, were not without him to be disposed of.

Pet. That the King may take the Profits of all other Strangers Livings, as Cardinals, and others, during their Lives.

Resp. The King doth take their Profits, and the Council have sent their Petition to his Majesty.

Pet. That no Payment be made to any Cardinals, living in *France*, to treat either of War or Peace.

Resp. This is granted, as Reasonable.

Pet. That Foreign Provisors, or Aliens buying Provisions, do quit the Realm by *Michaelmas*, on peril of being Outlawed.

Resp. The Statute heretofore made, shall be observed; and the King shall signifie the same to the Pope.

Pet. That the annual Advancement of 2000 Marks, granted out of the Province of *Canterbury*, may be restrained, and that those, who sue for Recovery thereof, may be Outlawed.

Resp. The Lords think the same Reasonable; and it is further commanded, that no such be from henceforth received.

It is Enacted, that whosoever shall bring into the Realm any Aliens, the Vessel, wherein they are brought shall be forfeited to the King, and the Body of the Bringer shall lye at the Kings Discretion.

It is Enacted, that during the Wars no Person do send or transport any Money to the Pope, or to any Bishop, or other Alien whatsoever, for any Duty whatsoever.

Pet. That no *Englishman* do Farm any thing of any Alien Religious, nor buy any of their Goods, nor be of their Counsel on pain of perpetual Imprisonment.

Resp. This is against the Kings Profit, who reaps benefit by such Farmers.

Pet. That all Fryers, Aliens, should depart the Realm, never to return hither again.

Resp. Order shall be taken with every General of all the Houses of Fryers, so to look to all Fryers Aliens, under their several Charges, as that they shall not be able to disclose the Secrets of the Realm.

Pet. That the annual Pension of 7 shillings which Sr. *Raimond Peligrue* received of every Religious House within the Realm, may henceforward cease.

Resp. The said Sr. *Raimond* is the Kings Liegeman, born in *Gascogne*, and sworn of the Kings Council, by whose Command he receiveth the same.

Pet. That the annual Pension of 2000 pounds paid to the Abbot of *Clugny*, may cease for ever.

Resp. The same is paid there.

Pet. That the Statute made, that the King should present unto any Church of his Gift, falling void, at any time within three Years, so as if the Parson had continued therein for three Years, that he should not be turned out, may stand.

Resp. The King will be advised.

It is Enacted, that no Person bring into the Realm to any Bishop, or other, any Bull, or other Letters from the Court of *Rome*, or from any Alien; unless he first shew the same to the Lord Chancellour, or to the Warden of the Cinque Ports, on loss of all that he hath.

It is Enacted, that all Religious Persons, for Lands purchased since the 20 of *Edward* the Third, and paying no Demesne therefore amongst the Clergy, shall pay Fifteens.

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After this, Mr. *John Charleton*, one of the Messengers aforesaid, produced Letters from the Bishop of *Durham*, from the Earls of *Northampton*, *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Oxford*, and *Suffolk*, and from Sr. *Hugh Spencer*, Lord of *Glamorgan*, directed to the whole Parliament, purporting, that whereas the King at his Arrival at *la Hogue* St. *Vast* in *Normandy*, had Knighted his Eldest Son, the Prince of *Wales*, whereby he ought to have an Aid of the Realm, *viz.* Fourty shillings of every Knights Fee, they would now consider thereof: Whereupon the Parliament agreed thereto immediately, and took Order for the speedy levying the same.

It is Order'd in full Parliament, at the Request of the Commons; that the Benefices of all Aliens should be seised into the Kings Hands, and he to take the Profit of the same; and that in Order thereto, all Bishops should before the next Convocation, certifie into the Chancery the Names of all Aliens, their Benefices, and the Value thereof.

An Act, that no Alien do send any Letters forth of the Realm, that shall not be first perused by the Lord Chancellour, or the Warden of the Cinque-Ports, on pain of losing all he hath.

This was the Substance of this Parliament: But those, who were set as Counsellors over Prince *Lionel*, were not at all forgetfull of their Duty, both as to the Defence of the Realm, and to the supply of the King their Master, with Men and Money. Especially, the Valiant and Noble *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* and *Darby*, being now in *England*, was very diligent in Mustering Men of War against the next Campaigne, part whereof he intended to bestow about in Garrisons, that fronted *Scotland*, and with the Rest he intended to pass the Seas in Person, as the Kings occasions, or Commands should require. For when he had finished the last Years Expedition so Gloriously, as We have related, the King sent unto him [a] enjoyning him to leave *Gascogne*, and repairing into *England*, attend to the aforesaid Affairs; the Effect whereof We shall shew hereafter. Only We shall not here omit, that in the beginning of this Year, the King had also sent back his Eldest Son the Black-Prince, into *England*; no doubt about the same business, that things of that Moment might be sooner expedited: For We find by the [b] Date of One of his Letters, that he was on the 18 day of *January* at *Westminster*.

[a] *Ashmole p.* 681.

[b] *Vid. Ashmole p.* 707. *& hujus Hist. l.* 2. *c.* 9. §. 11.

But the Time of Action being not yet come, we shall take leave to speak of such Matters as happen'd the mean while; not only to carry on the continual Thread of History, but also to satisfie the Curious in Matters, which indeed were no whit of less moment than the more noisie Atchievements of War.

III. Now thô King *Philip* of *France* was very busie, as we have shewn, in making Preparations to raise the Siege of *Calais* by Force; yet was he not wanting nevertheless in his Artificial Attempts to save the Effusion of Blood, and if possible, to prevent the hazard of another Blow, by milder Counsels. He secretly therefore ply'd the Pope to use his Endeavours with King *Edward*, if by any means he might persuade him to entertain a Treaty. Wherefore [c] Pope *Clement* VI. commanded his Cardinal-Legats, *Annibald* and *Stephen* to spare no pains; but if they could not procure a Peace, that they would at least take care to make a Truce between the two Kings. And he himself by his Letters exhorted them Both; *Philip*, that by the Calamities of *France* he would be moved to embrace Peace; and *Edward*, that he would not only consider the innumerable Mischiefs, whereof he was look'd on to be the Author in that War; but that he would cast his Eyes towards the East, where he might obtain immortal Triumphs over the Enemies of God, and a Crown of Temporal and Eternal Glory; but that the *Barbarians* grew insolent at these Wars of *Christendome*, and entertain'd hopes of trampling the Cross quite under feet.

[c] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum* §. 23.

[d] *Odor. Rainal. ibid. ex Tom.* 5. *Epist. secret. ep.* 896. *& Fox Acts and Mon. p.* 505. *sed nos verbatim ex Origin.*

"[d] CLEMENT the Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his well-beloved Son "in Christ, *Edward* the Illustrious King of *England*, Greeting and Apostolicall Benedi- "ction. If you would diligently consider (most Dear Son) as a Catholick Prince ought "to do, the slaughters of innumerable Persons redeem'd with the pretious Blood of "*Christ*, the loss of Goods and the hazard of Souls, more bitterly to be bewailed, which "the Dissentions and Wars stirred up between You and our well-beloved Son, *Philip* the "Illustrious King of *France*, have brought forth, and yet dayly do bring forth without "any intermission; together with the Groans of poor Pupils, Orphans, Widows, and other "miserable Persons, who being plunder'd, and robbed and almost famished, do cry un- "to the Lord with Tears running down their Cheeks: Besides the Destructions of "Churches, and Monasteries, and Holy Places, the Sacrilegious Taking-away of Vessels "and other Ornaments dedicated to Gods Service; also the Seisings, Incarcerations, Op-

"pressions

" preſſions and Spoilings of Religious and Eccleſiaſticks, and other Perſons, and other innumerable, deteſtable and execrable Evils, manifeſtly offending the Eyes of the Divine Majeſty; if you revolve all theſe things in your Royal Breaſt, and add further to your Conſideration in this Part, that by the Premiſes the Catholick Faith eſpecially in the Eaſtern Parts is oppreſſed, and the Faithfull there abiding by reaſon of the ſaid Diſſentions and Wars, being deprived of the Aſſiſtance of the Catholicks of the Weſtern parts, are thereby afflicted by the Infidels, who behold *Chriſtendom* ſo embroiled with deadly Perſecutions, more cruelly than ever; althô in theſe Days there is in the ſaid Eaſtern Parts a better opportunity of Propagating the ſaid Faith, than hath been for many Ages paſt: We believe, verily we believe that you will ſoften your Heart, and leſt ſuch and ſo great Evils might further proceed, and ſo much good as might be done by propagating the foreſaid Faith in theſe our Days, might be hindred; that You will apply and turn your gentle Mind, to make Peace and Agreement with the foreſaid King. For, moſt Beloved Son, if God hath given You proſperous Succeſs and Fortune, your Mind ought rather to be humbled, than to be puffed up, and to appear more inclinable to the ſaid Peace; that ſo You may take care to direct the Endeavours of your Soul, to pleaſe God, who loveth Peace, and delighteth in peace-full-minded Men, thereby to put an end to the foreſaid Evils, which no doubt do now grievouſly offend him.

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" Furthermore, We have great cauſe to marvell, that our Reverend Brother *Annibald* Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, and our Beloved Son, *Stephen* of the Title of St. *John* and St. *Paul*, Prieſt and Cardinal of the Apoſtolick See, being ſent as Legates from Us and the ſaid Apoſtolick See, to treat of Peace, thô they diligently and faithfully labour'd for the ſame, as Lovers of Verity, Juſtice and Equity; and therewithall had an high regard to your Honour, could not yet for all that obtain Licence, as touching any Treaty, relating to the ſaid Peace, to be admitted into your Royal Preſence.

" Wherefore We more earneſtly deſire your Princely Majeſty, and for the Mercies of God with more Ardency require the ſame, that by taking up, and preventing with the ſweetneſs of Piety and Compaſſion the foreſaid horrible Evils, You may avoid the Vengeance of Gods indignation, which were much to be feared, if you ſhould ſtill perſevere to foment thoſe Evils: which God forbid!

" And as touching the Treaty of Peace, for which the foreſaid Cardinals were ſent unto You, (howbeit ſecretly) leſt it might have been any Derogation to your Honour: We deſire You again to condeſcend thereunto, and with your Affections to encline your Mind unto the ſame, ſince Peace is ſo pleaſing unto God, ſo deſirable to the World, and ſo profitable both to You, and the foreſaid King, and the whole Catholick Faith: That ſo the ſaid Peace being by Gods Aſſiſtance eſtabliſhed and ſettled, You may aſſay your puiſſant Valour about the Service of God in the foreſaid Eaſtern Parts (ſo good occaſion, as we ſaid before, being at this time offer'd) which would be an apt Advancement of your Honour, and no doubt a proſperous Augmentation of your Princely Name: For We have heard of You, that You are wont to behave Your Self fervently and vigorouſly in all your Undertakings.

" Thus We doubt not, but that You will write unto Us again concerning the Premiſes, and the Purport of your Intentions touching the ſame. *Dat.* [e] *Avenion.* xviii Kal. *Februarii*, *Anno Pontificatus noſtri V.*

[e] *Ita Odor. Rainald. ex Copia* Vatican. *malè ergo* Fox 18 Febr.

This Letter was anſwer'd by King *Edward* in this Manner,

" To the moſt Holy Father in God, *CLEMENT*, by Divine Providence Chief Biſhop of the Holy *Roman* and Catholick Church, *EDWARD* by the Grace of God, King of *France* and of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, Devout Kiſſings of his Holy Feet.

" Moſt Holy Father, We underſtand by the Letters of the Reverend Fathers in God, *Annibald* Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, and *Stephen* of the Titles of St. *John* and St. *Paul*; Prieſt, Cardinals and Legates of the Court of *Rome*, as alſo by your Holineſſes Letters ſent unto Us; that you have great marvel, for that your ſaid Legates, being ſent unto Us to treat of an Accommodation between Us and our Adverſary of *France*, We would not yet ſuffer them to talk with Us ſecretly, for the ſafeguard of our Honour; the intention of your Heart being in that manner to have made the foreſaid Accommodation. Wherein alſo You complain and bewail the Death of Chriſtian People, the loſs of their Goods and danger of their Souls, the dolefull Cries and Lamentations of the Poor, Orphans and Widows, and the Deſtruction of other wretched People, with the ſacrilegious Robbings of Churches, and other Miſchiefs innumerable, eſpecially the Decay of the Chriſtian Faith in the *Eaſt*, which by the Wars between Us and our Adverſary of *France* is deplorably impaired, as the ſaid Letters

" do

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"do import: And that foraſmuch as God hath given unto Us Triumphant Fortune, "We ought ſo much the rather to abaſe and humble our Heart, and be the readier to "accept of, and encline to Peace.

"Now as concerning all theſe Things, moſt Holy Father, We give your Holineſs to un- "derſtand, that both to your foreſaid Legates and other your Meſſengers ſent unto Us, to "every of them We have ſtill offer'd Reaſonable ways of promoting of Peace; and "We every Day declare the ſame, and that not ſecretly, but openly: For We are not "afraid nor aſham'd to make our Purpoſe manifeſt. For He that is the High Judge "both of [f] Him and Us, in whoſe Diſpoſe all things are, hath given unto Us the "Crown of *France* as our Right and Heritage: The which Right our foreſaid Adver- "ſary hath for a long time by Force detained from Us, thô We ſought in peaceable "Manner to obtain the ſame, and yet do, if by any Reaſonable way We may obtain "the ſame: And this the rather for the Benefit of *Chriſtendom*, and that the fore- "ſaid Evils might ceaſe, which by His Injuſtice only have had their Birth and Conti- "nuance.

[f] Philip *King of* France.

"Yet, notwithſtanding (as you know) before this time We aſſented to a Truce, "upon certain Articles contained in Writing, all this he hath infringed: Neither doth "the Wrong which he offereth unto Us in our foreſaid Heritage ſuffice, but he endea- "voured alſo, during the ſaid Truce, to invade our Realm of *England* and other our "Lands; and furthermore maintaineth the *Scots*, and aideth them for the utter Deſtructi- "on of Us, our People and Lands aforeſaid: So that We were enforced for the ſafe- "guard of our People and Lands, by ſuch Lawfull means as We might, to defend Our "Selves, and fruſtrate his wicked Deſign. For which intent committing our Quarrel "to the Hands of God, We are come againſt him to conquer our Heritage of *France*, "ſince when God hath given Us divers Victories over him, as We truſted he would in "his moſt Righteous Judgment, and as We knew he was able by his Almighty Power. "Which indeed he hath graciouſly manifeſted unto Us (all Chance of Fortune ſet a- "ſide) in reſpect only of our Juſt Title, and without the leaſt of our Deſerts. Wherefore "with all Humility of Soul We always give him Thanks, praiſing his Holy Name "moſt devoutly both Night and Day: For We acknowledge, that theſe things were "not brought to paſs by our Strength and Force.

"Wherefore moſt Holy Father, We deſire your Holineſs, and as much as in us lies, "earneſtly require You, that You, who ſupply the Place of the Son of God on Earth, "and have the Care of the Souls of all *Chriſtians*, and therefore ought to be Indiffe- "rent, Upright and Equal towards all Men, without any Reſpect of Perſons, that You, "I ſay, will receive good and true Information concerning the foreſaid Objections, and "will put to your holy helping Hand, that as much as in You lies, our ſaid Adverſary "of *France* may be brought to acknowledge the Wrong, which in this Point he hath "done unto Us, and which by your Aid may be redreſſed: But that eſpecially he "may receive no Aid nor Countenance from You in this his wrongfull Dealing.

"For if it be ſo, We then appeal unto the Supream Judge of Judges, who for a "time may permit Wrongs to be done for the ſins of Mankind, but in the end "redreſſeth the ſame, neither leaving any Good Deed unrewarded, nor Evil Deed un- "puniſhed: Moſt humbly requeſting him to be unto Us a true and impartial Judge of "all our Controverſies for his Mercies Sake; even as We the mean while do repoſe "our full Hope and Confidence in Him alone. The Holy Spirit of God preſerve and "direct your Holineſs in the Government of his Church many and happy Years, *&c.*

If *Odoricus Rainaldus* had peruſed this Anſwer of King *Edward's*, he would not perhaps have ſo dogmatically [g] aſſerted, that he prefer'd his intereſt to Religion, and was an Enemy to *Chriſtian* Piety; whoſe unhappy Death he ſays, was anſwerable to his Life; and that in the end he was deſpiſed of God, as he had before deſpiſed God, in the Perſon of his Vicegerent. This Judgment I believe, that Author would not have had, if he had taken as much care to weigh King *Edward's* Excuſes, as he hath in col- lecting the Accuſations laid unto his Charge: Both which yet being equally the Duty of every one who would avoid Errour, I have for the better clearing of Truth produ- ced all along the Letters on both ſides. And as for the Unhappineſs of King *Edward's* Death, the Opinion thereof is taken up from light and unauthentick Conjectures, as we ſhall ſhew, when after a Thirty Years Reign yet longer, in great Honour and Proſpe- rity, excepting ſome ſmall Allays, we ſhall find him in a good Old Age to go to the Grave in Peace, full of Days and Honour, being Royally interred by the Hands of his own Children, Friends and Subjects, not without many Wet Eyes and ſorrowfull Hearts: But to return whence we have digreſſed.

[g] *Id. ibid.* §. 24.

IV. All

IV. All this while the *Flemings* continued firm to King *Edward's* ſide, inſomuch, that about the time [h] of his Firſt Coming before *Calais*, they raiſed a ſufficient Army, which being lead by a Valiant Knight, called Sr. *Edward de Renty*, a Native of *France*, but lately baniſhed thence by King *Philip*, went, and laid cloſe Siege to *Bethune*, a City of *Artois*. But the Place was ſo well Defended by Four Worthy Knights of *France*, Sr. *Geoffry Charny*, Sr. *Euſtace Ribemont*, Sr. *Baldwin Seclin*, and Sr. *John Landas*; that after much labour to little purpoſe, they were fain to break up their Siege, and return home upon the approach of Winter. Their Captain Sr. *Edward Renty* ſoon after upon his Pardon returned into *France*, where he proved very ſerviceable to his Country in many Glorious hazards.

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[h] *Froiſ. c.* 140. & *Du Cheſne. p.* 666.

But now King *Philip* of *France*, who earneſtly deſired to lop off theſe Friends of *Flanders* from his Enemy of *England*, in hopes thereby to faſten them unto himſelf, makes unto them theſe large Offers: 1. "To remit unto them all their former Tranſ-"greſſions. 2. To cauſe [i] their Interdict or Excommunication to be taken off. 3. To "ſend unto them ſuch Plenty of Corn, that what they now paid 12 *s.* for, ſhould be ſold "for 4 *s.* and this to be continued for ſix Years. 4. To ſtore them with plenty of "*French* Woolls, to make their Cloth at a very cheap Rate; the which Cloth to be "ſold as well in *France* as in *Flanders*; he promiſing to forbid the Wearing or Buying "of any other Cloth in his Dominions, as long as any of that made of *French* Wooll "might be found. 5. To reſtore unto them freely the three Cities of *Lille*, *Douay* "and *Bethune*. 6. To defend them from all their Adverſaries, and in pledge there-"of to aſſiſt them with Money beforehand. 7. To retain in his Service ſuch as "were able and forward Men among them, and to raiſe them to Promotions according "to their Merits.

[i] Hence it ſeems, it was not yet revoked, according to an Article of the Truce at *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, or elſe upon their late embracing King *Edward's* Intereſt, was renewed againſt them.

But all theſe fair Offers, as ſeeming rather extorted by the neceſſity of the Times, than proceeding of any real Purpoſe or Good-will, were ſtifly rejected: Eſpecially by the carefull Endeavours of King *Edward's* Emiſſaries, who promiſed them, [k] after the Winning of *Calais*, to recover the three Cities aforeſaid unto them, and labour'd with better ſucceſs to keep them faſt to the King their Maſter, and to undermine the whole Drift of the *French* King. But chiefly they eſtabliſhed the *Flemings*, by Propoſing a Match between the Lady *Iſabella*, King *Edwards* Eldeſt Daughter, who was then about [l] 14 Years of Age, and their young Lord *Lewis* of *Malines*, onely Son to *Lewis* of *Crecy aliàs Nivers*, late Earl of *Flanders*, who fell the laſt Year in the Battle of *Creſſy*: Which young Earl *Lewis* was as then little more than [m] 16 Years old. The *Flemings* gladly approved of this Motion, as doubting not by ſuch an Alliance to be very well able to reſiſt upon Occaſion the *French* King, whoſe Friendſhip they thought not ſo neceſſary or advantageous unto them, as that of the King of *England*. And on the other ſide, King *Edward* was not leſs willing to conſummate this Match and Alliance, becauſe hereby he aſſured himſelf, that he ſhould bind the *Flemings* unto him more ſtrongly. But as for the young Earl himſelf, he having been all his Life educated in the Court of *France*, would by no means agree to this Match, but ſaid openly, "How "he would never take to Wife the Daughter of him who ſlew his Father. And beſides *John* Duke of *Brabant*, that had all along trim'd between the two Kings, and was generally ſuſpected to be but an outward Friend to King *Edward*, laboured now with this young Prince, rather to accept of his Daughter, telling him, that if he would "take her for his Wife, he would undertake fully to reſettle him in the quiet Poſſeſſi-"on of all *Flanders*, either by fair Means or otherwiſe: And to perſwade the King of *France* more eaſily to allow of this Match, he told him by his Private Agents, how "upon that Condition, he would ſo order it, that within a ſhort while all *Flanders* "ſhould renounce the King of *England's* Friendſhip, and return to his Side. Whereupon having obtain'd the King of *France's* Approbation, he began by ſufficient Meſſengers to deal privately with the Burgeſſes of the Good Towns of *Flanders* about re-admitting their Young Lord to the Exerciſe, Dignity and Profits of his Earldom. Theſe Men ſhew'd unto that giddy People ſuch plauſible Reaſons, that by General Advice and Conſent, they [n] preſently deputed certain Commiſſioners unto King *Philip* to redemand their Natural Prince of him, whom they would thenceforward own for their Lord. And to the young Earl they ſent this Invitation; that if he would return into *Flanders*, and make uſe of their Counſel, they would be unto him true and faithfull Subjects, and reſtore unto him all the Rights and Jurisdiction of *Flanders*, in as ample a Manner, as ever any Earl had before him. This Invitation the young Earl accepted of, and returned forthwith into *Flanders*, where he was received in moſt ſplendid manner, and preſented with Gifts of great Value.

[k] *Froiſ. c.* 140, *&c.*

[l] 1332. *nata.*

[m] *Natus* 7 *Kal.* Decemb. *Anno* 1330. Jac. Meyer. *Annal. Fland. l.* 12. *p.* 155.

[n] *Mezeray p.* 28.

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But as ſoon as King *Edward* heard of this Change of Affairs in thoſe Parts, he ſent thither *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, who prevail'd ſo far with the Demagogues, and Leading Men of *Flanders*, that all the Country was quickly of the mind, that their Lord ſhould rather take to Wife a Daughter of *England*, than the Daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*, or of any other Prince whatſoever; And ſo they effectuouſly deſired their Lord, and ſhew'd him what Reaſons he had ſo to do; nor durſt thoſe few Burgeſſes, who were for a Match with *Brabant*, ſpeak the leaſt ſyllable to oppoſe them: But the young Earl boldly declared his Reſolution, ſaying, "That by the Grace of God, never, while "he lived, would he Marry her, whoſe Father had ſlain his, thô he ſhould have half "the Realm of *England* for her Dowry. When the *Flemings* heard this peremptory "Anſwer, they as boldly, but with little Care of their Duty, told him, that he was "too much ſway'd by *French* Counſels, and ſought the Intereſt of their Enemies, more "than it became him: And that he muſt expect no good from them, if he would "not rather believe the Counſel, which they ſhould give him, and which was for "the common Advantage both of him and them. But the Young Prince not being at all ſhaken with this, they proceeded further, and took, and put him in the Priſon of *Courtray*, ſwearing, "That he ſhould never come forth thence, while "he lived, unleſs he would govern himſelf after their Advice and Counſel: And "they told him moreover, that the Earl his Father believed, and loved the *French* Na-"tion in like Manner to his utter Ruine; whereas, had he follow'd their Advice, "and been a Friend to their Friends, he might have been as Great a Lord, as any in "*Chriſtendom*, and have recover'd again *Lille*, *Douay*, and *Bethune*, and ſtill on this "ſide Heaven. Thus Matters reſted for a while, and the Earl was kept ſhort, nor without ſome inconvenience, in no little fear, being empriſoned by his own Subjects.

V. King *Edward* the mean while was ſtill before *Calais*, and had kept all that Winter (eſpecially during the *Chriſtmas* Holy-days) a moſt Magnificent Court in the Camp; but as ſoon as the Spring began to open the Year for Action, he ſet himſelf earneſtly to eſtabliſh his Affairs. On the [o] ſecond of *April* therefore, being *Eaſter-Monday*, he ſent the Lord *James Audeley* from the Siege before *Calais*, into *England*, with Command to raiſe what Forces he could, and to bring them down to *Sandwich* by *Aſcenſion-day*, well-arm'd, in Order to paſs over to *Calais*; in regard the *French* King was drawing together a Vaſt Army, with a purpoſe to raiſe the Siege. About a [p] Month after, hearing the *French* King intended to be at *Calais* about *Whitſuntide*, he ſent alſo into *England*, to his Couſin *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Darby*, commanding him ſpeedily to repair to his Aſſiſtance with the Forces he had raiſed: In reference to whoſe Paſſage, Command was given [q] five Days after to the Lord *John Mongomery*, Admiral of the Fleet *Weſtward*, to provide Ships in readineſs at *Sandwich* and *Dover*, with all ſpeed, for the tranſportation of thoſe Forces. Accordingly the Earl arrived at *Calais* before the end of *May*, immediately upon whoſe coming thither, King *Edward*, among other Gracious Tokens of Favour, wherewith he welcomed this High-born Subject, taking into conſideration his many great Services and Victorious Succeſſes in *Aquitain*, and elſewhere, [r] granted unto him and his Heirs-Male for ever, by Charter, the Caſtle, Town and Place of *Bergerac* on the *Dordonne*, in the Dioceſe of *Perigort*, with the whole Chaſtellany and all Jurisdiction, High and Low, Royal Authority, Abſolute and Mixt, as alſo the Coynage of Money there. To which he afterwards added a Grant of the Examination of the Aſſay, with both the Criminal and Civil Puniſhment of all Offendors for Coyning of Money. And [s] becauſe this Town and Caſtle ſtood upon the Frontiers of the Enemy, the King granted, that during the War, there ſhould remain in that Garriſon an 100 Men of Arms, and 200 Foot at the Kings pay, ſubject nevertheleſs to the Command of the Kings Seneſchal of *Gaſcogne*, and to be by him drawn out upon occaſion, he leaving ſufficient ſtrength to Defend the ſame. And further, becauſe this Noble Earl had taken divers Priſoners at the Town of St. *Jean d' Angely*, when he reduced that Place, as we have ſhewn, the King therefore toward the latter end of this Year, granted unto him all the Lands, Tenements, Vines, and other Goods of thoſe Priſoners; till their Ranſom was fully paid: And a little after he granted unto him and his Heirs for ever, the Houſes, Lands, and other Goods and Poſſeſſions of *Bernard Barrham*, Burgeſs of that Town, to hold by the ſervice of rendring to the King and his Heirs One Roſe annually at Midſummer. And beſides all this, he [t] granted unto him the Caſtle of *Horeſton* in the County of *Darby*, with the appurtenances, and 40 pounds *per annum*, out of the Farm of the Town of *Darby*, to him and his Heirs-Male; and for default of ſuch, the ſame to revert to the King

[o] *Aſhmole p. 704. ex Rot. Franc. 21. Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 17. 2 April.*

[p] *Aſhmole p. 681. 14 Maii. Rot. Franc. 21. Ed. 3 p. 1. m. 10.*

[q] 19 Maii *Rot. Franc. 21. Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 6.*

[r] 1 Junii. *Rot. fact. apud Caleſ. 21. Ed. 3. m. 13.*

[s] 17 Jun. *Rot. Caleſ. 21. Ed. 3. m. 16.*

[t] *Extract. Donat. 21. Ed. 3. m. 10. Novemb. 10.*

King and his Heirs. All these Grants, and more were made to him by that Munificent Monarch, upon the Account of his many good and acceptable Services by him performed. AN. DOM. 1347. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXI. *Franciæ* VIII.

VI. While King [u] *Edward* was thus busied in reinforcing the Siege at *Calais*, and King *Philip* was on the other hand preparing to rescue the Town, *Lewis*, the young Earl of *Flanders*, whom We lately left confin'd at *Courtray*, having by loss of Liberty, and some hardship learn'd a little Experience, resolved now to work his own Will, but therein to use more caution, and to procure his escape by Dissimulation: Since he found it impossible to avoid ruine, if he should still openly avow, what he could not but harbour in his heart. He often therefore said to those, who were about him, "that he would for the future believe the Counsel of his good Subjects of *Flanders*; "for he knew well (he said) that he should live in more splendour there, and in a "Higher Condition, than in any other Country: For in *France* he was subject to "the pleasure of other Men, and could not do, as he would. These Words, being noised abroad, were greedily swallowed by the plain-dealing *Flemings*, who could not penetrate into the forced Dissimulation of the Willfull young Lord. Wherefore they took him out of Prison, and suffer'd him to go an *Hawking* (a Sport, which he loved well) on the other side the River *Lys*, or *Leye*. But still there were Persons appointed to watch him, who were charged upon their Lives to look carefully to his Motions, that he should not by any means steal away from them. And besides his Keepers themselves were such, as chiefly prefer'd the King of *England's* service, so that he could not do the least occasions of Nature without their knowledge. This new way of Imprisonment obliged the Earl to another Device, he said, at last, as it were from his heart, and of his own accord, "that he desired extreamly to Marry the Daughter of "so Renowned a Prince, as King *Edward* was; but none of his Friends would endea-"vour to procure him that happy Promotion. Of this immediately the *Flemings* sent word to the King and Queen, then before *Calais*; and appointed a Day, whereon they should come with their Daughter, the Lady *Isabella*, to *Bruges*, and they would at the same time bring thither their Lord, the Young Earl, and so the Nuptials should be solemnized between them in the Abbey.

[u] *Froiss. c.* 140.

The King and Queen, [x] who were well pleased with this Overture, said, how the *Flemings* had now done, like true and honest Men, and so prepared for the intended Meeting. At the time appointed, the most Discreet and Wealthy Burgesses of the Towns of *Flanders* came unto *Bruges*, a Chief City of *Flanders*, between *Ostend* and *Sluys*, and brought with them the young Earl, their Lord, in great Pomp and State: Here they found the King of *England* and his Queen, who received them graciously. The Young Earl enclin'd himself with great Demonstrations of Respect to the King and Queen; and then King *Edward* took him by the Right Hand very courteously and lead him forward, saying unto him, "As for the Death of the Earl, your Father, as God "shall help me, I am Innocent: For I knew nothing of his being in the Field at the "Battle of *Cressy*, neither on the Day of Battle, nor till the Evening of the next Day; "when the Heralds brought me an Account of the slain. The Earl seem'd to believe this Protestation, and to acquiesce in so just an Excuse: And thereupon other Communication succeeded, and at last the Marriage was agreed, and a Bond of Ensurance made, certain Articles of perpetual Amity being on both sides sworn to, and agreed on, between *Edward* King of *England*, and *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*: And then, and there the Young Earl affianced the Lady *Isabella*, King *Edwards* Daughter, and promised on such a Day to Wed her. So for that time, they all brake up, the Earl returning to *Courtray*, and the King and Queen going back to the Camp before *Calais*, where they made great Preparations against the Marriage, for Jewels and costly Apparel, and Presents to give away according to their Estate.

[x] *Froiss. ibid. & Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 86. *p.* 894.

The mean [y] while the Earl of *Flanders* pass'd away his time very pleasantly about the River *Leye*, and seem'd so extreamly satisfied with the Person of the *English* Lady, that the *Flemings* verily believing him to be in earnest, took no such great heed to him as before. But they did not understand the deep Dissimulation of their Lord; for whatever appearance He made outwardly, his Heart was wholly addicted to the *French* Interest, and he resolved in his mind never to admit unto his Bed the Daughter of him, who had sent his Father to his Grave. A just Resolution, had it been rightly grounded: For indeed his Fathers Death ought not to have been imputed to King *Edward*, but to his own Misfortune, for taking part with King *Edwards* Enemies in that Battle, where he was slain by chance of War, and without any knowledge of the Kings, as himself protested.

[y] *Froiss. ibid.*

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However the Earl having now obtain'd a little more liberty by reaſon of his fine conveyance (for he made huge Preparations againſt the Marriage he never intended) found at laſt an Opportunity to eſcape away; which was done in this Manner. In the *Eaſter*-week, [z] being that very Week that the Daughter of *England* was to be brought into *Flanders*, and the Eſpouſals to be ſolemnized, he rode forth with an *Hawk* on his Fiſt by the River ſide, after his Manner. At laſt his *Faulconer* caſt off a *Faulcon* at a *Heron*, and the Earl preſently caſt off his: Thus theſe two *Faulcons* were in chace of the *Heron*; and the Earl followed, as after his *Faulcon*. But when he found himſelf to have got the ſtart of all his Attendants, with the Advantage of the Open Fields, he then clap'd Spurs to his Horſe, and gallop'd right on, till his Keepers had wholly loſt him. The Earl continued hard on the Spur, till he came into *Artois*, the next Province to *Flanders*, and there he was ſafe. Thence he rode at his Leiſure into *France*, and came to King *Philip*; to whom he ſhew'd the Reaſons and Manner of his Eſcape; the King commended him, and ſaid, he had done Worthily and Wiſely: But the *Engliſhmen* ſaid, He had falſifi'd his Oath, and with the loſs of his Honour and Intereſt, betrayed and deceived them. But for all this King *Edward* did not break with the *Flemings*: For he ſaw plainly, that they were extreamly offended with this Raſh Action of their Lords, and that they knew as little of this Cheat, as himſelf. And indeed they made their Excuſe ſo well, that either the King did really believe it, or however thought beſt to admit of it for that time.

[z] *Fabian p.* 274.

VII. We muſt not omit [a] one memorable Matter, which happen'd about this time, concerning an Advocate of the Spiritual Court, named Dr. *Gawin de Bellomont*, an Inhabitant of *Laon* in *Picardy*: Who intended, as it was laid to his Charge, to have betrayed the City of *Laon* to the *Engliſh*: Which City of *Laon* being ſeated on a Mountain, not far from *Vermand*, ſtands very commodiouſly to make War upon all its Neighbours round about.

[a] *Gaguin l.* 8. *p.* 142. *Fabian p.* 274. *&c.*

Now there was at that time a poor Man, named *Colin Tomelin*, who formerly had lived in good Faſhion; but ſome while before, being fled from *Laon* for Debt, had gone to *Metz* on the Borders of *Lorrain*, where he made ſhift to live a miſerable Life: To this Man Dr. *Gawin de Bellomont*, aforeſaid, reſorted frequently, and as it were in pity of his Condition, relieved him conſiderably; till at laſt, when he thought, he had him faſt enough, he began ſomething to break his Mind unto him: But only then told him in General; "that if he would be ruled by him, he would not only re-"ſtore him to his former Eaſe and Sufficiency, but raiſe him to an Eminent Degree of "Wealth and Proſperity. *Colin* readily embraced the Offer, and ſware unto him Secrecy and Fidelity: Whereupon *Gawin* ſhew'd him a Letter ſealed up, and gave it him to carry to the King of *England*, lying as then before *Calais*, together with an handſome Gratuity, and a promiſe of much more upon his Return to him unto *Reims* with an Anſwer. When this Indigent fellow had received the Letter, he revolved many things in his mind, conſidering of what conſequence ſuch a Matter might prove at laſt; and he ſaid to himſelf, "Well! *Colinet*, thou may'ſt be poor; but thou ſhalt never be a "Traytor. Wherefore now, contrary to his Oath and Promiſe to *Gawin*, but agreeable to the Duty he ow'd to his King and Country, he took his way toward *Paris*, and preſented the Letter to the *French* King; in which was ſet down the whole Manner, Time, and Means, how, and when the City of *Laon* ſhould be betray'd. When the King underſtood the whole Series of this Black-Treaſon, he inſtructed *Colin* how to behave himſelf in returning with an Anſwer, and to fit his return according to the time, as if he had been at *Calais* with the King of *England*, and ſo at a convenient day to go to *Reims*, according to *Gawin's* appointment. During which Interval, King *Philip* wrote ſecretly to the Provoſt of *Reims*; that as ſoon as *Colin Tomelin* was come to Dr. *Gawin* with his Anſwer, the ſaid *Gawin* ſhould be attached, and had unto Priſon; all which was accordingly executed. When Proceſs was made againſt him, foraſmuch, as he was in Holy Orders, the Provoſt of *Reims* ſent him to the City of *Laon*, where he was put in the Biſhops Priſon. But when the Commons of *Laon* heard, how there was a Man Priſoner there, who would have betrayed their City, they roſe in great uproar, and would have broken up the Priſon, with intent to tear him in pieces. But the Biſhop, who is an Earl, and one of the Twelve Peers of *France*, and of the Supream Judges, ſo pacified them by his Officers, that for that time they went back again to their ſeveral Houſes. The next day, to quiet the People, he was brought forth to his Judgement, and there (becauſe he was a Clergyman) only condemned to perpetual Priſon: But for his greater Infamy and ſhame, he was further Order'd to be ſet up on high in a Tumbrel, or Dung-Cart, bare-headed to be ſeen of all Men; and ſo with

vile

vile Inſtruments of wretched Muſick, as Bagpipes, and the like, to be carried thrô the High-ſtreet of the City, unto the Biſhops Priſon aforeſaid, there to remain cloſe Priſoner, during his Life. But he was not carried far in this Manner, when the Common-people fell upon him with great ſhoutings, pelting him with dirt and ſtones ſo rudely, that before he had finiſhed half his Progreſs, he was ſtoned to Death; after which his Body was buried in a filthy Moor, hard by the City. With him alſo his Only Son, being in ſome meaſure guilty of his Fathers crime, was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment: But, being excuſed the ſhameſull Riding, was not expos'd ſo to the Fury of the Rabble; wherefore he had his Life, but loſt his Liberty for ever. AN. DOM. 1347. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXI. *Franciæ* VIII.

Shortly afterward [b] there was alſo executed at *Paris*, a Burgeſs of the ſaid City, who (as was laid to his charge) had undertaken to betray that great *Metropolis* of the Kingdom to King *Edward*: For which Fact he was firſt diſmembred of his Legs and Arms, and afterwards hanged up by the Neck on the great Gallows of *Paris*, called *Monfaucon*. But in relation to theſe two ſuppoſed Treaſons, for my part I cannot ſee, how onely one or two Perſons can be ſuppoſed capable of Betraying ſuch Conſiderable Places, as *Laon* and *Paris*, near which the King of *England* had no Garriſons; and as for Himſelf he was then too far off, being at *Calais*: Nor could he be able with all his Forces to take, and hold Poſſeſſion of two ſuch Cities, eſpecially of *Paris*, even thô he had left the Siege of *Calais*. Wherefore I rather think the whole Matter amounted to no more than this; that ſome certain Perſons, who either ſhew'd ſmall ſatisfaction in King *Philips* Government, or were leſs carefull of their Carriage and Speech in ſuch a Juncture, or lay obnoxious to the Malice or Spight of any profligate Wretches, wanted not *Evidences* to ſwear home againſt them, and lay Matters to their Charge, which thô never ſo improbable, were then accounted no leſs than Treaſon by a Prince ſo mortally jealous as King *Philip* was. [b] *Fabian p.* 275.

VIII. Now the *French* King, having found all his peaceſull Overtures with the *Flemings* ineffectual, eſpecially now that they had proceeded ſo far, as to quarrel with their young Lord the Earl of *Flanders*, for the Sake of King *Edward* his Adverſary, as well to revenge his own and the Earls injuries, as hoping by ſome notable Succeſs againſt them to enduce them to ſome Reaſonable Terms, reſolves [c] to ſend his Son *John* Duke of *Normandy*, with a Conſiderable Army againſt them. But Duke *John* it ſeems, was born under no better Stars than his Father; for having beſieged *Caſſel*, a Town between St. *Omers* and *Ipres*, he was at laſt in a Sally ſet upon couragiouſly by the *Flemings*, being joyned with a good Body of *Engliſh* from *Calais*, and compelled to raiſe his Siege without Honour, but not without conſiderable Loſs: For the Conflict enduring from Morning till high Noon, the *French* were utterly vanquiſhed, and enforced to break up, having left behind them many Hundreds of their Men, as well ſlain as Priſoners; whereas on the other Side, rather by a Miraculous Protection of Heaven than any Chance of War, not one is reported to have been grievouſly wounded among the *Flemings* and their *Engliſh* Auxiliaries. To this Town above all the Towns of *Flanders*, King *Philip* ow'd an ill-will, becauſe [d] in the beginning of his Reign, when he laid ſiege unto them in Perſon, the Inhabitants had in deriſion of Him and his Title, cauſed a Red *Cock* to be painted on a White Cloth, under which in great Letters they wrote this following Rhyme, and hung it over the Walls, [c] *Serres p.* 12. *in Phil. Valois. Speed p.* 580. *Fox p.* 506. *&c.* [d] *Fabian p.* 264. *& Jacob Meyer. Ann. Flandr. l.* 12. *p.* 153.

Quand ce Coq icy chantera,
Le Roy Trouvé *ca entrera.*

Which ſignifies,

When this Cock ſhall crow clear,
The Found *King ſhall enter here.*

At which Lines the *French* King was horribly vexed, eſpecially becauſe they Nick-named him the *Found* King, as if having no manner of Title, the *Frenchmen* had as it were upon diligent ſearch, found him out to hold Pretenſions againſt King *Edward*.

After this Repulſe at *Caſſel*, Duke *John* collecting his ſhatter'd Forces, made yet another Attempt upon *Lilers* a Town of *Flanders*, by the River *Navez* between *Arien* and *Bethune*: But here alſo he received another Repulſe; ſo as he could hardly come off with the reſt of his Troops to his Father, who ſtormed and fretted exceedingly at theſe freſh Diſgraces.

IX. All this while was the Siege of *Calais* carried on with great Application, but the

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the Defendants held out with equal Obſtinacy: For thô King *Edward's* chief truſt was to reduce them by Famine, yet nevertheleſs he ceaſed not to afflict them with huge [c] Engines, that caſt continually Maſſie ſtones into the Town, and againſt their Walls and Towers; and ſome have ſaid, that at this Siege Canons were firſt uſed: But of that Opinion we have already diſcover'd the ſmall Probability. And a very good [f] Author, who was alſo an Eye-witneſs and preſent at the Siege ſays, that neither could any Engines be uſed to much Purpoſe, becauſe the Ground was not firm enough to ſuſtain them. Beſides if the Walls could have been quite beaten down, yet were the Ditches ſo deep (whereinto at their pleaſure they could let in the Sea) that with little ſtrength of Men, provided their Ammunition and Proviſion fail'd not, they were able to withſtand the whole World.

[c] *Knighton p.* 2588. *& Froiſ. c.* 140. *f.*69.

[f] *Sr. Th. de la More apud Stow p.*244.

One time the Admiral of *France* came up toward the Haven, deſigning to engage the *Engliſh* Fleet, to divert them, while many ſmall Boats laden with Proviſion ſhould get into the Town; but againſt him the Noble Earl of *Northampton* went forth with a good Squadron of Archers, and Men of Arms, and to his great Loſs put him to flight, Moſt of the Boats being intercepted and taken.

And on that ſide of the Town, on which the *Boulogners* were uſed to victual *Calais*, namely Weſtward along by the Sea-ſide, in little Boats and Bylanders ſtealing down by the ſhore in the Night-times or in miſty Weather, the ſaid Earl of *Northampton* made a ſtrong Rampire, wherewith he deſtroy'd, or kept back, or chaſed away ſuch Boats, the Rampire being perpetually guarded with Archers and Slingers of Stones, who watched the Victual-boats night and day.

[g] *Knighton p.* 2592. *n.*30, *&c.*

However a little [g] after *Eaſter*, no leſs than Thirty *Norman* Ships and Gallies, all nimble Sailers, adventur'd boldly one Morning early, and without any impediment from the *Engliſh* Fleet, carried in freſh Proviſions, and victual'd the Town, and got off again by good fortune with little or no Dammage: But from that time the King cauſed the Mouth of the Haven to be quite block'd up, and the Earl of *Warwick* with eighty tall Ships ſcoured the Channel between *Calais* and *Dover*. Now King [h] *Philip*, that he might ſome way anſwer the Loyalty and Courage of theſe poor *Caliſians*, who could not be overcome, but by Famine, had again equipped a Fleet of 12 Gallies of *Genua*, and 70 Sail of ſtout Ships, all laden with Proviſion and Ammunition, with Orders to Relieve *Calais*. But as ſoon as ever this Fleet was ſeen from *Dover*, and the Earl of *Warwick* had notice thereof, he ſet upon the *Frenchmen* with ſuch Fury, that they all were diſperſed, taken or ſlain: The Admiral of *Genua* flying firſt, and leaving the *Frenchmen* to the mercy of the Enemy. Here was taken a vaſt quantity of Victuals, Harneſs and other Proviſion, to the great Comfort of King *Edward* and his Hoſt, who hoped now to be ſoon Maſters of the Place; but the Beſieged in *Calais* were in great grief and diſtreſs, and almoſt reduced to deſpair.

[h] *Odor. Raynal. ad hunc ann.* §. 24. *& Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 94. *p.*899, *&c.*

Nor is it yet to be thought, that King *Edward's* Men were without their Difficulties any more than the Beſieged, thô indeed they wanted no manner of Proviſion: For the *French* King [i] had Men of War in every Fortreſs of the Marches, in the Earldom of *Guiſnes*, *Boulonois*, *Artois*, and about *Calais*; beſides a great Number of *Genouëſe*, *Normans*, *French* and others on the Sea: Who at ſeveral times took no leſs than [k] fifteen of King *Edwards* beſt Ships of War, ſome whereof they kept for their own Uſe, and the reſt they made uſeleſs by fire. Among others, Sr. *Thomas Hackluit* and Sr. *William Burton*, as they were ſailing for *England*, were ſuddainly encountred by certain *French* Pirates, and taken Priſoners, with the two Ships which they commanded.

[i] *Froiſ. c.* 140.

[k] *Stow p.*244.

Nor did the [l] *French* Men of War belonging to the Garriſons about the Marches lye idle all this while; for when any of the *Engliſh*, either Horſe or Foot went a Foraging; for the moſt part they met with many difficult Adventures. Nor were the Lords and Captains of the Town idle or faint-hearted, but many times they made vigorous and bold Sallies, nor always to their own Loſs. Particularly one time the Lord *Arnold D' Andreghan* came out with a Choice Band of ſelect Warriers very early in a Morning, and came almoſt to the Kings Tent, ſo that the King himſelf being well-nigh ſurpriſed, cauſed his Trumpets to ſound, and with his Guard the mean while fought fiercely at the Entry of the Trench, crying out with indignation, *Ha, St. Edward! Ha, St. George!* But by this time the Captains of the Army began to move, and the *Engliſh* making an offer to intercept the Enemy, and ſo to cut off their Retreat, they drew back much faſter than they came forth; and leaving 200 of their Fellows behind, they had been all loſt, if the Captain of the Town, Sr. *John de Vienne* had not adventur'd forth with the Flower of the Garriſon to make good the Retreat; which he did

[l] *Froiſ. ibid.*

with

with much ado, but was himſelf wounded with a ſpear thrô the Thigh by the Lord *Thomas Holland.* AN. DOM. 1347. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXI. *Franciæ* VIII.

But however now the Beſieged were held ſo cloſe, that nothing could come to their Relief, but with great difficulty and by ſtealth; and that but little at a time: And what was thus done was effected by the means of two famous Seamen, one called *Marant*, and the other *Meſtreil*, Inhabitants of *Abbeville*, who often comforted and refreſhed the *Caliſians*, by bringing in to them a-nights Proviſions in light Boats, whereby they expoſed themſelves to much danger, being often chaced, but they alway eſcaped; nor only ſo, but cauſed many *Engliſhmen* to be drowned, for in dark Nights they would come ſilently in their ſmall Boats to the skirts of the Fleet, and bore Holes thrô their big Veſſels, ſomething below the ſurface of the Water. Whereby not a few Men were drowned, the Ships being full of Water, before they could find a Leak.

Beſides all theſe Inconveniences and the dayly Chances of War, what with the unwholſom Air, by reaſon of the unſtable Ground and the nearneſs of the Sea, and what with the [m] ſtink of Cattle that died in and about the Camp, as well as the Garbage of Beaſts ſlain, and other Refuſe of the Army; but chiefly by the rage of the Bloody Flux, no ſmall Numbers of *Engliſhmen* periſhed. Thô I believe *Giovanni Villani* [n] is ſomething too laviſh in this Point, who ſays, that together with all the Rencounters from the beginning to the end of this Expedition, and with extraordinary and common Diſeaſes, Maladies and Miſchances, King *Edward* loſt in the whole no leſs than 50000 Men. Among others, there died this Year on [o] the Twelfth of *February* the valiant *Engliſh* Lord *Maurice Berkley*, younger Son to *Maurice* Lord *Berkley*, and Brother to the Lord *Thomas Berkley*, in the Camp before *Calais*, to the extream Regret of his Maſter King *Edward*, who ſet an high value upon his Services, of which an Eſtimate may be from the Retinue he had at the time of his Death: Which conſiſted of ſix Knights, among whom [p] was Sr. *Nicolas de St. Maure*, *aliàs Seymour*, and 32 Eſquires, with 30 Archers on Horſeback, and 200 Archers on Foot. Three [q] days after his Death, the King in contemplation of his ſingular Merits, gave unto *Thomas* his Son and Heir, a Grant of the Profits of his own Wardſhip, as to his Lands and Marriage. This Noble Family of the *Berkleys* is derived from *Maurice* the Son of *Robert Fitz-Harding*, who was the Son of *Harding*, one of the Royal Blood, or as ſome ſay, [r] Youngeſt Son to the King of *Denmark*, who came into *England* with *William* the Conquerour. The foreſaid *Maurice* Son to *Robert Fitz-Harding*, had in Marriage the Lady *Alice*, Daughter, and at laſt [s] ſole Heir to *Roger* Lord *Berkley*, ſo called from his Caſtle of *Berkley* in *Glouceſterſhire*; and thereupon changing his Name, became Anceſtour to this Illuſtrious Family, which ſince that Time hath flouriſhed, and ſtill continues in great Honour to this Day.

[m] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 157.*

[n] *Giov. Villani l. 12. c. 95. p. 902.*

[o] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 356.*

[p] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 89.*

[q] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 356.*

[r] *Vetus M.S. in Caſtro de Berkley. Leland Coll. 1 Vol. p 912.*

[s] *Dudg. 1 Vol. p. 352. & Godwins Catal. Biſhops p. 500.*

X. I do not meet with any more Perſons of Rank, that died during this Siege in the *Engliſh* Camp; but 'tis certain, that not a few of the Common Sort were waſted away, as we ſaid before: The Loſs of whom was notwithſtanding eaſily made up by ſucceeding Recruits from *England* and other Places. For many great Lords of *Flanders*, *Hainalt*, *Brabant* and *Almain*, came thither to the Camp, ſome indeed onely to pay their Reſpects to the King and Queen, others to joyn with the *Engliſh* Forces: And of all the Viſitors none departed home again without an agreeable Gratuity from the King. Among all thoſe Lords, that won by the Kings Fame or otherwiſe, came now to embrace his Service, the Lord [t] *Robert* of *Namur* was not the leaſt Conſiderable: This worthy young Lord had lately received the Order of Knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre in *Jeruſalem*, by the hands of that Renowned *Chriſtian* Souldier the Lord *Leſpentine*, and had thereupon continued for ſome time in the Holy Wars; but was now newly returned into the Country of *Namur* and *Liege*. He was as then in the firſt flower and vigour of his Age, of good Diſcretion, Courage and Conduct, and had not ſince his Return been engaged by either of the two Kings of *England* or *France*; but now of his own Accord he came gallantly attended, and richly provided to the Siege before *Calais*, and there offer'd himſelf to the Service of King *Edward*. By him he was received very graciouſly, as alſo he was highly welcome to the Queen and the *Engliſh* Lords; but eſpecially he won upon the Kings Affections, on the Account of the Lord *Robert* of *Artois* his Uncle, whoſe Name he bare, and whoſe Perſon and Vertues ſeemed again to be revived in him. Nor ſhall it be forgot, that this Martial Knight was a great Friend to the Muſes, as we may learn from [u] Sr. *John Froiſard*: For whoſe laborious and noble Hiſtory (which for the moſt part contains the Heroick Acts of King *Edward* and his Children) we are not a little beholding to this

[t] *Froiſ. c. 141.*

[u] *Froiſ. l. 1. c. 1. f. 1. ad finem.*

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this Sr. *Robert* of *Namur*, Lord of *Beaufort*, who requeſted him to ſet about that Laudable Work, and both encouraged and aſſiſted him in it. Sr. *Robert* of *Namur* bare for his Arms, [x] Or, a Lion Rampant Sable, Crowned Gules, and in proceſs of time became Knight of the Garter. For from this time forward he became Liegeman to the King of *England*, who thereupon gave him for the firſt Hanſel of his Favour 300 *l. per annum*, to be paid by Yearly Return at *Bruges* in *Flanders*; and now he continued with his Troops, amounting to 300 Men of Arms, before *Calais*, till the Place was taken.

[x] *Aſhmoles Garter p.* 79. *Plate* 85.

About [y] *Whitſuntide*, King *Edward* ſent to all the Abbeys and Priories throughout *England* for an Aid of their Woolls, and for a proportionable Support from all other Religious Houſes, as lately had been granted unto him in Parliament. One [z] ſays, that he ſeized on all the Eccleſiaſtick Wealth, under the ſpecious pretence of Borrowing it, to maintain him in his Wars againſt *France*: By whoſe Example, King *Philip* to defend his own, laid hands on the Revenues of all Prieſts, except Cardinals, not reſiding in his Kingdom; and of other Benefices he took the Tenths. Whereupon the Pope ſent unto him *Paſtor* Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, and *William* Biſhop of *Chartres* to reſtrain him; and the *Gallican* Clergy he exhorted to maintain the Liberties of the Church: Threatning [a] moreover to uſe his Pontifical Authority againſt him, unleſs he would reſtore the Eccleſiaſtick Right to its priſtine Splendour. But we do not find, that King *Philip* alter'd his Courſe of Proceeding for all this, the Neceſſity of his Affairs calling for extraordinary Supplies.

[y] *Knighton p.* 2592.

[z] *Odoric. Rainald.. ad hunc an.* §. 24. *ex Archivis* Vaticani.

[a] *Tom.* 5. *ep. ſecret.* 1160. *Clem.* VI. *PP.*

XI. Before we come to the Winning of *Calais*, it is fit we ſhould take notice of other Matters, that happen'd elſewhere the mean while, no whit leſs Worthy of Memory. And firſt we ſhall enquire after the Condition of *Scotland* at this time. We ſhew'd before, how the preceding Year, immediately after the Battle of *Durham*, the *Engliſh* purſuing their Victory, recover'd the Caſtle [b] of *Hermitage*, with all *Anandale*, *Marches*, *Tweedale*, *Tividale*, and *Ethrick* Foreſt, beſides regaining what the *Scots* had won in *England*, enlarging their Limits as far as *Cockburne's* pit and *Solway*: And all this was obtained in a manner, with little, or no Reſiſtance; for the *Scots* were now brought [c] ſo low, ſince that blow they received near *Durham*; that for a long while after they were unable to bring any conſiderable Army into the Field. But now early this Year King *Edward Bailiol*, in hopes to recover his Inheritance, during this weak Eſtate of *Scotland*, [d] enters that Kingdom by *Carlile*, with an Army of 20000 Men, and the Lord *Piercy* with as many more, by *Barwick*, made a Road into *Louthian* and *Cliddiſdale*; whence he brought great Booty of Goods and Cattle; while the *Bailiol* raged alike in *Galloway*, *Niddiſdale*, and *Carrick*; ſo that the *Scots* were at laſt compelled to yield unto him, and accept him for their King. From hence when both the Armies, being joyned, began to March toward St. *Johnſton*, with a Reſolution to bring all *Scotland* to their Subjection, the *Scots* made ſuch humble Inſtance, that they obtain'd a Truce for one Year, on Condition to pay immediately to King *Bailiol* 9000 pounds Sterling. Whereupon it was ordained, that King *Bailiol* ſhould reſide the mean while in the Caſtle of *Lanerock*, on the Borders of *Galloway*, with competent Forces, for fear of the *Scots*; and the other *Engliſh* Lords and Captains, that could be ſpared, returned to King *Edward* to the Camp before *Calais*.

[b] *Hector l.* 15. *f.* 325. *& Buchan. l.* 9. *p.* 303.

[c] *Buchan. ibid.*

[d] *Knighton p.* 2592. *Hector, Buchan. & Holinſhead* Scotl.

XII. We have not of a long while made any mention of the Affairs of *Bretagne*, which now ſeem (not out of ſeaſon) to call upon Us: For they are fruitfull of Actions, neither unworthy Memory, nor foreign to our Purpoſe; and yet can no where be more conveniently handled, than in this place, and at this time, wherein they had their Birth. King *Edward*, thô he lay all this while before *Calais*, did yet by his Working Genius actuate and influence more diſtant parts, as we have already inſtanced in Matters both at Home and Abroad, in *England*, *Scotland*, *Gaſcogne*, and *Flanders*. Now as for what relates to *Bretagne*, we ſhew'd before [e] in the latter end of King *Edwards* 17 Year; that a triennial Truce had ſettled Matters there: In which Truce were comprehended the Kings of *France* and of *Scotland*, with their Allies; however the two ſaid Kings afterwards brake the Truce, the One in the firſt Year, by putting King *Edwards* Friends to Death, and the Other not till the Third, by invading *England*, whence ſucceeded the Battle of *Durham*: Yet for all this the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and the Counteſs of *Montfort* (her husband who brake the Truce, being dead) kept ſtrictly to the former Articles. But now the *Truce* being to expire in *Bretagne* alſo, on the 19 of *January* this Year, King *Edward* thought fit to ſend ſome neceſſary Aid to the Counteſs, as well for his own Honour, he having eſpouſed her Quarrel, as alſo with deſign to weaken his Adverſary the *French* King, who had undertaken the Protection of the Lord *Charles*.

[e] *L.* 1. *c.* 21. §. 18. *Article* 2. *p.* 283.

Where-

Wherefore on the [f] 10 of *January* he created Sr. *Thomas Dagworth*, a Valiant Baron of *England*, his Lieutenant and Captain-General in the Dukedom of *Bretagne*, and sent [g] him, together with Sr. *John Hartwell*, Sr. *Alan* [h] *Zouch*, and Sr. *John Lile*, alias *L' Isle*, from the Siege of *Calais* into *Bretagne*, with an 100 Men of Arms, and 400 Archers, who all came in good time to the Countess at *Hennebond*, where they found her attended with her Men of War, of whom was Captain Sr. *Tanguy de Castelle Breton Bretonant*. As the Year began to open, these *English* and *Bretons* began to make their Incursions on those who held for *Charles* Earl of *Blois*: And sometimes they wan, and sometimes they lost, as the Course of War is; but the Country always suffer'd, whoever had the better. One day Sr. *Thomas Dagworth* laid Siege to a good strong Town, standing between *Pontrieux* and *Lantriguet*, called *Roche D' Arien*, in *English*, the Rock of *Arrian*, whose Captain for Sr. *Charles* of *Blois*, was Sr. *Tassart* of *Guisnes*: Here he gave many fierce Assaults; but the Place was so strong, and so well Defended, that by force, they were likely not much to prevail. However, whether by secret Intelligence, [i] as some say, or any other consideration, the Majority of the Town enclin'd to the *English*, and seising on their Captain Sr. *Tassart*, said, how they would kill him, unless he would be for the Countess. Hereupon he yielding to their desires, they all together deliver'd up the Town to the *English*, who left Sr. *Tassart* there still, as Captain, with a sufficient Recruit for his Defence, and so went back again for that time with the Countess.

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[f] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 148.
[g] *Froiss. c.* 142.
[h] *M.S. in Bibl.* Bodlei. K. 84. *p.* 117. *b.*

[i] *Du Chesne p.* 667.

When Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* heard of this, [k] he sware, Matters should not go so over long, and immediately he sent his Summons both thrô *Bretagne*, and into *Normandy*, among his Friends, so that he muster'd at *Nantes*, no less than 1600 Men of Arms, 12000 Footmen, and 2000 Balisters, and he had in his Company 400 Knights, and 24 Banners. With these Forces he went and laid Siege to *Roche D' Arien*; so lately won by the *English*; here he is said to have used such terrible Engines, that neither Walls, nor Towers, nor any thing else, could long resist them (perhaps these might be great Ordnance) so that thô the Garrison had already sent to the Countess for aid; yet by the excessive fury of these Engines, which beat down all before them, one huge stone, or bullet, making its way even thrô the Roof of the Chamber where the Captains Wife lay in Childbed, to her Infinite Affrightment; the Captain, and all others, were in such a Consternation, that they offer'd forthwith to deliver up the Place, on Condition they might depart with their Lives and Goods, where they would: But the Lord *Charles* being too eager of Revenge, and blinded with security, refused this Advantageous Offer, to his almost utter Ruine.

[k] *Froiss. ibid. & Du Chesne & Vid. Fabian p.* 276. *Knighton p.* 2593. *n.* 40. *& 50. Walsingh. hist. p.* 158. *Rob. Avesbury & Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 92. *p.* 898. *Holinshead p.* 941.

For the Countess of *Montfort*, who knew the Condition of her Friends, as well as of her Enemies, had by this time provided a 1000 Men of Arms, and 8000 Footmen; whereof Sr. *Thomas Dagworth* was Principal Leader, with Sr. *John Lile*, S. *John Hartwell*, and Sr. *Alan Zouch*, aforesaid, under his Command. These all agreed to raise the Siege, or never to return alive to the Countess; and with this Resolution they set forward, till they came near to Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* his Camp, where for that Night they pitch'd up their Tents by the River *Trieu*, designing to fight the next day. But when they had all refreshed themselves at Supper, Sr. *Thomas Dagworth* caused half the Host to arm, with whom about Midnight he sent forth Sr. *John Hartwell*, commanding him to give a brisk Camisade upon Sr. *Charles* his Host, and then to retire after some Execution, in seeming Confusion, and as if he was utterly Routed. This Brigade went forward, and dash'd suddenly into the Lord of *Blois* his Camp, on the nearer-side, and beat down Tents, and slew much People; but being too eager in the pursuit of their good Fortune, they tarried there so long, that all the Host being come to the Rescue, they were so beset, that they could not retreat without Battle, or downright flight, which had exposed them all to the sword of their Enemies. When they saw this they were not wanting to themselves in Courage; thô so lately they had forfeited their Discretion: But they were now already pretty well tired with Action, and their Enemies encreased upon them on all Hands; so that finally they were overcome, and for the most part taken, or slain; but Sr. *John Hartwell* made shift to escape with a small Number along by the River-side, and so returned to the General Sr. *Thomas Dagworth*, to whom he declared their ill Adventure: Whereupon the whole Army thought for that time to leave off all hopes of further succeeding, and to return back again to the Countess at *Hennebond*.

But then Sr. *Thomas Dagworth* spake to all the Captains, and those were about him, saying, "Nay, Gentlemen, let not such a strong Body of Men, as We are, think of "going back again, till We have recover'd the Reputation, We have so lately lost.

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"Rather let Us now leap all on our Horſes, like Men of Courage, and for them that "have none, let them follow on a Foot in Gods Name: For now is the beſt time "in the World to look upon our Enemies; when their late Succeſs has lull'd them "aſleep in the Arms of ſecurity. I'll warrant You, We ſhall eaſily diſcomfit them, and "You ſhall ſoon ſee an happy turn of Affairs. As he ſpake thus, and his Men yet doubted, whether to obey him, or no, there came up to them a Knight of good Conduct and Valour, called *Garnier*, who was Lord of *Cadudal*, with an 100 Men of Arms, ſent to joyn Sr. *Thomas Dagworth* from the Counteſs of *Montfort*. This freſh recruit wholly confirmed the wavering Courages of the *Engliſh*, and ſo Sr. *Thomas* having order'd his Troops put himſelf in the Head of the Men of Arms, and the Archers on Horſeback, and the Foot followed him with a good Courage: So that about Sun-riſe they daſhed into the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* his Hoſt, where they found all was buried in ſleep and ſecurity: For they were proud of their Succeſs, and weary with obtaining it, and verily thought there was no more Enemy remaining after their laſt Nights Victory. Wherefore the *Engliſhmen* and *Bretons* with an horrible outcry invaded them like ſheep in a fold, and beat down Tents and Pavilions, and ſlew people on all hands: At which time the Captain of the Town making alſo a vigorous Sally with all his ſtrength; the whole Army of *Charles* of *Blois*, which conſiſted of 30000 Men was entirely defeated, and broken: The Lord *Charles* himſelf taken Priſoner, together with his two [l] Sons, *John* and *Guy*, the Lord of *Rochefort*, the Lord of *Beaumanoire*, the Lord of *Lodeac*, Sr. *Guy de la Valle*, and 36 Knights more; Among the ſlain were found the Vicount of *Rouen*, the Lord *De la Valle*, whoſe Son *Guy* was taken alive; the Lord of *Chaſteau Briant*, the Lord of *Derual* and his Son, the Lord of *Rouge*, the Lord of *Quintin*, with Sr. *William* his Son, the Lord of *Maleſtroit*, the Lord *Ralph de Montfort*, and others, to the Number of 500 Men of Arms, beſides Footmen. After this entire Defeat, Sr. *Thomas Dagworth* ſet the Priſoners in ſafe Cuſtody, eſpecially the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who being wounded, was committed to the Care of skillfull Chirurgeons; and then all Sr. *Charles* his Engines of battery, and other Spoils found in the Field, were brought into the Town and Caſtle of *Roche D' Arien*. But as for the Villagers, and Men of the Country thereabout, becauſe contrary to their Oath and Duty, they had favour'd the Earl of *Blois* in this Siege, Sr. *Thomas* puniſhed their Towns, and the Chief Men thereof with ſevere Fines, and held them much ſhorter, than ever before, and having executed ſeveral of the moſt Guilty, kept many of the Reſt in a kind of ſlavery, to be Labourers and Drudges for his Men of War. Then he ſet himſelf to repair the Breaches in the Walls, and elſewhere, and having ſufficiently reinforced the Garriſon with Men, Ammunition, and other Proviſion, departed with his Priſoners for *Hennebond*: Where he tarried till the Lord *Charles* was recover'd of his Wounds, and then convey'd him and his Sons, and the reſt of the Priſoners into *England*; and there they were all beſtow'd about in places of ſure Cuſtody, in the Tower, and elſewhere about *London*. This great Victory was thus obtain'd before the Fortreſs of *Rochedarien*, on the *Wedneſday* [m] before the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*, being the 12 of the *Calends* of *July*, or the 20 Day of *June*, An°. Dom. MCCCXLVII.

[l] *Du Cheſne p. 667. vid. Knighton, Fabian. Holinſhead, Villani, &c. ut ante.*

[m] *Ita Annales Britanniæ apud Du Cheſne p. 667. & Knighton p. 2593. n. 44. Lit. Dom. G. Labbe's Chron. Tech. ad hunc an.*

I have ventur'd to differ ſomething in the Relation of the Fact from *Froiſard* in that Matter, where he makes Sr. *Thomas Dagworth* to be grievouſly Wounded in the firſt Onſet, and *Garnier* Lord of *Cadudal* to be the Author of that Counſel, of falling upon the *French* a ſecond Time; not only becauſe our [n] Records attribute the Conduct of this Affair to Sr. *Thomas Dagworth*; but alſo his own Letter is extant in *Robert Aveſbury*, wherein he ſhews forth the Matter, as We have related it. And in conſideration thereof, the King [o] created him before the End of this Year a Baron of the Realm; As alſo two [p] others of his Valiant Aſſociates, Sr. *Alan Zouch*, and Sr. *John Liſle*; beſides whom he made 50 Knights. And upon the firſt News of this Happy Succeſs, the ſame King, according to his Pious Cuſtom, cauſed Publique Thanks to be given to God Almighty, both in the Camp before *Calais*, and alſo throughout *England*.

[n] *Rot. Franc. 21. Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 2. & p. 1. m. 11.*

[o] *Clauſ. de eod. An°. in Dorſo.*

[p] *M. S. in Bibl. Bodl. K. 84. p. 117. b.*

XIII. And truly this was a very Important Succeſs, eſpecially conſidering the taking of *Charles* of *Blois* and his two Sons; althô his Lady [q] continued the War, as reſolutely as ever: For ſhe requeſted King *Philip* ſo earneſtly to enable her to Revenge this Loſs; that ſoon after, when Sr. *Thomas Dagworth* was now in *England*, he ſent thither the Lord of *Craon* with a ſtrong Army, to whom alſo great Multitudes of the *Bretons* reſorted. And thus altogether they came before *Rochedarien*, and Aſſaulted the Town for two days continually; but the *Engliſh* Defended themſelves vigorouſly, and threw forth upon their Enemies hot boyling Oyls, Fire, Coals, hot Aſhes, and other

[q] *Du Cheſne p. 667. D. & Fabian p. 276, &c.*

other Offensive Matter, wherewith they did much mischief to the Besiegers. The Third Day the *English* being oppress't, offer'd to yield the Place, on Condition they might have security to depart with Life and Goods: But this the *French* and *Bretons* would not now condescend to. So the Assault began anew; and the Lord *Craon* to encourage his Men, had hung up fifty Scutes of Gold in a Purse upon a Spears point, and Proclaim'd aloud, that he that first enter'd the Town should have the said Purse of Gold for his pains. AN. DOM. 1347. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXI. *Franciæ* VIII.

When the *Genouëse* Souldiers heard the Promise of their Captain, some of them went under the protection of their Fellows Shot, with long and sharp Pick-axes and Mattocks, and so stoutly bestirred themselves, that in less than five Hours they had so mined the Wall, that (as the *French* Chronicles witness) there fell a Pain of 50 foot in length, at which Breach first the *Genouese* entred, and after the whole Host. Here without any compassion they slew Men, Women and Children, all that came in their way, not sparing Babes that sucked at their Mothers breasts, and spoiled and robbed the Town, every Man getting what he could to his advantage. And when thus the *French* had put all the *English*, and also *Bretons* and other Inhabitants of the Town, to the Sword, then they went and assaulted the Castle, to which about 240 *Englishmen* were fled for safeguard.

After several Assaults the Garrison at last offer'd to yield the Castle, so that their Lives and Goods might be saved unto them; but this not being accepted, in the end they agreed with their Lives onely saved, to be safely conveyed ten Miles on their way to *Quintin*, and this was allowed and sworn unto them. In confidence whereof they came forth, two *Brittish* Knights, Sr. *Silvester de la Fevillée*, and Sr. *William de Stratton*, being appointed to convey them safe onely in their Jackets; and thô the Knights did their best according to their Duty, yet could they hardly repress the insolence of the Conquerour, nor bear them off without loss: For their Enemies of the Host cast Stones at them, and so beat them with their Staves as they passed on thrô them, that several of them died and fell down by the way: the rest with much ado being brought in safety within a League or two of the Castle of *Quintin*, then in the *English* Hands. But the Commons of the Towns thereabouts, being informed of the coming of such *Englishmen* under safe Conduct, as had before slain the Lord of *Quintin* in the Battle of *Rochedarien*, where Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* was taken, gather'd together with their Weapons, and came out into the Fields against them; and the *English* being all unarmed, and the Knights their Guides, not being able to resist their cruel Determination, they slew every Man of them except the Captain, whom one of the Knights saved by lending him his own Horse, whereby he escaped. And when these savage People had thus shamefully slain the *Englishmen*, they gathered their Carcasses together in an heap, and there let them lie for Beasts and Fowl to devour.

XIV. While Matters passed thus in *Bretagne*, King *Edward* constrained the Town of *Calais* sore, blocking them up both by Land and by Sea, so that nothing could come in unto them: Wherefore *John* Duke of *Normandy* having recover'd his Losses in *Flanders*, came forward about the beginning [r] of *June*, and hover'd near *Calais* with a considerable Body of Men, till the King his Father should come up and joyn him with all his Forces: But King *Edward* sent out against him *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* and *Darby*, with a Detachment of 800 Men of Arms and 1600 Archers, whom at that time Duke *John* would not expect, but retreated hastily out of his Reach. About the same [s] time *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *Ralph* Baron *Stafford*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, and Sr. *Hugh Fitz-Simond* of the Lord *Stafford's* Retinue, passing forth of *England* with a Navy of 200 Sail to enforce the King at *Calais*, met with a Fleet of *France*, which was going to victual *Calais*: Of these Ships they took twenty Sail and many Gallies, with all the Purveyance therein, which they brought to the Camp before *Calais*.

[r] *Knighton. p.* 2592. *n.* 60.

[s] *Knighton p.* 2593. *n.* 10. *Dugd. 1 Vol. p.* 160.

Which last Hope also failing, the *Calisians*, who resolved to endure as much hardship as Flesh and Blood could bear, thô they saw themselves in so sad a Condition, and found their stock of Provision almost wholly spent, began now only to lessen their former Allowance of Food and Drink; and besides that thrust out [t] 500 more of the poorer Sort, Men and Women, who were by age or sickness useless for the War; and perhaps not much unwilling to be turned out, as who might hope to taste of the same Gracious Usage, which those, who were thrust out at the beginning of the Siege, had found at King *Edwards* Hands. But alas! they were widely mistaken; for the King, who in all this while had found this People so inveterately obstinate, that they would never listen to any Summons, nor admit of any Conditions, thô never so safe and

[t] *Knighton p.* 2593. *n.* 30.

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honourable; but had put him (almoſt beyond all Patience) to ſuch infinite trouble, expence, and hazard of his Men, look'd upon theſe Creatures with an other kind of Countenance, and commanded them ſternly to return back again into their Town. But now their own Fellows and Countrymen refuſed to readmit them; wherefore being forced to lie between the Army and the Town, moſt of them died with Famine, Weakneſs and the Night-colds; but a very few being able to bear their miſery, till either their Enemies, or their Friends at that time little better than Enemies, took pity of them and relieved them.

[u] *Knighton p. 2593. n. 10.*

XV. Much about [u] this time it was, that a certain Meſſenger was by the *Engliſh* taken on the Sea, bearing Letters in a Fly-boat to *Philip* the *French* King from the Captain of *Calais*, in theſe words, "*Sachez treſdoute Seignieur, que vous Gentz in Calleys ont mangez leurs Chevals, Chiens, & Ratz, & neſt remit rien pour leur vivre, ſinon cheſcun mange aultre. Par quey treſhoneurable Seignieur, ſi nous ne eymes haſtiſe Succoure, la ville eſt perdue; & nous ſommes toutz accordes, ſi nous ne eymes eyde, de yſſer & mourir ſur nous ennemis, au Honneur, plus toſt, que dedens mourir pur defaulte. Et Dieu vous deigne de rendre al nous & noz Heirez noſtre Travaile, &c.* Which is thus in *Engliſh*, "Know Dread Sir, that your People in *Calais* have "eaten their Horſes, Dogs and Rats, and nothing remains for them to live upon, unleſs "they eat one another. Wherefore moſt Honourable Sir, if we have not ſpeedy Suc"cour the Town is loſt: And we are all reſolved, if we are not relieved, to ſally "forth and die upon our Enemies with Honour, rather than to die within (the Walls) "by Famine. And God grant you Grace to render to us or our Heirs according to our "Travail in your Majeſties Service, *&c.*

This is the Summ of thoſe Letters, which when King *Edward* had peruſed, as they were written more at large, he [x] cauſed them to be cloſed up again with his own Seal, and ſo ſent them to the *French* King, requiring him to make haſte and ſuccour his good People in *Calais*, that were in ſuch miſery for his Sake. *Philip* for his part, not only from theſe Letters, but many other ways knew well enough, what hardſhips and difficulties his Loyal Subjects of *Calais* had all along undergone, and was all this while endeavouring their Reſcue: But as his Preparations were great, ſo they took up much time; however in anſwer to the foreſaid Letters, he ſent word to King *Edward*, that he would ſhortly come and look upon his Siege; and to the *Caliſians*, that now he would by no means fail to bring them a ſpeedy and powerfull Succour. All this while *John* Duke of *Normandy*, had made ſeveral Offers to draw near *Calais* with a great Power, and ſometimes he came within two Leagues, and ſometimes within three; but the *Engliſh* had ſo drain'd the Countrey, that for lack of Victuals he could not ſubſiſt thereabout for any time, and thereupon as [y] ſome will have it, he made that Expedition into *Flanders*, where he had ſuch Succeſs, as we have ſhewn before.

[x] *Knighton ib. n. 20.*

[y] *Knighton ibid. n. 40.*

[z] *Knighton p. 2593. n. 60.*

XVI. On the [z] 18 of *July* being a *Wedneſday*, *Henry* the Thrice-noble Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Darby*, went from the Siege of *Calais*, about ten Leagues into the Realm of *France*, with a ſtrong Detachment of 800 Men of Arms and 20000 Archers: His Deſign was to go to the General Fair that was held for Cattle of all Sorts near *Amiens*, on the Day of St. *Margaret* the Virgin and Martyr, which is kept on the 20 of the ſaid Month of *July*. But when he had rode one Day and a Night, intending to have been at the Fair the next Day, he received upon the way certain Information, that the *French* King was marching toward *Calais*, with a mighty Army of about 200000 Men. For the Inhabitants of *Picardy* and *Artois* had lately ſent to King *Philip*, telling him, "That if he did not make haſte to ſuccour *Calais* and drive the "Enemy away, they were not able any longer to endure ſuch a Neighbour; but muſt "of neceſſity yield up all their Towns to the King of *England*. Wherefore King *Philip* made haſte and began his March thitherward; upon News whereof the Earl of *Lancaſter* haſted back immediately for *Calais*; but however he had in this ſhort Expedition ſo well ranſackt the Country, that he brought back with him no leſs than 2060 Oxen and Kine, and more than 5000 Sheep, which was a great Refreſhment to the Army.

We ſhew'd before, how the *French* King had made his Summons, commanding all his Lords and Others who held of him, to be with him at the General Rendezvous at *Amiens* by the Feaſt of [a] *Pentecoſt* with their reſpective Troops. There came thither by the time appointed, the King of *France* himſelf, attended with a great number of Nobles and Men of War, where he held a ſolemn and magnificent Feaſt: Soon after there followed Duke *Eudes* or *Otho* of *Burgundy*, as alſo *John* Duke of *Normandy*, the Kings Eldeſt Son, and *Philip* then Earl of *Valois*, afterwards Duke of *Orleans*, his

[a] 20 May.

[b] *Froiſ c. 144. Du Cheſne p. 667. Holinſhead p. 941.*

his Youngeſt Son; the Duke of *Bourbon*, *Gaſton Phœbus* Earl of *Foix*, *Amadis* Earl of *Savoy*, *John* Lord *Beaumont* of *Hainalt*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Earl of *Foreſtes*, the Earl of *Valentinois*, and divers other Great Princes, Earls, Barons and Knights. Here King *Philip* held a Council of War, to conſider which was his beſt way to March, in order to raiſe the Siege of *Calais* more ſucceſsfully, or at leaſt to relieve the Town with Men and Proviſions: He chiefly deſired to have the Paſſages of *Flanders* open; for ſo he thought to put ſome Troops into *Graveling*, and thence to recruit the Town of *Calais*, while he gave a Diverſion to King *Edward* another way. To this end he ſent Meſſengers into *Flanders* to treat upon the matter, but they were too faſt Friends to the *Engliſh* to comply ſo far with the *French*: Wherefore King *Philip* reſolved to take the way on the left hand towards *Boulogne*, and ſo Order was given for all Men to provide forthwith againſt this Expedition; for as yet the whole Number of the *French* Forces was not compleated.

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Now the *Flemings* [c] were not only content to have ſent this Denial to King *Philip*, but to give King *Edward* a further Proof of their Good-will, they ſent an Army of near an 100000 Men, and laid Siege to the ſtrong City of *Aire* on the River *le Lys* in *Artois*, and waſted and burnt the Country all about, as *Merville* or *Mergen*, *Le Gorgue*, *Eyterre*, *Leventis*, and a March called *Loos* by the River *Deulle*, and on the other hand up to *Teroüenne*, and even to the Gates of St. *Omers*. Upon News hereof King *Philip* was obliged to remove from *Amiens* to *Arras*, that ſo he might be nearer at hand to watch the Motions of the *Flemings*, and upon occaſion to give them Battle; and all the Garriſons of *Artois* he reinforced with freſh Men of War, but eſpecially he ſent the Lord *Charles de la Cerda*, commonly called *Don Carlos* of *Spain*, who was Son to *Don Lewis* of *Spain*, Prince of the Fortunate Iſlands, now lately deceaſed, and Son in Law to *Guy* late Earl of *Blois*, and now in the Abſence of the Earl of *Eu* and *Guiſnes* (who was then Priſoner in *England*) Conſtable of *France*; this Man he ſent with a ſtrong Reinforcement to St. *Omers* for its greater Security. But notwithſtanding the *Flemings* had done exceſſive Miſchief about in the Country, and had ſlain many *Frenchmen* and won much Booty, before King *Philip* removed to *Arras*; but upon the News of his Arrival, doubting leſt he ſhould come upon them with all his Forces, they raiſed their Siege and returned into *Flanders*.

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 144.

XVII. When King *Philip* underſtood, that by his drawing ſo near them, he had obliged them to quit the Siege of *Aire*, and that their Army was now disbanded; being rid of that Fear, he began to march with all his Forces from *Arras*, to go the way he had before reſolved on toward *Calais*: The firſt Day he went to *Heſdin* on the River *Canche*, where he tarried one Day for his Carriages, the next day he removed forward to *Blangys en Ternois*, where he alſo tarried the remainder of that Day to adviſe further what Courſe to take now. Here it was agreed to take the direct way thrô *Boulonois*; and that way accordingly King *Philip* took the next Day with a mighty Army of about [d] 200000 Men one with another; ſo that his Hoſt, together with his Carriages took up in length above three Leagues of the Country. For there was now with King *Philip*, beſides the Lords and others aforemention'd and their ſeveral Retinues, the Lord [e] *Charles* King of *Bohemia*, Marqueſs of *Moravia* and Elect Emperour (thô as yet *Lewis* of *Bavaria* was not dead) who brought with him a great Army of *Bohemians*, *Luxemburghers* and other *Germans*, and ſware to King *Philip*, that he would either by Force or Treaty raiſe the Siege, or at leaſt victual the Town for another Winter: But how well he kept his Word we ſhall ſee hereafter. The Army paſſed on, leaving on the Right hand the County of *Fauquenbergh*, and ſo proceeded till they came to *Sangate*-Hill between *Calais* and *Wiſſant*, within a little Mile of the *Engliſh* Camp. They came thither on the *Monday* after St. *James*, being the 30 of *July*, in very good Order and Array, with Trumpets ſounding, and Banners diſplayed, that it was a Delightſom Terrour to behold ſo gallant and dreadfull an Appearance. When the *Caliſians* ſaw them encamping, it ſeem'd to them as if another Siege was going to be laid: But the ſight of the *French* Lillies made them indeed look upon it as an Army ſent from Heaven for their Deliverance.

[d] *Ita Froiſ. ſed Mezeray* 150000 *tantùm.*

[e] *Stow p.* 244.

G. Lit. Dom.

Now [f] King *Edward* had before this built an high and ſtrong Tower at *Risban* to cloſe up the way between the Town and the Sea, which he had fortifi'd with [g] *Springolds*, Bows and other Artillery: And in the Place were 60 Men of Arms and 200 Archers, beſides Engineers, who kept the Haven that nothing could come in or out: Wherefore of neceſſity the Place muſt ſoon be reduced by Famine. But when King *Edward* ſaw and knew, [h] that the *French* King was come with ſuch great Forces to raiſe the Siege; and that if he ſhould go forth out of his Trenches to fight him, the mean while the City

[f] *Froiſ. c.*144.

[g] *Vid. Skinner's Etymol. à* Will. *Conq. ex Chaucers* Romant of the Roſe.

[h] *Froiſ. c.*145.

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City would be plentifully recruited with Proviſion of all ſorts, ſo that it might hold out as long again; it grieved him to think of Leaving what he was juſt then upon the point of Obtaining: For he knew very well the extream Scarcity and Famine that raged in the City. Wherefore, as he was of a good ready Capacity and Preſence of Mind, he conſider'd with himſelf, that the Enemy could neither come to him, nor to the Town, any other way but in two Places; the one on the Downs by the Sea-ſide, the other by the High-way; where yet becauſe of the many Ditches, Rocks and Mariſhes, there was but one Paſſage, and that was over *New-land* Bridge. For a Remedy therefore in the firſt place, he gave Order for his Navy to draw along by the Sea-ſide, to command the Downs, every Ship well-provided with Archers, Croſsbows, Springolds, Bombards and other Artillery, whereby it was not poſſible for the *French* to paſs that way, without apparently expoſing themſelves in Flank to the Shot of the Enemy. And then as for *New-land* Bridge, he ſent thither in good Time the Valiant and Thrice-noble Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Darby*, with a ſufficient Number of Archers and Men of Arms to make good that Paſſage: So that the Bridge being thus defended, there was no way on that ſide left free for the *French*, unleſs they would venture over the Mariſhes, which was no way feaſible. Now on the other ſide toward *Calais*, the King of *England* had built a Sconſe, wherein he had ſet certain Archers and Others to defend the Entrance of the Paſſage that way by the Downs from the *Frenchmen*. To this Bulwark, while King *Philip* was lodged on *Sangate* Hill, there advanced 1500 of the Commons of *Tournay*, at whom the Defendants ſhot Arrows and caſt Stones; but however they paſſed the Ditches, and came to the Foot of the Wall with Pick-axes and other Inſtruments; and while ſome fell to Digging at the Wall, others began to Aſſault, where they received a ſevere Welcome, and loſt many of their moſt forward Men: But by obſtinate Contending at laſt they gain'd the Place, and ſlew all they found within, and beat the Tower down to the Ground. But ſtill the Navy being ſpread along the ſhoar in moſt formidable manner, that way was as difficult as ever; for thoſe that offer'd to paſs that way, laid themſelves open in Flank to be by them galled at their Mercy.

Then King *Philip* ſent forth the Marſhals of his Hoſt to view the Siege, and to conſider which way he might beſt approach, either to relieve the Town or to give the *Engliſh* Battle: Theſe Men having view'd the manner of King *Edwards* Entrenching, and how well he had provided for all the Avenues, return'd with this Anſwer to the King their Maſter, "That it was impoſſible to come to Handy Stroaks with the "*Engliſh* againſt their Wills, without apparently expoſing his Men to many fatal Diſad-"vantages. Thus for that Day things reſted, King *Philip* being much troubled, that after all his vaſt and expenſive Preparations, it was ſtill ſo difficult to bring his Purpoſe about: But the next Morning after Maſs, he ſent by Advice of his Council, the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, the Lord *Euſtace Ribemont*, the Lord *Guy de Neſle*, and the Lord of *Beaujeu* to King *Edward* to demand Battle of him, affirming in his Name, that he would be ready [i] to give him a Meeting in the Field the Third day next after, or the Second of *Auguſt* (for this Meſſage was ſent on the Laſt of *July*) about the time of Even-ſong, if he durſt come forth from the Siege and abide it. Theſe four Gentlemen were Perſons of great Worth and Experience in the Wars, and they went by the way of *New-land* Bridge, which they found to be a very difficult Paſſage for an Army. They highly applauded among themſelves the Order that the Earl of *Lancaſter* kept at the Bridge; and ſo they rode forward with the ſame Earl in their Company, till they came to the King, who ſtood at his Tent door well attended with a Noble Company of his Chief Peers and Captains: At ſight of the King they all alighted from their Horſes, and came up to him and kneeled, the Lord *Euſtace Ribemont* delivering the Meſſage in theſe Words. "Sir, the King our Maſter ſendeth you word by us, that he is come to "*Sangate*-Hill to give you Battle: But becauſe he can find no convenient way to come "to You, he deſires that You would come forth and fight with him, for he will not fail "to meet You on the Second of *Auguſt* about Even-ſong: Or that You would appoint "certain Lords of your Council, as he alſo will of His, and that among theſe Lords of "both Parties, a convenient Place and Time for Battle be agreed on, to which he promiſes "to ſtand.

[i] *M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.*228.

King *Edward* knew well his own Buſineſs, and without any long Tarrying or great Deliberation replied in this Manner, "Lords of *France*, I have well underſtood what you "demand of me in behalf of my Adverſary, who unjuſtly detains my Inheritance from me, "whereat I am not a little diſpleaſed. You may tell him from Me, that here I am, and here "have been almoſt now an whole Year; and he might have found me here before this if

"ſo

"so he had pleased. But since he hath allow'd me so much Time to my great Expence "and Trouble, that now at last I have reduced the Town of *Calais* into my Power, "I must beg his Pardon, if I determine not so easily, by the advice of an Enemy, to "forego what otherwise I am in a manner sure to win; and which I always so much "long'd for, and have likewise so dearly paid for. Wherefore if he cannot pass this "way to meet with me, let him take what way he can, for I will not flinch from "him, no more than I will unadvisedly give way for him to refresh the Town with "Victuals.

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XVIII. With this Answer the *French* Lords were dismiss'd, being convey'd beyond the Bridge by the Earl of *Lancaster*, and his Guard of Partizans: But that very Morning, while the *French* King was thus busied in contriving how to relieve the Town, there came [k] thither two Cardinals, *Annibald* Bishop of *Tusculum*, and *Stephen* of the Title of St. *John* and St. *Paul*, who were sent from *Avignon* by the Pope, to mediate about a Truce, or if they might, a final Peace between the Two Kings. King *Philip* having understood their Errand, remitted them to the *English* Camp, to know, what his Adversary would do in this case: And he upon their earnest Importunities, and solemn adjurations, in Reverence to Religion, admitted of a Truce for Four Days; if within that time any equal Proposals might be offer'd him. Commissioners for this Treaty on the *French* part, were the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Savoy*, and *John* Lord of *Beaumont*, in *Hainalt*. On the *English* side, were *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, *William* Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, and the Lord *Walter Manny*: And the Two Cardinals were as Moderators between both Parties. Among other things [l] the *French* offer'd to King *Edward*, "all *Gascogne* and *Ponthieu*, and the Marriage of his Son *John*; and rather "than fail, to yield unto him the Town of *Calais*, saving the Lives and Limbs of "the Inhabitants. To which the *English* answer'd briefly, "Small Thanks, for gi"ving a Part, which was theirs before, now the whole was due: That the Town "and all therein, was now at King *Edwards* Mercy, and not therefore at the Dispose "of King *Philip*. Then the *French* Commissioners required, that Five, or Six, being chosen out on both sides, might be authorised to discuss and adjust the Right of both the Kings, and that the Place, where they should meet, might be assigned by the King of *France*. To this the Earl of *Lancaster* replyed; that then the Place ought to be assigned by King *Edward*, who was the Natural, and Right Heir, both of *England* and *France*: For *Philip* of *Valois* had no Right at all. This was the Sum of the Three Days Treaty, during which time [m] several *French* Knights came to the Causey to just with the *Englishmen*; but King *Edwards* Commissioners would by no means admit of the *French* Concessions: So that the Cardinals were fain to retire to St. *Omers*, and both Armies prepared for Battle; for just then there came to King *Edward* a strong Reinforcement [n] of 17000 Fighting Men, *English* and *Flemings*. Whereupon he offer'd at his own Cost and Charges to fill the Trenches, and to remove all Impediments; that the *French* Army might have free access to come and joyn Battle with him; on Condition, he might have sufficient security, that nothing should be convey'd into the Town the mean while.

[k] *Froiss. ibid. Du Chesne p. 668. & Holinshead p. 942. Odor. Rainald. ad hunc annum §. 24.*

[l] *Knighton p. 2594. n. 10. & 20.*

[m] *Knighton ibid. & Stow p. 244. ex Tho. de la More.*

[n] *Stow ibid. ex eodem & Knighton p. 2594. n. 42.*

But King [o] *Philip* despairing to do any thing at that time, on the *Thursday* Morning betimes, set fire to his Tents, and began to Decamp and March off, taking his way towards *Picardy*, to go to *Amiens*; where being come he Disbanded his Army. But however upon his first Removal, the Earls [p] of *Lancaster* and *Northampton*, followed him at the Tayl, and wan Sumpters, Carts and Carriages, Horses, Wine, and other things, and slew several, and took many Prisoners, whom they brought to the Camp before *Calais*.

[o] *Froiss. c. 145. fol. 71. & M.S. Vet. Angl. in Biblioth. C.C.C. c. 228.*

[p] *Stow p. 244.*

XIX. Now the *Calisians*, upon this first Arrival of their King, had made their Condition known to him in this Manner; The first day they set up his Ensign Royal upon the Chief Tower of the Castle, together with other Banners, bearing the Arms of the Dukes, Earls, and Barons of *France*; and a little after the close of the Evening, they made a Great Light on the Top of their Highest Tower, that was directed toward the *French* Army, and at the same time gave a shout, and made a Merry Noise with Trumpets, and other Instruments of Martial Musick. The second Night they did the same, only the Light and the Noise was much less than before: But on the third Night they made a very small Fire, accompanied with a most Lamentable and Dolefull Noise, to signifie, that their Hopes were almost extinguished, and their Condition very Deplorable; and then they took in all their Flags and Streamers, but only the Standard of *France*. But when at last they perceived, that their King was Decamped from *Sangate*,

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gate, and took his March homeward, they pull'd down [q] their Standard of War, and with great ſorrow caſt it into the Ditch, and reared up in its ſtead the Standard of King *Edward*, with the Arms of *England* and *France* quarter'd, making at the ſame time a moſt Lamentable Cry for Mercy. Then at the Requeſt of the Inhabitants, the Captain of *Calais*, Sr. *John de Vienna* [r] went to the Walls of the Town, and made a ſign to ſpeak with ſome body: Upon notice hereof King *Edward* ſent unto him the Lord *Walter Manny*, and the Lord *Ralph Baſſet* of *Sapcote*, to hear what he had to ſay. And them the Captain accoſted thus, "Gentlemen, I know, You are Knights of great "Honour and Renown for Deeds of War; wherefore I more willingly appeal to Your "Judgement in what concerns Us at this time. You cannot be ignorant, how the "King, my Maſter, ſent me and others to this Place, with a Command to keep it to "our Power in his behalf; ſo that We neither incurred any blame to our ſelves, nor "ſuffer'd any Loſs to fall upon him. According to which Command, and our Duty, We "have hitherto maintain'd our Charge to our Ability: But now, ſince our Succours have "failed Us, We are brought ſo low, that We muſt all either die by the Sword, or "Famine, unleſs that Noble and Generous Prince, Your Maſter, will vouchſafe to take "pity on Us. Which that he would pleaſe to do, We deſire You, Worthy Lords, "to be our Interceſſors, praying him on our behalf, that he would permit Us to go out "with our Lives and Apparel only; and be content to accept the Town and Caſtle, "and all the Goods and Riches, that are therein, which I'll aſſure You, are in great "abundance. "Sir, (ſaid the Lord *Walter Manny*) "We know ſomething of the "King, our Maſter's mind already; for he hath upon this occaſion, before diſcover'd "ſomething of his Reſolution, concerning the People of this Place. And be aſſured "of this, that he intends not to let You, and thoſe that are with You, go away ſo "eaſily; but that You ſhould all entirely ſubmit your ſelves to him upon Diſcretion, "ſome to be Ranſomed, and others to be Puniſhed, as they have Deſerved. For the "Men of *Calais* have ſo highly provoked him by their Obſtinacy, and frequent Injuries, and Piracies againſt him and his, and have now particularly put him to ſuch "Charges and Labour, and coſt him ſo many of his Men, that he is very much incenſed againſt You indeed. "Why? Truly Gentlemen, ſaid the Captain, this is "ſomething too hard a caſe for Us! We are here within a ſmall parcel of Knights and "Eſquires, who have Loyally and Honeſtly ſerved the King, our Maſter, as You ſerve "Yours, and in this our Service, We have endured, as You know, many Hazards and "Difficulties. But for all that, We ſhall yet further undergo as much miſery, as ever "any Knights did, rather, than conſent, that the pooreſt Lad in the Town ſhould ſuffer harder Conditions, than the very beſt of Us all. Wherefore, Lords, I beg of "You, that of Your great Generoſity, You will go and Intercede with the King of *England* for Us: For We truſt his Goodneſs is ſo large, that by the Grace of God, he "will remit ſomething of his more ſevere Determination. Upon this, Sr. *Walter Manny*, and Sr. *Ralph Baſſet*, went both to the King, and declared unto him all the "Captains Words; but the King anſwer'd, that he would not receive them, unleſs "they yielded ſimply to his Mercy, without any Capitulation at all. Then the Lord "*Manny* ſaid, "Sir, ſaving your Majeſties Diſpleaſure, in this Point You may be in "the wrong: For hereby You will ſet an ill Example to your Enemies, to uſe a like "ſeverity againſt your Subjects. So that when You will ſend any of Us, your Servants, into any Caſtle, or Fortreſs, We ſhall not go with a very good Will: If "You put any of the *Caliſians* to Death, after they have yielded; for then the *French* "will ſerve Us in the ſame Manner, as often as We fall into the ſame Condition. Theſe Words many of the Lords of *England*, that were preſent, approved and maintain'd; adding further, [t] "*That the moſt Noble and Magnanimous Princes made not "Wars, with Deſign to exerciſe Cruelty, and to ſhed the Blood of their Enemies, for "the ſake of Revenge; but to purchaſe Honour and Reputation, by being Gracious and "Merciſull; whereby they obtain more Renown, than by being Bloody and Cruel, as We "may judge by Tyrants, who are rendred Odious and Deteſtable in Hiſtory.* Wherefore at laſt the King ſaid, "Well, my Lords, I will not be alone againſt You all: But "Sr. *Walter*, You ſhall go now and tell the Captain, that all the Favour they are like "to expect from me, is this; that ſix of the Chief Burgeſſes of the Town, come forth "to me bare-headed, bare-footed, and in their ſhirts, with Halters about their Necks, "and the Keys of the Town and Caſtle in their hands, and upon Condition, that ſix "ſuch Men reſign themſelves in this Manner, purely unto my Will, the Reſt ſhall all "be taken to our Mercy: Other Favour than this from Me have they none. With this Meſſage Sr. *Walter Manny* return'd to the Walls, where he found the Captain ſtill waiting

[q] *Knighton p.* 2594. *& Stow ibid.*

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 146.

[t] Paradin's *Ann. de* Bourgogne *l.* 2. *p.* 333.

waiting for an Anſwer, who having heard the utmoſt Grace that the King would ſhew, ſaid, "Well Sir, then I only deſire You would pleaſe to tarry here a little, till "I declare thus much to the Commons of the Town, who ſent me hither. And with that Sr. *John* went into the Market-place, and order'd the Larum Bell to be rung, to call the People together: And when the Aſſembly was full, Sr. *John* related unto them all the Kings laſt Reſolution, ſaying, "You [t] Good People of *Calais*, there is "no need for me to put You in mind of the Evils, Affliction, Diſtreſs, Neceſſity, "Famine, and Diſeaſes, to which We are at this Day reduced, for want of Succour. "However in this extremity there are two things for our Comfort; the One, that "We have approved our Loyalty, both before God and Man, even to this time; the "Other, that our Succour from the King failing Us, no Man can impute unto Us, "that We have failed in our Faith or Duty. Wherefore following the Reſolution ta- "ken in Council, I went to ſpeak with the Enemy, who having Sword in hand, and "Power without queſtion, propounds unto You a Matter moſt Sad and Lamentable (*ſaying this, the Tears flow'd from his Eyes in abundance, ſo that he could not preſently proceed*) which is this; he Commands, "That to ſave the Lives of the Multitude of "People within this City, Six of the Principal Burgeſſes of this Town of *Calais*, go "forth in their Shirts, bare-footed, and bare-headed, with Halters about their Necks, "and in that Poſture, preſent unto him the Keys of the Town; of which Six Burgeſ- "ſes he will diſpoſe at his Pleaſure. This is the Will of the Conquerour, and I would "have You to know, that I endeavour'd with thoſe who were ſent from King *Ed-* "*ward*, to mitigate the Matter, and to bring it to a more Favourable Iſſue: But it "is not poſſible for me to draw him from his Reſolution, He is ſo fixed and Reſol- "ved; wherefore, my Friends, ſince it will be no otherwiſe, conſider of it, and make "a quick Diſpatch. Upon this, all the People, Men, Women, and Children, be- gan ſuch a pitifull Lamentation, that it would have melted an heart of Marble into Tears, to behold ſo ſad an Object: The Captain himſelf could not refrain from weeping.

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[t] Paradin's *Annals de* Bourgogne *l.* 2. *p.* 334.

But in the End [u] there roſe up the very Richeſt and moſt ſubſtantial Alderman of the whole City, named *Euſtace de Sanct Pierre*, who ſpake thus unto the Heads of the Corporation, "Gentlemen, it would ſurely be a great Cruelty, to ſuffer ſo many *Chri-* "*ſtian* Souls, as are in this Town, to periſh, either by Sword, or Famine; when there "are any means left to ſave them. I am verily perſwaded, that He, or They, who "could prevent ſo great a Miſchief, would do a very acceptable Service in the ſight "of God. And for my part, I repoſe ſo much Confidence in the Goodneſs of our "Lord *Jeſus*, that if I die in the Quarrel, to ſave the Reſidue, God will receive me "into his Mercy. Wherefore to ſave this poor People, I will be the Firſt, that will "offer my Head to the King of *England*, as a willing Sacrifice for my Dear Country. When he had thus ſpoken, all the Aſſembly was ready to adore him, and many kneeled down at his Feet with heavy Sighs, and condoling Lamentations. Then ſtraight aroſe another Honeſt Burgeſs, whoſe name was *John Dayre*, and ſaid, "I'll keep my Friend *Euſtace* Company in this Honourable Danger. After him roſe up *James* of *Wiſſant*, who was very Wealthy in Moneys, Goods, and Houſes, and he ſaid, "He would "ſhare in the Fortunes of his two Couſins; and the ſame did his Brother *Peter*, to whom two others preſently joyn'd themſelves with great Alacrity, and ſo the whole Number of Six was compleat. When therefore theſe Worthy Burgeſſes had put them- ſelves in that ſuppliant Condition which King *Edward* had Commanded, bare-headed, and bare-legg'd, in their Shirts, and Halters about their Necks, they offer'd them- ſelves unto the Captain, who went along with them to the Gate, where the whole Town took their laſt leave of them with great Lamentation. The Gate being opened, the Captain went forth with theſe Six Burgeſſes, and being between the Gate and the Barriers, ſpake to Sr. *Walter Manny*, ſaying, "Sir, I *John de Vienna*, as Captain of "*Calais*, deliver here unto You by Conſent of all the Inhabitants of the Town, theſe "Six Burgeſſes, and I ſwear unto You faithfully, that they are, and were this day, the "moſt Honourable and Wealthy Burgeſſes of all the Town of *Calais*: Wherefore, "moſt Generous Sir, I deſire You to Intercede with the King to have Mercy on them, "that they may not be put to Death. "Sir, reply'd the Lord *Manny*, what the King "will do I cannot tell; but I ſhall do for them to the beſt of my Power. Then the Barriers being open'd, the Six Burgeſſes went with the Lord *Manny* toward the King; and the Captain, as *Froiſard* ſays, return'd back again into the Town. But here I muſt crave leave to differ a little from that great Hiſtorian; for I cannot ſee, why the Captain ſhould go back again into the City, now that he had ſent away by

[u] *Froiſ. ibid. & Mezeray ad hunc annum, & Du Cheſne p.* 668. *&c.*

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these Burgesses, both the Keys of the Town and Castle to the King of *England*: Nor what greater security he could have, than the Kings Word; to which We see, he trusted the Lives of those Six Men. I shall therefore in this point choose to follow another Author of unquestionable Credit, who was then present with King *Edward* at the Siege, and says, [x] that the Captain also came out of the Town together with these miserable Worthies, [y] riding on a little old Nag; for he was lame, having received a Wound in the Thigh from the Lord *Thomas Holland*, upon a Sally, as We shew'd before.

[x] *Sr Tho. de la More apud Stow p.* 244.
[y] Paradin *ibid. p.* 335.

The Captain therefore having presented the Six Burgesses up unto the Kings Will, He then offer'd him a Warlike Sword, as unto the Chiefest Prince of Arms among all *Christian* Kings, and as unto One, that had taken that Fortress from the Mightiest King in *Christendom*, by Noble Chivalry. Then he deliver'd unto him the Keys of the Town and Castle, as being now solely at his Dispose; and lastly, requesting Pity and Pardon for himself, and the rest of the Souldiers and Inhabitants of *Calais*, he deliver'd unto him the Sword of Peace, wherewith he should Administer Right Judgement, Pardon and forbear the Humble and Lowly, and Punish the Obstinate and Proud-hearted. The King, having received these things, turned himself then to the Six Burgesses, who had been kneeling all the while, and now held up their hands, and said, "O most Gracious Prince, behold here Six Poor Wretches, who were lately considerable "Merchants, and the most Substantial Citizens of *Calais*, and now together with the "Keys both of Town and Castle, do all entirely submit our Bodies to Your Will and "Pleasure, thereby to save the Lives of the rest of the People of *Calais*, who, poor "Souls! have already suffer'd incredible Miseries: Only We beseech Your Royal Ma-"jesty of your great Clemency to have Compassion upon Us. At this Ruefull Spectacle all the Lords, Earls, and Barons of *England*, then present, wept for Pity: Only the King look'd furiously upon them, with Eyes flaming for Anger and Resentment, as He, that was irreconcileably incensed against the *Calisians*, because of the great Damages and Displeasures they had frequently done to him, and his People on the Sea before; and also for their extream Obstinacy, in holding out now thus long against him. Wherefore he Commanded, that their Heads should be stricken off immediately. Then all the Lords, and the Young Prince of *Wales* began to Intercede with the King for Mercy; but he would hearken to no Man, as to that Point. However Sr. *Walter Manny*, being mindfull of his Promise to the Captain, kneeled down before him now, and said, "Ah! Gracious Prince, for Gods sake refrain your Anger, and consider with "Your Self more calmly! You have hitherto kept the Name of Sovereign and un-"tainted Honour and Generosity; do not therefore (I beseech You, my Lord) com-"mit any thing now, that may blemish Your Renown, or give cause to Your Ene-"mies to speak dishonourably of Your Person. For every Man will say, it is great "Cruelty to put to Death such Honest Men, who of their own accord put them-"selves thus into Your Power, by a Voluntary Resignation of their Lives to preserve "the Rest of their Company. These Words grated upon the Kings Ears; but as yet He was inexorable; and, as if not venturing to hear any more, for fear of being perswaded, wrung himself away from the Lord *Manny*, and called aloud for the Executioner, saying, "the Men of *Calais* have been occasion of the Death of many of my "Good Subjects; wherefore now these Fellows shall die also, thô too small a Sacrifice "to the Ghosts of so many. At this all the Lords held their Peace, and the Prince himself durst not speak any further: But then the Queen [z] her self, who sat ruefully looking on all this while, could hold no longer, but rose hastily from her Seat, thô she was very big with Child, and kneeled down before the King, and with many Tears flowing from her Fair Eyes, said unto him, "Oh! my Gracious Lord and Husband, since "I have passed the Sea in great Danger to visit You, I have not yet made any Request "unto You: But now I humbly and heartily require You in Honour of the Son of "the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, and for the Love of Me, that You would be Mercifull to "these Poor Men. The King look'd relentingly upon her, and raising her from the ground, said, "Ah! Madam, I would You had been some where else at this time: "For You have so tenderly conjur'd me, by the Honour I ought to bear to my Re-"deemer, and by the Love I must always have for You, that I am not able to deny "Your Request: Wherefore now, Lady, I resign them to Your Hands, to do "with them as You shall think best. Then the Queen caused them to be brought into a private Apartment in her Tent, where the Halters were taken from their Necks, and they were handsomely clad in New Cloaths: Which being done, the Queen order'd them their Dinner, and six Nobles a piece, and so caused

[z] *Froiss. ibid. & Du Chesne & Mezeray, &c.*

caused them to be safely convey'd to the Castle of *Guisnes*, and wholly set at Liberty. AN. DOM. 1347.

XX. Thus was the [a] strong City of *Calais* yielded up to King *Edward* of *England*, after it had endured a Siege of Eleven Moneths, within three days, *viz.* from the [b] seventh of *September* 1346, to the 4 of *August* MCCCXLVII, which was a *Saturday*, and the Day that King *Edward* received the Keys. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXI. *Franciæ* VIII.

Then the King spake to the Lord *Walter Manny* and the two Marshals of his Host, the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Stafford*, afterwards Earl of *Stafford*, saying, "Here "Sirs, take you the Keys of the Town and Castle, and go and take Possession thereof in my "Name, and lay all the Knights and Esquires, that be there, in Prison; but as for the "Common Souldiers, that came thither only for hire, turn them all out of the Town, as "also, after they are well refreshed, all the Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children: For "I intend to Repeople the Town only with *Englishmen*. So these three Lords with an 100 Men of Arms went and took Possession of *Calais*, and secured in Prison the Bodies of Sr. *John* of *Vienna* the chief Captain, Sr. *John Surry*, Sr. *Barton de Belborn*, and other Officers of the Garrison; after which they commanded all the Souldiers to bring together their Harness into the Town-Hall, where they laid it all together on an heap; for they were not permitted to bear any Armour away. Now the King of his wonted Goodness had already [c] sent store of Victuals into the Town, to refresh the poor Commons therewith: But they were so hungry and afflicted and wasted with Famine, that either thrô too much Greediness they surfeited, or thrô too much Weakness were unable to digest; so that by the next day at night there died of them more than 300 Persons. As for the rest, the King commanded them [d] to be safely conveyed to the Castle of *Guisnes* within the *French* Pale, when they had been refreshed with the Kings Alms, and were grown strong enough to endure Travail: But the most part of them thought themselves not secure [e] till they were got to St. *Omers*.

Thus all manner of People were turned out of the Town, [f] except one Priest, and two other ancient Men, who understood the Customs, Laws and Ordinances of the Place, and how to point out and assign the Lands that lay about the Town, and the several Inheritances as they had been divided before. And when all things were duely prepared for the Kings Reception, he mounted his Great Horse and rode into *Calais*, with a Triumphant noise of Trumpets, Clarions and Tabours. He took up his Lodgings in the Castle, where he lay more than a Month, all the while Fortifying and setling Affairs both there and in the Town, untill [g] his Queen was deliver'd of a Fair Daughter called *Margaret* of *Calais*, who was afterwards married to the Lord *John Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, who was Son of *Laurence Hastings* now living; but she died before the said *John* her Husband, without Issue, both he and she being at that time but very young. *Speeds* [h] Mistake is here to be corrected, who makes Queen *Philippa* to be big with Child of this Infant at the Battle of *Durham*; and *Walsingham* [i] also who fixes the time too forward by several Days, making the Child to be born on the III of the Kalends of *August*, when as the Town of *Calais* wherein she was born, was not won till the iv of *August*: Nor is Mr. [k] *Sandford* to be omitted, who makes the Place of her Birth to be *Windsor*, without any Authority, but Conjecture.

While the King of *England* tarried thus at *Calais*, he gave many fair Houses in that Town to the Lord *Walter Manny*, to the Earl of *Warwick*, to the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, and the Lord *Bartholomew Burwash*, who [l] also obtain'd of the King in consideration of his Services, a Grant of the Marriage of one of the Sisters and Heirs of *Edward St. John*, Son and Heir of *Hugh St. John* deceased; and his Son Sr. *Bartholomew* the Younger, among other things, obtain'd in recompence of his Services in the Wars, a Grant of the Lands of *John Louvaine* deceased, till his Heir *Nicolas Louvaine*, then the Kings Ward should be of full Age. And besides we find, that the King gave to all his great Lords vast Allowances for their several Retinues during this Siege, as particularly to the Earl of *Warwick* for three [m] Bannerets, 61 Knights, 106 Esquires, and 154 Archers on Horseback, the Summ of 1366 *l.* 11 *s.* and 8 *d.* And yet Others had far greater Retinues, as *Henry* Earl of *Darby*, [n] who had 30 Bannerets, 800 Men of Arms and 2000 Archers; and kept such Hospitality in the Camp, that he expended dayly an 100 *l.* and 8 or 9 Marks: So that after the Truce it appeared by Computation, that he had spent above 17000 *l.* Sterling out of his own Purse, beside the Wages allow'd him by the King. All which Services were graciously consider'd by the King his Master, who bestowed now on him and other Lords a competent Portion of Houses they never built, and of Lands they never purchased, that so they might be obliged to People and defend the Town: Besides all which he design'd upon his return into *England*,

[a] *Froiss. c.* 147.
[b] *Knighton p.* 2595. *n.* 20.
[c] *Knighton p.* 2595. *n.* 10.
[d] *Stow p.* 244. *ex Tho. de la More, &c.*
[e] *Froiss. c.* 147.
[f] *Froiss. ibid.*
[g] *Froiss. ibid.*
[h] *Speed p.* 580. §. 105.
[i] *Walsing. hist. p.* 158. *n.* 3.
[k] *Sandford's Geneal. Hist. &c. p.* 179.
[l] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 35.
[m] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 232.
[n] *Knighton p.* 2596. *n.* 10.

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to send out of *London* 36 Substantial Citizens, with their Wives and Families to dwell in *Calais*, as he afterwards did; but the greater part of the Inhabitants came out of *Kent*: And thus from that time *Calais* became a perfect Colony of *Englishmen*.

Now on the Day [o] before St. *Laurence*, while Order was taking to preserve the Town of *Calais* in the *English* Hands; there [p] happened in the *English* Camp before the Town, a sad and grievous Mischance of sudden Fire, which devoured the Tents and Pavilions without Remedy, they being for the most part made of strong Timber: But this was remarkable, that as the fire came near the Kings Tent, as if not willing or not daring to do any harm there, it flew over among other Tents, consuming and destroying Victuals, Wine, Gold and Silver, things of pleasure, and necessity, Bows and Arrows and other Warlike Ammunition: So that the King was fain to send into *England* for a fresh Supply. Besides there came thither about the same time an Army of [q] 60000 *Flemings* to assist King *Edward*, supposing that the King of *France* was still there; and that a Battle would ensue between the two Kings: He for his part thô now he had no need of them, having already taken the Town, yet by the great Gifts he bestow'd among the Captains and other Officers, and the liberal Donations he gave to the Souldiers, declared how kindly he took this their Readiness to serve him. And so having from their abundance supplied himself with such warlike Necessaries as the Fire had deprived him of, he sent them home again on this Condition, that when he sent for them they should come ready Armed to his Service. This mean while *Edward* the Young Prince of *Wales*, rode forth with a strong Detachment from *Calais*, [r] about 30 Leagues into the Realm of *France*, even to the River *Somme*, where having fired and ravaged the Country round about, he returned safe to *Calais* with much Prey and Booty. But the Earl of *Warwick* had not such good Success, for as he rode from the Camp toward St. *Omers*, he lost to the Number of an 180 Men of Arms and Archers, who indiscreetly straggled too far from the Main Body. And besides these Losses for the most part of *August*, there was such a Drought by reason of the Hot Weather, that for want of fresh Water, great Numbers of the *English* died in the Camp before *Calais*.

All this while was the King of *England* providing and settling his Affairs in *Calais*, and first he caused all the Wealth and Riches of the Town to be brought together into one Place; and then sealed up the Door, and set a Guard upon the House. Then he [s] commanded the New Town and Bastion, which he had made without the Town, during the Siege to be pulled down, as also the strong Castle which he had built at the Mouth of the Haven, and all the Timber and Stones thereof to be brought into the Town: Over which he ordained as [t] Captain, the Lord *John Montgomery*, an *English* Baron of great Valour; but he made Captain of the Castle a certain *Lombard*, whom he had bred up in his Court, named *Emeric* of *Pavia*: Of whom we shall speak more hereafter. He also assigned certain Officers to keep in their turns constant Watch at the Gate, Walls and Barriers; and fully mended what was amiss about the Fortifications; and left for an Extraordinary [u] Guard 300 Men of Arms and 700 Archers.

As for Sr. *John de Vienna*, the late Captain of *Calais* for the *French* King, he was (together with twelve other chief Officers) sent Prisoner to *London*, and clapt up there in the Tower: Till about half a Year after, that King *Philip* redeem'd them all by paying their Ransoms. Surely now it was a great Corrosive to the Burgesses and Citizens of *Calais*, Men, Women and Children, to leave behind them their Houses, Goods, Possessions and Apparel, and to bear away nothing with them but enough to cover their Nakedness; and after all to have [x] no satisfaction from King *Philip*, for whose Sake they had lost all. Thô [y] Others report more handsomly, that on the Eighth of *September* following King *Philip* made an Ordinance, *That the* Calisians *in their Turns should succeed into all agreeable Offices and Places of Profit, as fast as they should fall: No Others whatsoever to be preferred before their Turns were served.* To the execution of which Decree, *Peter Hangest* Counsellour and Clark of the Parliament, and Monsieur *John Cordier*, Master of the Chamber of Accounts were appointed, and had a strict Charge laid upon them to see thereto.

XXI. While King *Edward* was thus busied at *Calais*, there [z] came into *France Guy* of *Montfort*, commonly called *Guy* of *Boulogne*, whereof [a] he was Bishop, and now Priest-Cardinal *Titulo Sancti Cæcilii*, who was just then sent as Legate from the Pope to joyn with the other two Cardinals now in *France*, in Order to make a Reconciliation between the two Kings. This Man labour'd earnestly with his Cousin the *French* King at *Amiens*, and thence proceeded to *Calais* to move King *Edward*: And at last he laboured so successfully in the Matter, that he presently obtained a Truce to be agreed on from the 5 of *September* to the 13, which being prolonged to the 28 of the said Month

o 9 Augusti.
p *Knighton p.* 2595. *n.* 60.
q *Knighton ibid. n.* 10. &c.
r *Knighton p.* 2595. *n.* 20. &c.
s *Froiss. c.* 147.
t *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 142. *ex Rot. Franc.* 21 *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1 *m.* 6. & *Stow p.* 245.
u *Knighton p.* 2596. *n.* 10.
x *Froiss. ibid.*
y *Du Chesne p.* 668. & *Paul. Æmyl. l.* 9. *p.* 283
z *Froiss. ibid.*
a *Victorell. in Vit. Pontiff. p.* 894.

Month being a *Fryday*; it [b] was then fully Ratified and Accorded on both Sides, to endure between both the Kings, their Subjects, Allies, Confederates, Aiders and Abettors untill the 8 of *July* following, upon these Articles, *viz.* AN. DOM. 1347. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXI. *Franciæ* VIII.

1. "That the *Scots* among Others should be comprised on King *Philips* Part, and that "the Truce should be proclaimed on the Marches both of *England* and *Scotland*. "Provided always, that whether the *Scots* should refuse to accept or hold the said "Truce or no, it should nevertheless continue firm and inviolable between the two Kings "and Others their Allies.

2. "That the Earl of *Flanders* should be obliged to keep it entirely, and during the "Term thereof should not make any War, or do any Grievance to the *Flemings*.

3. "That the Cardinals should cause to cease the Denuntiations, which the Bi-"shops and Priests of *Cambray*, *Tournay*, *Terouënne* and *Arras* had made against the "*Flemings*.

4. "That this Truce shall be observed in *Gascogne* and *Bretagne*, and all other Pla-"ces, where either of the two Kings, or their Allies had any Dominion or Possessions, "*&c.*

[b] *Du Chesne p.* 668.

The rest of the Articles were in a manner the [c] same with those mention'd in the two former Truces of 1340, and 1342.

[c] *Du Chesne p.* 669.

This Truce being afterwards at several times pieced up from time to time, [d] was spun on by divers Prorogations, untill the Year 1355, or the 29th of this King; in which Year we shall find both the Kings providing to renew the War. But neither did the *Scots* much value this Truce, till they were beaten into Wearinesse; nor many Captains in *Gascogne* both *French* and *English*; but especially in *Bretagne*, the War became soon as hot as ever: For the two Ladies, the Countess Dowager of *Montfort*, and Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* his Lady would by no means admit of any Agreement, but held out still, the one in her Sons Name, the other in her Husbands, with extreme Animosity.

[d] *Ashmole p.* 671.

As for King *Edward*, he would not repose any absolute Confidence in the Truce; but that he might the more certainly secure this his Conquest, he [e] built a strong Castle at *Risban*, betwixt the Town of *Calais* and the Havens Mouth, to keep off the Enemy from Entring the Haven to endammage the Town that way. And having thus prosperously settled his Affairs, he took the Sea with his beloved Queen, and the Prince his Son, and set Sail for *England*: But according to his usual Fate, he was now again roughly handled by a dreadfull Tempest, wherein he lost many of his People, which made him [f] expostulate thus, "St. *Mary* my Blessed Lady, what should be the Meaning of "this: That always in my Passage for *France* the Winds and Seas befriend me, but in "my Return for *England*, I meet with nothing but adverse Storms and destructive Tem-"pests! But however at last, thô not without great difficulty, and the loss of many Vessels, Men and Horses, he arrived safely at Land on the 14 of *October*, and soon after went to *London*, where he was received in Great Triumph of the Mayor and Citizens, and by them honourably attended to his Palace at *Westminster*.

[e] *Stow p.* 245.

[f] *Walsing. Hist. p.* 158. *& M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 226.

Among those Lords and Gentlemen, that having served King *Edward* at the memorable Siege of *Calais*, returned now home with him; I must not forget the Noble *Fitz-Thomas* Earl of *Kildare* in *Ireland*, who [g] being highly touched with a Sense of King *Edwards* Favours, both to himself, and to his Brother the Earl of *Desmond*, went over the Sea in the Spring this Year, gallantly attended with divers Lords, Knights and Choice Horsemen, and offer'd his Service to the King before *Calais*: After the Winning whereof he now returned into his own Country in great Pomp and Honour.

[g] *Holinshead Chron.* Ireland *p.* 71 & 72.

XXII. About the end of this Year, the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who called himself Duke of *Bretagne*, was [h] brought Prisoner to *London* by Sr. *Thomas Dagworth* his Conquerour; and at King *Edwards* Command sent to the Tower, where *David* King of *Scotland* was at the same time. But shortly after at the Request of the Queen, to whom the said Lord *Charles* was Cousin German, he found so much favour as to be received upon his Word and Honour, and had Leave to go any whither about *London* at his pleasure; on Condition he should by no means so much as once lie out of *London* more than one Night at a time, unless it should be where the King or Queen should then keep their Court. And sometime after he was set at Liberty, [i] on Condition to pay unto the King of *England* 200000 Nobles for his Ransom: For the true Payment whereof he left his Sons his Pledges. There was also now Prisoner in *London* the Lord *Ralph*, Earl of [k] *Eu* and *Guisnes*, Constable of *France*, a most pleasant and noble Knight: Whose Behaviour was so acceptable, that he always brought his Welcom along with him wherever he went, and was extreamly gracious with the King and Queen, and all the Lords and Ladies of the Court of *England*. In these [l] Days the Nobles of

[h] *Knighton p.* 2596. *n.* 50. *& Froiss. c.* 147. *ad finem.*

[i] *Froiss. pars ult. c.* 62. *fol.* 82.

[k] *Froiss. l.* 1. *c.* 147.

[l] *Knighton p.* 2596. *n.* 60.

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of the Land in all places were mightily addicted to Juſts and Tourneaments; and ſuch was the Nobleneſs of King *Edward*, that he permitted the *French* Priſoners at theſe Solemnities the Uſe and Exerciſe of Arms, wherein they behaved themſelves with much Honour. But particularly the foreſaid Earl of *Eu* and *Guiſnes*, gat great Commendation both from King *Edward* and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, by whom he was held in high Reſpect for his Worth and Valour. Nay we find, that King *David* of *Scotland*, thô he was confin'd as Priſoner in the Tower, had ſuch Favour from King *Edward*, that he was alſo permitted at his Pleaſure not only to behold, but to exerciſe theſe Knightly Sports: For [m] againſt an *Haſtilude* kept at *Windſor*, he had an Harneſs for his Horſe made of Blue Velvet (at King *Edwards* Charge) whereon was embroider'd a *Pale* of Red Velvet, and beneath a White Roſe, after the Cuſtom of that Age, whereby one Knight was diſtinguiſhed from another, as well by the Harneſs of his Horſe, as by his own Shield and Surcoat.

[m] *Aſhmole p. 185. ex Rotul. Liberat. Draper. Offic. magn. Garderob. an. 21. & 22. Ed. 3. m. 11. penes Rememorat. Regis.*

About this time the *Scotch* Nobility ſent to King *Edward*, offering to Redeem their King from Captivity; to whom he return'd Anſwer, [n] "that foraſmuch, as they in "Defiance of the Truce, had made War upon him in his Abſence unjuſtly, he ex- "pected, they ſhould firſt give him ſatisfaction for all thoſe Injuries and Damages, "they had done to him and his Realm, in that War: And this done, they might proceed "to the buſineſs of the Ranſom. Thô this Anſwer was but highly Reaſonable, it was ſo diſtaſtfull to the *Scots*, that upon the Receit thereof, they roſe ſuddenly, and in conſiderable Bodies enter'd the Marches of *England*, where they ravaged the Country, fired Villages, ſlew poor People without Mercy, and took many ſleeping in their Beds, whom they carried away Priſoners, and ſet unreaſonable Ranſomes upon them. Becauſe of this the *Engliſh* Lords of the Marches, Proclaim'd ſolemn Turneaments to be held at *Barwick*; thereby to entice the *Scots* again within the *Engliſh* pale: Who coming accordingly in their wonted Bravery, were cut ſhort in the way, by a good Body of *Engliſh* Borderers; who diſcomfited them, and put many to the Sword. And preſently after, in Proſecution of this Revenge, the *Northern* Lords went into *Scotland*, and ſpoil'd and ravaged the whole Province of *Carrick*.

[n] *Knighton p. 2597. n. 16.*

XXIII. We have often made mention of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, how he was Excommunicated by Pope *John* XXII, and thô he made many Overtures in order to be reconcil'd, we do not find, that ever he was re-admitted into the Boſom of the Church. But on the contrary it [o] appears, that on *Holy-Thurſday* the laſt Year, Pope *Clement* Curſed him, and pronounced him an Heretick and Schiſmatick, and exhorted the Princes Electors, to chooſe another Emperour: Wherefore on the ſecond of *July*, *Charles* the Marqueſs of *Moravia*, and Son to *John* King of *Bohemia*, was elected at *Rens* in the Diœceſe of *Trier*, thô the Major part were not for him, and all the Cities held for *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. But now the ſaid *Lewis*, as he return'd [p] from hunting, being taken with an Apoplexy, fell off his Horſe, and ſoon after departed this Life, on the 11 of *October*, and was buried at *Munchen* a City of *Bavaria*. By the irreconcileable Malice of his Enemies, he had two Emperours Elected in Oppoſition to him, *Frederick* of *Auſtria* in the beginning of his Reign, and *Charles* Marqueſs of *Moravia* in the Latter end; but for all this he Ruled the Empire in ſpight of the Pope's Curſes and Combinations againſt him, the ſpace of 32 Years. Upon his Death, Pope *Clement* VI. in hate, as ſome ſay, to King *Edward* of *England*, laboured [q] all he could to have *Charles* King of *Bohemia*, acknowledg'd Emperour, hoping, that thereby he would be enabled the better to Revenge the Death of his Father, ſlain in the Battle of *Creſſy*, upon the *Engliſh* Nation. Wherefore he ſent *Charles de la Cerda* of *Spain*, with his Papal Bull to the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, with an Injunction to conſecrate him *Roman* Emperour; which he did at *Bon*, a City of Lower *Germany*, about 4 Leagues from *Colen*, in the beginning of *February* following. But this being done againſt the Conſent of the Major Part of Electors (beſides that he had been refuſed by the whole City of *Aix la Capelle*, which us'd to be the Chief in the Election and Coronation of Emperours) the other Electors agreed rather to pitch upon King [r] *Edward* of *England* to be Emperour, as one, who had not only been already Vicar General of the Sacred Empire, but was alſo at that time juſtly [s] reputed to be the moſt Prudent, Valiant, and Worthy Souldier throughout all *Chriſtendom*. Wherefore [t] *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and Arch-Chancellour of the *Empire*, *Rudolph* and *Rupert* Counts Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lewis* Marqueſs of *Bradenburgh* and *Luſatia*, and the Dukes of Upper and Lower *Saxony*, being aſſembled at *Colen*, ſent [u] two Earls, and two Doctors to ſignifie unto him, how they had with one voice Elected him unto the Dignity of the *Empire*.

[o] *Abra. Bucholcer. Iſagog. Chron. ad an. 1346. &c.*

[p] *Abr. Bucholcer. Iſagog. Chron. ad hunc ann. & Labbe Chron. Tech. ad hunc an.*

[q] *Knighton p. 2596. n. 30.*

[r] *Giov. Villani l. 12. c. 105. p. 910. Luitprand. c. 44. Sleidan. de Quat. Monarc. l. 3. p. 218. & Pezelii ac Lampadii Mellificium Hiſt. part. 3. p. 360. & 362.*

[s] *Knighton p. 2596. n. 40.*

[t] *Aſhmole p. 656.*

[u] *Stow p. 245. a & b. & Knighton p. 2596. n. 60.*

When

When Queen *Philippa* heard of this, [x] she took on most heavily, as well in Contemplation of the many Vexations and Troubles, which her Brother-in-Law, the late Emperour, had met with from the Popes Malice all his Reign; as fearing, that this was but a contrivance of the King, her Husbands Enemies, thereby to engage him in New Difficulties, that so he might be rendred unable to recover his Right in *France*. Whereupon the King [y] sent the Earl of *Northampton* into *Almain*, to enquire more particularly about the Premises; while the young Marques of *Juliers*, with the rest of the Embassadors staid at *London*, anxiously expecting the Kings Resolution. But upon the said Earls return, because then it appeared, [z] that in accepting of the *Empire*, the King was like to be hindred from prosecuting his Right in *France*, and should be forced to lay aside that War, and take up a fresh Quarrel against the King of *Bohemia's* Son, whom the Pope had caused to be made Emperour: Besides [a] he doubted, what inextricable Difficulties he might undergo, if *Italy* should prove Refractory to him; He also feared not a little the Avarice of the Pope, which he should never be able to satisfie; but [b] especially, because it was manifest, that at that time, whether by Right, or by Wrong, the Emperours were indeed subject to the Pope of *Rome*, which King *Edward* was resolved never to be; for all these Reasons, the King of *England* entertain'd the *Germans* with due Honour; but answer'd, that he would not take so great a Burthen upon his shoulders, till he had got the Crown of *France*, which was due unto him, in peaceable Possession. And accordingly the next spring, [c] he sent unto the Princes Electors Sr. *Hugh Nevile*, and *Ivo de Glynton*, Canon of St. *Paul's*, *London*, with a full Declaration of his Intention, which contained a formal refusal of that Imperial Dignity: But not without many great thanks for the Honour, they had design'd him; and withall [d] he promised to do unto the Sacred Empire all the good Offices that he might. Upon this refusal of King *Edward's*, the Electors proceeded, but not so unanimously, to another Election; for some [e] chose *Frederick* Marques of *Misnia*, and others, *Gunter* Earl of *Negromont*; but the one being brib'd off, and the other dispatch'd by Poison; *Charles* of *Luxemburgh* King of *Bohemia*, the Pope's Creature, prevail'd, and was Emperour by the name of *Charles* IV.

On the [f] 8 of *February* this Year *John Cantacuzenus*, Tutor to *John Palæologus*, Emperour of *Greece*, seised on the City of *Constantinople*, and on the 13 of *May* following was crowned Emperour in the Palace, together with his Lady; at which time he created his Son *Matthew*, Despote of the *Empire*, and on the 21 of the same Moneth gave his Daughter *Helena Cantacuzena* in Marriage to his Pupil, and Fellow-Emperour; who was then about 15 Years of Age.

On the [g] 10 of *April* there died *William Occam* an *English* Monk of the Order of St. *Benedict*, and a most Famous both Philosopher and Divine, who, among many other Learned Works, maintain'd by writing, that the Emperour was above the Pope, on occasion of the Popes Pretences at that time against *Lewis* of *Bavaria*: Wherefore being also Excommunicated he had his recourse to the said *Lewis*, and said, "*O Emperour, Do You defend me with your Sword, And I'll defend you with the Word.*"

Another Learned Countryman of ours [h] deceased also about this time, namely, *Walter Hemingford*, a Regular Canon of the Order of St. *Austen*, in the Monastery of *Gisborne* in *Yorkshire*, who in a tolerable good style, with great Care, and equal Fidelity, wrote an History of the Acts of the Kings of *England*, and a Chronicle of our King *Edward* the Third, as far as Nature gave him leave.

I shall only here add one short Case of Law, which for its use may seem not unworthy of Memory: That a Prohibition [i] being this Year sent to Dr. *William Bateman* Bishop of *Norwich*, he presum'd to Excommunicate the Party, that brought the Writ: Whereupon an Action of the Case was brought upon the said Bishop, and the whole Matter set forth; so that a Bill being found against him, it was adjudged, that his Temporalities should be seised, till he had fully absolved the Party, and satisfied the King for the Contempt.

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[x] *Knighton p.* 2597. *n.* 1. *&c.*
[y] *Knighton p.* 2597. *& Dudg.* 1 *Vol. p.* 186.
[z] *Knighton p.* 2597. *n.* 4.
[a] *Pezelii & Lampadii Mellific. Hist. pars* 3. *p.* 363.
[b] *Cooper's Hist.*
[c] *Ashmole's Garter p.* 656. *ex Claus.* 22. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 20. *Dorso.* 10 Maii.
[d] *Sleidan de Monarchis l.* 3. *p.* 218.
[e] *Luitprand. c.* 44. *& Lampadius Mellific. Hist. pars* 3. *p.* 362.
[f] *Labbei Chron. Tech. ad hunc an.*
[g] *Pitsæus de Illustr. Angl. scriptor. p.* 459. *& Lampad. in Mellific. Hist. p.* 355.
[h] *Pitsæus ibid. p.* 456.
[i] 21 *Ed.* 3. *Rot.* 46.

CHAP.

An. Dom. 1348. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXII. *Franciæ* IX.

CHAPTER the SEVENTH.

The CONTENTS.

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I. NOW doth King *Edward* the Third seem to stand in the full Zenith both of his Age and Glories: He had but just past the 35 Year of his Life, and yet was crown'd at Home in his Family with a Lovely Row of Hopefull Children, and a Vertuous and Beautifull Consort; in his Kingdoms with Peace and full Prosperity: And abroad he was renowned above all the Kings of the Earth for his Notable Victories by Sea and by Land, in *Scotland*, *France* and *Bretagne*; for set Battles, or Taking of Towns; for Kings slain, Kings routed, and Kings taken Captive: Nor was his Moderation less admired and commended, which he shew'd in Refusing the Title and Dignity of an Emperour. This in my Opinion is the Brightest part of all his Reign; thô yet another King remains to be Captive by his Arms, and another King is destin'd to recover an Usurped Crown by the Aid of his Sword and Fortune.

For now [a] by means of so honourable a Peace, founded on so many remarkable Victories, it seem'd as if the Golden Age was reduced to *England*; and a New Sun began to shine in our Horizon: So great Riches and Plenty, the usual Attendants of Conquest, being generally diffused over the face of the whole Land. For there was scarce a Lady, or Gentlewoman of any Account, which had not in her possession some precious Houshold-stuff, as rich Gowns, Beds, Counterpains, Hangings, Linnen, Silks, Furs, Cups of Gold and Silver, Porcelain and Chrystal, Bracelets, Chains and Necklaces, brought from *Caen*, *Calais*, or other Cities beyond Sea. And yet as the *Roman* Historians complain, that they were overcome by the Luxury and Fashions of the Nations they had conquer'd: So from this time the Native Candour and simplicity of the *English* Nation did visibly empair; and Pride, Superfluity and Vanity began to lift up their hatefull Heads; till they provok'd the Author of the World to visit this Land also with his awakening Judgments. Some whereof were not wanting even in the Days of this Great Monarch; but did especially take rise in the Reign of his Successour from a Cruel and Unnatural civil War, which was not wholly extinct till it had prey'd upon the Lives of Five Kings, very many Princes, Dukes and Earls, and Hundreds of the Prime Nobility of *England*, besides those many Thousands of the Common People who perished in the Quarrel, even thrô the Reigns of Seven Kings; till in a more mercifull Providence, King *Henry* the VII happily united the two Roses; and Peace, and Humanity, and Arts began again to revive and flourish among us.

[a] *Walsingh. Hypod. 121. & hist. 159. & Holinsh. Engl. Chron. p. 943. & Stow p. 245.*

II. But that the Blessings of Peace and Plenty might be preserved unto *England*, as

as much as lay in King *Edwards* Power, as well for the Support of his own Honour, as for the Security of his People's Advantages, and the Conservation of the good Laws of the Realm, he begins this Year with a Parliament: Which he [b] ſummons to meet him at *Weſtminſter* on the *Monday* in *Midlent*. From which time, becauſe ſeveral of the Peers were not then come, the Parliament was continued from day to day, untill *Wedneſday*: When Sr. *William Thorp*, then Lord Chief Juſtice, by the Kings Command, declared in preſence of the King and Lords, for what Reaſons the Parliament at that time was called. As that the King had, according to the Truce taken at *Calais*, ſent Commiſſioners to the Pope, from whom he had long ſince expected ſome Satisfactory Anſwer, but as yet had received none: Alſo that ſundry Articles of the Truce, touching both the Kings and their Allies, were not duely performed; and further, that the *French* were preparing a Puiſſant Army, wherewith to invade the Realm. From all which it appeared, that the Truce was but very fickle; and that it was neither ſafe nor prudent, to rely upon it, but rather betimes to be armed againſt the worſt that might happen. Beſides he added, that the Conſervation of the Publique Peace at home was a main Point for their Conſideration to employ it ſelf about, and that this muſt be done by wholſom Laws, duely and impartially put in Execution. Upon theſe Matters the Lords and Commons debated earneſtly for ſeveral Days, and at laſt anſwered the Kings Wants, and prepared their own Petitions in manner following.

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[b] 14 Febr. *Teſte Rege apud Weſtmonaſt. M.S. Record. p. 66. & Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgm. p. 68.*

They [c] firſt ſhew the great Charges laid upon the Commons, as the Reaſonable Aid being pardon'd in the 14 *Edw.* 3. Whereof every Fine was forty ſhillings, whereas by Statute the ſame ſhould be but twenty ſhillings; alſo the ſetting forth of Men; the taking up of Victuals without Ready Money; and the Charge for keeping the Sea: The very Subſidy of Wooll amounting to 60000 *l. per annum*, and yet without Law; the Lending of 20000 Sacks of Wooll, and the Reſtraint of Exporting Wooll. Notwithſtanding they grant to the King Three Fifteens in three Years; ſo as the Subſidy of Wooll might ceaſe, and on Condition that *David Bruce*, *William Douglas*, and other Chief Captains of *Scotland* be not deliver'd for Ranſom, or on their Faith: Yet ſo that if the Wars do ceaſe within three Years, then their Grant might ceaſe alſo; this Condition being likewiſe underſtood, that their following Petitions be granted, and theſe their Conditions enrolled and exemplified.

[c] *M.S. Record p. 68. & Sr. Rob. Cottons Abidgment p. 69.*

Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers.

Pet. That the Falſeneſs of thoſe, who were appointed to gather the 20000 Sacks of Wooll lent to the King, may be determin'd by ſome of the Parliament, and that all Acquittances made to any ſuch may be repealed.

Anſ. This Petition was anſwer'd in the laſt Parliament, and therefore Command was given anew to execute the ſame.

Pet. That the King would command the Nobles in no wiſe to take any common Thief or Robber into their Protection: And that in every Shire-Town two Knights, and two Learned in the Law be appointed to determin all Offences, and to enquire of Falſe Money; they to have ſome Fee to encourage them in their Duty, and to prevent Receiving of Bribes: But this alſo was ſaid to have been anſwer'd in the laſt Parliament.

Pet. Whereupon the Commons required, that all Petitions in this preſent Parliament may be preſently anſwer'd.

Anſ. After *Eaſter* they ſhall be ſo.

Pet. That all Woolls and other Merchandiſe may freely paſs without any Loans, or other Subſidies, beſides the due and uſual Cuſtoms.

Anſ. The Paſſage ſhall be free, ſaving to the King his Due.

Pet. That no Eires of the Foreſt, or other Inquiries, except thoſe of the Peace, be kept during the Wars.

Anſ. The King may uſe his Pleaſure therein.

Pet. That none of the Nobles or other Captains of *Scotland*, being the Kings Priſoners, be deliver'd upon any account.

[d] *Anſ.* The ſame was anſwer'd the laſt Parliament.

[d] This Line out, and the two following miſplaced in the Print of *Sr. Rob. Cottons Abridgment the M.S. right.*

Pet. That all that Aid which is leavied beyond the *Trent*, may be employed in the *Scotch* Wars.

Anſ. The King will allow more for that Purpoſe, if need ſhall be.

Pet. That no Appeals be received of any Felonies, done in any other Counties than where the Appeals were taken.

Anſ. The King is not adviſed to make ſuch New Laws.

Pet. That Redreſs may be had, for that the Men of *Bruges* in *Flanders* have forbid all Merchants-Strangers to buy any Staple-Ware here.

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Anſ. The King will talk with the *Flemiſh* Ambaſſadour.

Pet. That all Enquiries of the Ninths may ceaſe.

Anſ. The King will be adviſed.

Pet. That the Order made, that all Merchants for every Sack of Wooll ſhould bring in two Marks of Bullion, may be repealed: For that the Exportation of Bullion is forbidden in *Flanders*.

Anſ. The King will learn the Truth of the Ambaſſadour here.

It is agreed, that the Cuſtoms at *Eaſter* next ſtay the receipt of 2 *s.* of every Sack of Wooll.

Pet. That remedy may be found, that no Accomptant in the Exchequer do run in Iſſues, before he be warned.

Anſ. The Proceſs ſhall be firſt a *Venire facias*, then a *Diſtringas*, and after a Writ out of the Chancery to the Treaſurer and Barons.

Pet. That the Common Law may ſtand, as to the Bill of the Navy exhibited in the laſt Parliament.

Anſ. The King will be adviſed.

Pet. Then they reſum'd with ſome Alteration the former Petition, that no Eires of the Foreſt or other Enquiries, except thoſe of the Peace, may be kept for the ſpace of three Years.

Anſ. It ſeems good for the Eaſe of the Subject, if great neceſſity doth not require otherwiſe.

Pet. That the Marſhal letting to Bail, or at large, any Perſon committed to him for the Peace, do anſwer the Dammages himſelf.

Anſ. The King will be adviſed.

Pet. That no Man be barred by Non-claim.

Anſ. A Law muſt not be made ſuddenly.

Pet. That the Jurors in every Inqueſt and Grand Aſſize may ſay the Verity of the Fact, as in Aſſize of Novel Diſſeizin.

Anſ. The Law ſhall be kept as heretofore.

Pet. That the Purveyors for all Victuals do take by Indenture with two honeſt Men, where they ſhall purvey.

Anſ. The Laws made heretofore in that Caſe ſhall ſuffice.

Pet. That none who come to the Parliament by Summons, be appointed a Seſſor, or a Receiver of the Fifteens Triennial.

Anſ. The King will appoint ſuch as he ſhall like.

Pet. That the Erroneous Judgments in the Exchequer be reverſed in the King's Bench.

Anſ. This was anſwer'd the laſt Parliament.

[c] *Purlieu & Afforeſt, de his Vocab. vid.* Skinneri *Etymolog. Ling. Angl.*

Pet. Then was read a long Complaint againſt Foreſters, for Afforeſting of Mens *Purlieus*, for undue Trial and for Extortion: To which was added a Requeſt, that *Magna Charta* may be obſerved; and that all Men may enjoy their *Purlieus*, according to the Perambulation made in the time of King *Edward* the Firſt.

Anſ. The King wills, that *Magna Charta* be kept inviolable; and thoſe that will complain in the Right of their *Purlieus*, may have writs out of Chancery: Whereupon *Surry* and ſeveral other Counties by their Repreſentatives ſhew'd, that upon Sute they could not obtain ſuch Writs: To which the King anſwer'd, that the Order made the laſt Parliament ſhould be kept, and General or Special Writs ſhould be granted to all ſuch as ſhall ſue for them: So as equal Right be diſtributed both to the King and his Subjects.

Pet. That the Petitions declared by them in the laſt Parliament, to which the King and the Lords agreed, may be kept without Alteration, under any Colour or Pretence whatſoever.

Anſ. The King with the Aſſent of his Lords anſwered, that Laws and Proceſs heretofore uſed, could not be alter'd, without making New Statutes, which at this time they could not tend to do, but ſhortly would at more leiſure.

[f] 22 *Ed.* 3. *n. in dorſo.*

The [f] Worſted Weavers of *Norwich*, and the Merchants there, pray, that the Letters Patents, which the King had granted to *Robert Pooley*, One of his Valets of *Eſſay*, and One of the Alnage of Worſted in *Norwich*, and elſewhere in *Norfolk*, during the Life of the ſaid *Robert*, might be revoked, and that they might have the ſame. To which Petition this Anſwer was given; That it ſeemed good to the Kings Council, that their Requeſt ſhould be granted for the Common Benefit. But of this Parliament We ſhall ſay no more, becauſe it was broken up without any great Effect, and [g] diſ-

[g] *M. S. Record p.* 71. §. 4. & Sr Rob. Cotton *p.* 73. §. 4.

continued

continued for three Years together, by reaſon of a general Mortality, that ſoon after came into *England*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper Place. AN. DOM. 1348.

III. In the *Eaſter*-Holy-days King *Edward* [h] held Publique Juſts and Tourneaments at *Weſtminſter*; where the Lord *William Douglas* Earl of *Douglas*, and Sr. *William Douglas* of *Liddeſdale*, who were both taken Priſoners at the Battle of *Durham*, by their Knightly Deportment and Valour, gain'd ſuch Favour in the Opinion of the King, that having given their Faith and Homage, and alſo an Oath to live peaceably at home, they had both leave to depart: And Sr. *William*, as well as the other, might have liv'd a long and happy Life in his own Country; but that his Hands having been ſtained with Civil Blood, could not be waſhed clean, but by his own. For, as the *Scotch* [i] Writers ſay, he had formerly upon Envy cauſed the Worthy Sr. *Alexander Ramſey* to be miſerably ſtarved to Death: And beſides that, having lately heard, that Sr. *David Barklay*, a Knight of *Scotland*, had ſlain his Brother Sr. *John Douglas*, who was Father to Sr. *James Douglas* of *Dalkeith*, he was ſo furiouſly bent on Revenge, that even during his Impriſonment in *England*, becauſe he could not do it himſelf, by Letters he procured Sr. *John St. Michael* to Murther the ſaid Sr. *David Barklay*, which accordingly one Night was performed at *Aberdeen*. But not long after he himſelf, being then deliver'd out of Priſon, one day, as he was hunting in *Ethrick* Foreſt, was in like manner ſuddenly ſlain by his own Couſin, and Godſon, *William Douglas*, the Son of *Archimbald Douglas*, in Revenge of the Death of Sr. *Alexander Ramſey*.

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[h] *Stow p.* 245. *Hector l.*15. *fol.* 325 *Buchan. l.*9. *p.*303. *& Holinſhead Scot. Hiſt. p.*242.

[i] *Hector & Buchan. ibid.*

While thus *Scotland*, and eſpecially the Family of the *Douglaſſes*, was miſerably divided in it ſelf; *England*, and the Court of King *Edward* flouriſhed with Honour, Peace, and Unity; and the Lords of *England* laudably contended to outvie one another in Martial Worth and Bravery. At *Canterbury*, and *Eltham* in *Kent*, at *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Windſor*, and other Places, were held ſeveral Great and Magnificent Juſts and Tourneaments. *Henry* [k] Earl of *Lancaſter*, held a little after *Eaſter* a ſolemn *Haſtilude* at *Lincoln*, where were preſent with *Iſabel de Beaumont*, his Counteſs, many Great Ladies; and alſo certain Ambaſſadors from *Spain*, who then came to Negotiate a Marriage [l] between the young *Infant* of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, named *Don Pedro*, Eldeſt Son and Heir Apparent to *Alphonſo* XI King of *Spain*, and the Lady *Jane* of the Tower, one of the Daughters of King *Edward*, who was then in the 13 Year of her Age. But this Poor Lady, being eſpouſed by *Proxy*, and conveyed into that Country, deceaſed preſently of a great Mortality, that then reign'd, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. At the Tourneament at [m] *Canterbury*, among others, *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sr. *John Beauchamp*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, had their Harneſs and other Accoutrements allowed them from the King, the latter [n] being furniſh'd out of the Kings Wardrobe, with a Surcoat of fine *Indian* Silk, embroider'd with the Arms of Sr. *Stephen Coſington*, Knight: Of whom, thô he was not of Noble Blood, we muſt needs Remark, that he was a Gentleman of High Merit; as will not only appear from the ſequel of this our Hiſtory, but alſo may be rationally collected from this, that his Arms were beaten on all the Eight Harneſſes given by the King at this time, and worn [o] by Eight Renowned Combatants, being the Challengers, as the Prince of *Wales*, the Earls of *Lancaſter* and *Suffolk*, Sr. *John Grey*, Sr. *John Beauchamp*, Sr. *Robert Mauley*, Sr. *John Chandos*, and Sr. *Roger Beauchamp*. And at the Tourneament at *Eltham*, we find, among others, that the Valiant and Noble Earl of [p] *Lancaſter*, and *Hugh* [q] *Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*, beſides their Harneſs, and other Accoutrements, both for themſelves and Horſes, had each of them an hood of fine White Cloth, embroider'd with Dancing Men, in Blew Habits, and button'd before with large Pearls, which were allowed them out of the Kings Wardrobe.

[k] *Stow p.* 245

[l] *Stow ibid. & Aſhmole p.*669. *&c.*

[m] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*48.

[n] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*231.

[o] *Aſhmole p.* 185.

[p] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*786.

[q] *Aſhmole p.* 696.

We muſt here againſt our uſual Method inſert a matter or two, not of any great affinity to our Affairs, even before we come to the end of this Year; becauſe there will not then appear any ſuch convenient Room, the beginning of the next Year being continuedly joyn'd to the end of this.

IV. On the 9 of *June* this Year, *Joan* Queen of *Naples*, and Counteſs of *Provence* in *France*, ſold all the County of *Venaiſin*, together with the City of *Avignon*, to Pope *Clement* VI, for the Sum of 80000 *Florens* of Gold of *Florence*: Which ſaid Places (thô [r] ſome ſay, the Money was never paid) belong to the See of *Rome* to this day. How *Charles* II King of *Naples*, had firſt a Right to *Venaiſin*, from King *Philip* the Fair, who gave it unto him *An°* 1290, upon the Marriage of *Charles de Valois* his Brother, with *Margaret* the Daughter of that King; this is all well known: But the Firſt occaſion of this ſale (I do not ſpeak of Queen *Joan's* Neceſſities, of which the Pope made his Advantage) not being ſo vulgarly underſtood, we ſhall briefly from

[r] *Mezeray ad hunc ann. in Margine.*

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the Authority of a very [f] Judicious and Learned Gentleman, declare it in this place. In the Year 1209 *Raymund* the Third, Earl of *Tholouſe*, being a Fautor of the *Albigenſes* (who were accounted Hereticks) and as was thought chiefly concern'd in the Murther of the Pope's Legate, was now a ſecond time Excommunicated by Pope *Innocent* III; from which time he began to be deſpoiled of his Territories, till little or nothing was left entire. So that 19 Years after it was thus agreed at *Paris*, that to *Alphonſo* the Son of *Raymund*, ſhould fall only the City it ſelf of *Tholouſe*, with a few appurtenances; that the other Places beyond the *Rhoſne*, ſhould belong to the King of *France*; but whatever was by him or his Anceſtors poſſeſſed on this ſide the ſaid River, ſhould be the Pope's Patrimony. But becauſe the Men of theſe Parts did unwillingly ſubmit to the latter Part of this Agreement, being thereby upon occaſion obliged to have their Appeals to *Rome*, and therefore clave to *Alphonſo* and his Heirs, about fourſcore Years after Pope *Boniface* VIII, wholly acquitted them of all ſuch Appeals, and after him Pope *Clement* V, to win their Hearts the more, removed his Seat to *Avignon* in the Firſt Year of his Pontificate, or the [t] Year of our Lord 1305. So that now after all, when upon the Death of *Benedict* XII, [u] who ſucceeded *John* XXII, *Clement* the VI became Pope, Queen *Joan* flying unto *Avignon* from *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, who came to Revenge the Death of his Brother *Andrew*, her Husband, whom ſhe had murdred, made now unto the ſaid *Clement* a Deed of ſale of all thoſe Rights, which the Earls of *Provence* had from the very time of the Partition, made between *Raymund Berengarius* Earl of *Provence*, and *Alphonſo* Earl of *Tholouſe*, *An°. Dom.* 1125, and let this ſuffice for that Matter.

[f] Peireskius *apud* Petrum Gaſſendum *in Vitâ illius. p.* 143. &c.

[t] *Victorell. p.* 833. *collat. cum Labbe Chron. Tech. ad hunc an.*

[u] *Hic corrige ſive* Peireskium, *ſive* Gaſſendum; *quia ab eorum alterutro* Clemens VI *poſt* Johannem *inducitur; cùm illum exceperit Benedictus, & hunc* Clemens; *ut ex omnibus Pontif. Hiſtoriis conſtat.*

V. A certain [x] Author, that flouriſhed in theſe days, and (as himſelf witneſſes) lived at *Avignon* in the Service of the ſaid Pope *Clement* VI, doth more than intimate, that the *French* King, *Philip* of *Valois*, had the Gift of healing the Diſeaſe, called the Kings Evil, with the Touch of his Hand only: Thô if ſo, we may well preſume, that our King *Edward* had the ſame Vertue, not only, as having more Right to the Crown of *France*, but as deſcended of King *Edward* the Confeſſors Blood, who was eminently ſignal in this Miraculous Grace: and from [y] whom, as it were by Right of Inheritance, the following Kings of *England* have derived the ſame Power, as *Polydore Virgil*, and many others have obſerved. But to return to Affairs at home.

[x] Guido *Tract. 2. Doct. 2. c. 3. in Chirurgiâ Magnâ Vid.* Guliel. Tookeri *DD. Chariſma ſanationis p.* 83.

[y] *Polydor. Virg. Hiſt. l. 8. p.* 143. *n.* 10. *Vid.* Tooker's *Chariſma ſanitatis p.* 83, 84, 85.

After * *Eaſter* King *Edward* made an Order in Council, that none of his Servants ſhould preſume to take up any Victuals of any Man againſt his Will, nor then, without paying ready Money, on pain of Puniſhment proportionable to his Offence, and being baniſh'd the Kings Court for ever. To the Execution of which Decree Sr. *Richard Talbot*, Lord High-Steward of the Kings Houſhold, was appointed to have an Eye.

* *Stow p.* 245.

VI. The Truce taken between the two Kings at *Calais* laſt Year, drawing now toward an end, upon [z] the Pope's Letters to King *Edward*, he was prevail'd with to depute *Thomas Falſtaff* Arch-Deacon of *Welles*, *John Carleton* Canon of *Welles*, both Doctors of Law, and Frier *John de Reppes* of the Order of Mount *Carmel*, who had Commiſſion to prorogue the Truce, and to Treat of a Final Peace. The Truce they accordingly prorogued for ſix Weeks, to Commence on the 13 of *September* following, and to be obſerved throughout all *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Artois*, *Boulogne*, and *Flanders*. But the King well perceiving the delay and backwardneſs of the *French* to cloſe with him ſincerely, either for a Truce, or Peace, in [a] *October* next drew down his Forces to *Sandwich*, intending to paſs the Seas. Whereupon the *French* were quicken'd to a ſpeedy agreement, as to the Prorogation of the foregoing Truce [b] from the 18 of *November* 1348, unto the 1 of *September* 1349, on News whereof the King return'd to *London*.

[z] *Aſhmole p.* 656. *ex Rot. Franc.* 15. Maii 22. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 13.

[a] *Clauſ.* 22. *Ed.* 3 *p.* 2. *m.* 8. *in Dorſo.*

[b] 18 Novemb. *Rot. Franc.* 22. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 10.

VII. On the [c] 25 of *October*, King *Edward* ſolemnized the Tranſlation of St. *Thomas* the Confeſſor, once Biſhop of *Hereford*, to the great Expence and Charge of his Kinſman the Lord *Nicolas Cantilupe*. This St. *Thomas* had been alſo of the ſirname of *Cantilupe*, being in his Life time a Gentleman of a very Noble and Ancient Houſe (as appears * by the Antiquity of their Baronage in our Records) but, as Biſhop *Godwin* [d] ſays, of a much more Noble and Excellent Mind: For he was not only of a wonderfull Ingenuity and exquiſite Judgement; but even from a Child, of great Diligence and Induſtry in his ſtudies, of Marvellous exactneſs of Life, and of incomparable Candour and Vertue. His Father was *William* Lord *Cantilupe*, [e] High-Steward to King *Henry* III of *England*, a Man of great Power and Loyalty: His Mother was the Lady *Millicent* Counteſs of *Eureux* in *Normandy*. He firſt ſtudied at *Oxford*, and afterwards at *Paris*, where having proceeded *Maſter*, he return'd to *Oxford*, and there ap-

[c] *Knighton p.* 2600. & *Stow p.* 248. & *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 160 *n.* 20. & *Odor. Rainald. quanquam hic* 2 *poſt annis ponat.*

* *Vid. Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 731.

[d] *Godw. Catal. Bps p.* 457.

[e] *Matth. Paris l.* 17. *p.* 815. & *Dugd. ibid.*

ply'd

ply'd himself to the Canon Law, till he went out *Doctor* in that Faculty. After this he entirely gave his Mind to the study of Divinity; whereof he was to proceed Doctor in the Year 1273. *Robert Kilwardby*, with whom he was very familiarly acquainted, was then Provincial of the *Friers-Preachers*, and Doctor of the Chair in *Oxford*, when he was presented: But before the time came, that he should keep the Act, or rather the Act being by some Accident delayed till then, the said Doctor *Kilwardby* was become Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But this notwithstanding, he vouchsafed this his old Friend, the Honour to come down to *Oxford* to his Act on purpose; and there gave him the Ceremonies of his Creation. And it is observable, that this Archbishop and Professor, in his speech after the Disputation, among many other great Praises, which he bestowed on him, affirmed, that he the said Archbishop, having of many Years been Confessor to the said Candidate Dr. *Thomas Cantilupe*, "had never perceived him "guilty of any sin, which he could judge to be Mortal. Certainly, either the Confessee did a little mince Matters, or the Confessor was blinded with the prejudice of Friendship, or some other Infirmity, or the Relator did take a little too much liberty in Honour of the Man. Who notwithstanding, was no doubt of great Merit every way, as may appear by these manifold Honours; which as so many loud Testimonials of his Vertue were heaped upon him, both Living and Dead. For first he was made Arch-Deacon of *Stafford*, then Chancellour of the University of *Oxford*, then Lord [f] Chancellour of *England*, and afterwards Bishop of *Hereford*; lastly, a few Years after his Death, Canonised a Saint. For, whereas in his Travels to, or, as some say, from *Rome*, he departed this Life at *Civita Vecchia*, a Town of *Tuscany*, in the Year of our Lord 1282, and was Honourably buried in the Church of St. *Severus* there, from whence afterward his Bones were brought into *England*, and solemnly interred in his own Church of *Hereford*, near the *East*-Wall of the *North*-Cross-Isle, where we see an High-Tomb of Marble: Within a few Years after his Death, there being no less than [g] 163 Miracles said to be wrought by him, his Fame was so great, that we find [h] King *Edward* the Second, in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, and the Year of our Lord 1318, sent an Embassy to Pope *John* XXII, about his Canonization. And two Years after, namely, in the Year of our Lord 1320, [i] being the 13 of King *Edward* the Second, on the XV of the Calends of *May*, he was by the said Pope *John* Canonized with great Solemnity at *Avignon*, and the VI of the Nones of *October* was set apart for his Festival, as appears by the said Pope's Bull, bearing Date at *Avignon* XII Cal. *Maii*, *Pontificatûs nostri Anno* IV. But now King *Edward* designing to Honour the Memory of this Holy Man, took up his Bones this Year, being [k] Sixty five Years since he died, and had them Honourably reposed in a Rich and Glorious Shrine of great Value.

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[f] *Philipot's Catal. Chancellors p.* 24.

[g] *Nic. Harpsfield Hist. Eccl. Angl. secul.* 13. *c.* 21.

[h] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 92. *ex Rot. Rom.* 12. *Ed.* 2. *m.* 9.

[i] *Odor. Rainald. ad an.* 1320. *a* §. 43. *ad* §. 47.

[k] *Nic. Harpsfield Hist. Eccl. Angl. secul.* 13. *c.* 21.

This small Digression I ow'd to the Memory of this Worthy Prelate, as well that the Reader might understand, what kind of Man he had been, whose Translation King *Edward* did now so devoutly solemnize; as also, because I believed that such a Person, to whom so many of several Nations and Interests, never envied the Title of a glorified Saint, would much less by any Man of Modesty, be envied an Honourable Mention in History.

VIII. While King *Edward* was thus, with as much Devotion as Splendour, keeping a Feast in Memory of this Great Prelate, *Henry* the Noble Earl of *Lancaster* was by him [l] sent to *Denemere*, to receive in his behalf Fealty and Homage of *Lewis*, Earl of *Flanders*; which the said Earl, thô he had now Married the Duke of *Brabant's* Daughter, was at last forced to comply with, and performed it accordingly. But for all that being wholly enchanted with a love for the *French* Nation, [m] not long after, that he might be Reveng'd of those, who thus forced his Inclination, he enter'd *Flanders* with a great Power of *Frenchmen*, burning, killing and ravaging, as if he had been in the Country of his Deadly Enemies. However he was at last oppos'd by a considerable Body of *Flemings*, reinforced with some *English* Men of Arms, and Archers, who gave him a shrew'd encounter: Wherein many *Frenchmen* being slain, he himself with the rest was forced to quit the Field by flight. In which Action, many, both *Flemings* and *English* behav'd themselves so gallantly, that they obtained thereby the Honour of Knighthood, among whom was the young Lord *John* St. *Philibert*, Son an Heir of him, of whom we spake in the [n] V Year of this King.

[l] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 786. *ex Claus.* 22. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 3. *& Stow p.* 245.

[m] *Stow p.* 246. *b.*

[n] *Vid. l.* 1. *c.* 4. §. 6. *p.* 63.

IX. While yet the foresaid Festival of the Translation of St. *Thomas* lasted, it was also very privately signified unto King *Edward* by one of the Secretaries, of *Emeric* of *Pavia* Captain of *Calais*, that on such a certain Day, the Lord *Geoffry Charny* with a great Number of Armed *Frenchmen* was to be received into *Calais*, to the utter ruine of his

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his Intereſt in that Place. *Froiſard* is of the Opinion, that this Secretarie betrayed his Maſters Secrets thus to the King without his knowledge, as we ſhall ſee by and by: But the other *French* Writers agree, that he diſcover'd them himſelf, thô he had not only agreed to take their Money, but alſo had bound himſelf by taking the Sacrament to the Bargain; and therefore *Mezeray* ſays, that being taken ſome while after by the *French*, he was by them flea'd alive; and indeed we ſhall find him immediately laid aſide by King *Edward* after this Buſineſs was over. But let us firſt ſee how *Froiſard* relates the Matter

It ſhould have been obſerved before, how the *Frenchmen* in all their Negotiations, either relating to a Peace or Truce, were ever urging of this Point, that *Calais* might be reſtored: But to this King *Edward* would never yield by any means, not only becauſe the Town had coſt him ſo dear before he had it, but alſo becauſe, while in the *Engliſh* Hands, it was both a ſignal Trophy of his Honour, and a ſure Footing for him to enter *France*, upon any Rupture between the two Nations. However, as we ſhew'd before, the *French* had now agreed to a Truce, the Neceſſity of their Affairs ſo requiring it, thô it inwardly grieved them to the Heart, that *Calais* was ſtill left under the Dominion of *England*.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 150.

Now there [o] was at this time in the Town of St. *Omers* a right Politick and Valiant Lord of *France*, called Sr. *Geoffry de Chargny*, or *Charny*, who had full and abſolute Authority, as Lieutenant under the King of *France*, to keep the Frontiers in thoſe Parts; in like manner, as [p] *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter* had under the King of *England* in the Parts of *Flanders*, *Calais*, and all other Places ſubject to King *Edward* in *France*. This Lord *Geoffry Charny*, who reſolved by any Means to ſerve the King his Maſters Intereſt, among many Conſiderations, which he entertain'd in his thoughts concerning the Regaining of *Calais*, remembred that the Captain of the Caſtle of *Calais* was a *Lombard*, and that your *Lombards* of all People are naturally Covetous: And ſo with this thought he reſolves upon a Deſign, nothing at all agreeable to Faith or Honour, but likely to prove of great Advantage to the King and Realm of *France*. Now by reaſon of the Truce, there was free Communication allowed between the *Caliſians* and them of St. *Omers*; ſo that dayly they reſorted for Traffick to one another, and had mutual Correſpondence in matters of Life and Society. Hereupon the Lord *Geoffry Charny* built his Deſign, and ſecretly fell in Treaty with Sr. *Emeric* of *Pavia* Captain of the Caſtle; ſo that at laſt he agreed, and thereupon [q] took the Sacrament, for the Summ of 20000 Crowns of Gold, to deliver up to the *Frenchmens* Hands the Caſtle of *Calais*, whereby the Town was commanded, as on the laſt Day of *December* at Midnight.

[p] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 786. 25 *Septemb. Rot. Fran.* 22. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 1.

[q] *Stow p.* 248. *b.*

There is ſome Variation in the Account that Authors give of this Matter: Some averring, that this *Lombard* had been bred up of a Child in King *Edwards* Court; Others, that he was at firſt a Penſioner of the *French* Kings in the Town of *Calais*, untill the Taking thereof, at what time for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf he retain'd him in his Pay: But this latter Opinion ſeems the weaker of the two; for how ſhould ſo Wiſe a Prince commit ſo important a Charge to any Man upon ſo ſmall Acquaintance? Again, ſome ſay that the Diſcovery of the Treaſon was not made by him; but then how ſhould the King be ſo ſecure, as to keep him ſtill in that Office? Thô I confeſs this is not abſolutely improbable, becauſe the King being certainly informed of the Time and other Circumſtances, might well enough be ſuppoſed able to prevent the Treaſon's taking effect, by ſetting a good Watch over him, ſecretly to obſerve all his Motions. On the other hand 'tis ſaid, as we intimated before, that he himſelf of his own accord gave the King ſecret and timely Notice of the Deſign; and that thereby he would have an Opportunity, not only to catch his Enemies in the very Act of breaking the Truce, but to make a conſiderable Advantage to Himſelf, and at the ſame time turn the Miſchief they intended to Him, on their own Heads. But if this latter be true, the Man had more Loyalty to King *Edward* than Religion to God, who could ſo readily take the Sacrament, as a Pledge for the Performance of what he never intended. A thing ſcarce credible among Chriſtians; but that we have ſeen even in our Days a Man, who had the impudence to own himſelf guilty of the ſame horrid Prevarication, under pretence of Deſigning well.

And having given this Hint, leſt the different Accounts, which Authors give of the Matter, may prejudice an unwary Reader againſt any thing we ſhall ſay; we now proceed according to *Froiſard*, not abſolutely rejecting thoſe of the other ſide, becauſe neither are they without their Probabilities.

When King *Edward* therefore heard, either one or the other way, of this intended Treachery of the *French*, he immediately ſent for *Emeric* the *Lombard* to come over unto

unto him: And he accordingly went, for he thought it impoſſible, that his private Conveyance ſhould have taken any Vent already. When the King ſaw him, he took him into his Cloſet and ſaid, "You know well Sir, that I have entruſted to your Charge "that Thing, which in this World I love beſt, next my Wife and Children, that is to "ſay, the Caſtle of *Calais*, whereby the Town alſo is commanded. And yet this Ca- "ſtle have you traiterouſly ſold to the *French*: Wherefore what can you ſay now, "why you ſhould not ſuffer a ſhamefull Death? Then the *Lombard* fell down upon his "knees and ſaid, Ah! my Gracious Maſter, I humbly crave your Mercy. What you "ſay, I acknowledge is all true; but Sir, the Bargain may eaſily be broken, for as yet "I have not received one Penny of the Mony. Now the King, who had long had a "great Favour for this *Lombard*, began to take pity of him, and ſaid, "*Emeric*, I give "you your Life, and continue you in your Office in truſt of your Amendment: And "I would alſo have you go on with your Bargain, and get as much Mony of my "Enemies as you can: But let me have true Information of the Day and Hour ap- "pointed for the Delivery of the Caſtle; and let no Soul living know of this our Com- "munication, and on this Condition I forgive you your treſpaſs. According to this A- greement things were ſettled, and the *Lombard* return'd back to *Calais*, and kept all very cloſe, reſolving to be true to ſo indulgent a Maſter, and to put a Trick on thoſe, who had thus attempted to debauch his Loyalty.

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The mean while Sr. *Geoffry Charny*, not doubting but to ſucceed in his intended Enterpriſe upon *Calais*, near the time appointed had furniſh'd himſelf with [r] a thouſand choice Men of Arms, and a proportionable Number of Others, thô few or none of all his Company had the leaſt knowledge of what he deſign'd. 'Tis thought that he never acquainted the King his Maſter with his Purpoſe, for fear that in Honour he ſhould not give his Conſent, becauſe of the Truce; but he doubted not, when once the Matter was happily effected, not only to gain a Pardon, but Thanks for ſuch a piece of Service. The Time on which the Caſtle of *Calais* was to be deliver'd, was fixt on the laſt Night of *December*, or the firſt Morning of the New Year: Of which Bargain the *Lombard* ſent ſecretly by a Brother of his a diſtinct Notice to King *Edward*, who was then at [s] *Havering* at the Bower in *Eſſex*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas*.

[r] *Mezeray p.* 32

[s] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. c.* 228. *& Holinſhead Eng. Chr. p.* 944.

X. The King being thus acquainted with all the Minutes, choſe privately unto him [t] 800 Men of Arms, and 1000 Archers, and taking Ship at *Dover*, arrived ſafely that Evening at *Calais* ſo ſecretly, that none but his Friends had the leaſt inkling thereof: And ſo immediately he began to diſpoſe of his Men in Ambuſh in the Dungeon and other Places of the Caſtle: And having done thus, he ſaid to the Lord *Walter Manny*, "Sir *Walter*, I have a mind to grace you with the Honour of this Enterpriſe: For both "I and the Prince my Son, intend to fight under your Banner. Now this mean while the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, on the laſt Day of *December*, after Noon, began to march from *Arras* toward *Calais*, and came thither about 8 of the Clock at Night, and then made an Halt, waiting for thoſe that were not yet come up, and ſet his Men in order for Battle: Which being done, and all his Men he expected being come, about twelve of the Clock he ſent two Eſquires to the Poſtern Gate of the Caſtle, who finding Sr. *Emeric* of *Pavia* ready there to receive them, demanded of him if it was time, that the Lord *Geoffry* might come, and he ſaid, "Yes high time. With this Anſwer they return'd to their Maſter, who thereupon made his Men paſs *New-land* Bridge in good Order of Battle: Before whom he ſent twelve Knights with an 100 Men of Arms, to go and take poſſeſſion of the Caſtle; for he judg'd rightly, that when once he had ſecur'd that to himſelf he ſhould preſently get the Town: Since he had ſuch a Number of Men with him (no leſs than 20000) and might have more from the Country about at his Pleaſure. When he ſent theſe Men, he alſo deliver'd into the hands of Sr. *Edward* of *Renty* their Chief Captain, 20000 Crowns of Gold in a Bag, to give unto the *Lombard* according to their Agreement; and while thoſe went to take the Caſtle, he himſelf hover'd near the Town in great ſilence with his Banner before him: For it was his Reſolution to enter the Town by the Gate, or elſe not at all. Now the *Lombard* Captain had let down the Bridge of the Poſtern, and permitted the 100 Men of Arms to enter peaceably, Sr. *Edward Renty* having at the Poſtern deliver'd into his Hands the 20000 Crowns in a Bag, which he took ſaying, "I hope here is the full "Summ, thô I am not at leiſure to count it now, for anon it will be Morning: And we "have not done all our Work yet. And thereupon he caſt the Bag, and Crowns and all into a Cheſt, and ſaid to the *Frenchmen*, "Come on Meſſieurs, you ſhall firſt ſeiſe "on the Dungeon, and then you are ſure to be Maſters of the Caſtle. And there- withall upon their Approach thither, he drew aſide the Barrs, and open'd the Gate wide for

[t] *Mezeray p.* 31 *Froiſ. c.* 151.

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for them to enter. Within this part of the Tower was the King of *England* with 200 Men of Arms, who at that inſtant ſallied out upon the *Frenchmen* with their naked Swords and Battle-axes in their hands, crying out, "*A Manny, a Manny*, to the Reſcue! "What do the *Frenchmen* imagin with ſo few Men to take the Caſtle of *Calais*? The *French* were both ſuddenly ſurpriſed and far outnumbred; wherefore ſeeing 'twas in vain to reſiſt, they ſtrait yielded themſelves Priſoners; ſo that few or none were hurt or ſlain, and immediately they were all diſarmed, and clapt up together in the ſame Tower of the Dungeon. Then the *Engliſhmen* with the King iſſued out of the Caſtle into the Town, all mounted on Horſeback, for the *Frenchmens* Horſes were all now in their Hands, and an hundred *Engliſh* Archers leapt thereon, and accompanied the King and his two hundred Men of Arms, and others on Foot to the Gate that looks towards *Boulogne*: Where the Lord *Geoffry Charny* ſtood with his Banner before him, which was Gules, Three Eſcutcheons Argent. He was very deſirous to be the firſt that ſhould enter the Town; and ſaid thrô impatience to the Captains that were about him: "Ex- "cept this *Lombard* open the Gate quickly, we are like to ſtarve here with Cold. Oh! "Sir, ſaid Sr. *Pepin de la Gueret*, theſe *Lombards* are covetous and ſubtle Fellows; I'll "warrant he is looking over our Crowns now, to ſee whether they be all Current or "no, and to find whether it be the full Summ. And with that Word King *Edward* and his Son the *Black-Prince* were ready at the Gate, being Both *incognito* under the Banner of the Lord *Walter Manny*, which was [n] born in this Adventure by a Noble and Valiant Young Baron of *England*, called Sr. *Guy Brian*: Beſides which Lord *Manny*, there were preſent divers other *Engliſh* Lords, who had their Banners in the Field, as *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *John Montagu*, Brother to *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *John Beauchamp*, Brother to *Thomas* Earl of *Warwick*, the young Lord *Roger de la Ware*, the Lord *Thomas Berkley*, the Lord *William* [x] *Rous* the Younger; and there were no more Lords that bore Banners in this Exploit. All theſe being come on Horſeback in great ſilence to the Gate that reſpects *Boulogne*, the Gates were preſently ſet open, and they all iſſued forth in good Order of Battle. When the *Frenchmen* ſaw them come forth againſt them, and heard them cry "*a Manny, a Manny* to the Reſcue; they ſaw well the *Lombard* had betray'd them, and began to be in ſome Confuſion. But then the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, like a wiſe and hardy Captain, ſaid aloud, "Meſſieurs, if we turn our Backs we are all loſt without "Remedy: 'Tis more ſafe to expect our Enemies with a good Courage, and then we ſhall obtain the Day. The Front of the *Engliſh* hearing theſe Words ſaid, "By Saint "*George* You ſay well! A ſhame on them that turn their Backs firſt. And then the *Frenchmen* began to light off their Horſes, and order'd themſelves for a ſtanding Fight: Whereupon King *Edward* ſpake to the Lord *Manny*, "Let us alſo get on Foot, for the "Enemy I ſee will expect us: And at the ſame time he order'd a Detachment to go to *Newland Bridge*: For he had heard, that a good Body of *Frenchmen* were juſt ſent thither to make good the Retreat; beſides a Conſiderable Party left there at firſt by Sr. *Geoffry Charny*. Accordingly there went thither ſix Banners of *England*, and 300 Archers on Horſeback, and there they found the Lord *Moreaux de Fiennes* and the Lord of *Crequy*, and others ready to keep the Bridge; and before them between the Bridge and *Calais* ſtood ready ranged a Brigade of Arbaliſters and Croſs-bows. Here began a terrible Medley, the Archers of *England* piercing and breaking their Ranks thrô and thrô with their thick Flights of deadly Arrows; ſo that preſently there were more than ſix hundred *Frenchmen* ſlain, or drown'd and ſtifled, for they were eaſily beaten away by the Archers, ſlain, diſcomfited, and chaced into the Water on each hand. This was early in the Morning before Day-break, when all things being rendred uncertain, thoſe who are ſet upon are uſually the moſt fearfull. However the *French* Men of Arms kept their Ground, and for a while fought gallantly enough, and did many proper Feats of Arms, but the *Engliſhmen* from *Calais* perpetually flow'd in upon them, and the *French* decreaſed as faſt; wherefore the reſt ſeeing they could no longer maintain the Bridge, ſuch as had Horſes by, mounted and ſhew'd their Backs, the *Engliſh* following after them on the Spurr, while others were gleaning the Reliques of the Field at the Bridge, and ſlaying and taking thoſe *Frenchmen*, who could not recover their Horſes. There the Lord of *Fiennes*, the Lord of *Crequy*, the Lord *Doudeauville* and Others, that were well horſed ſaved themſelves: But far more were beaten and overthrown, and many were taken thrô their own indiſcreet Hardineſs, that might elſe have ſaved themſelves not diſhonourably. But when at laſt it was Day-light, and the *Frenchmen* could plainly ſee all about them, they began to look back, and beheld that the Purſuers was far inferiour to them in Number, wherefore they boldly faced about,

[n] *Dugd. 2 Vol. Bar. p. 151. ex Clauſ. 23. Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 8.*

[x] *Dugd. Bar. 1 Vol. p. 550. ex Rot. Franc. 23 Ed. 3. m. 4.*

bout, and began to order themselves for Battle, and to call upon their fellows to come back and joyn them. And here, as some [y] will have it, was the King of *England* in this Party among the Pursuers, eager of Honour, thô to the great hazard of his Person, and that being at first, because unknown, follow'd but by a Few, namely, 16 Men of Arms, and about an 100 Archers on Horseback, when he saw the Resolution of his Enemies, who perceiving his small Numbers, turned back upon him, he as resolutely dismounted, and put away his Horse from him, cast away the scabbard of his Sword, and set his Men in the best Order he might, placing the Archers on the dry hills, encompassed with Quagmires and Marshes, to preserve them from the fury of the Enemies Horse; at which instant lifting up the Visor of his Helmet a little, to shew himself unto his Men, he exhorted them aloud to play the Game of Honour lustily, telling them that he was *Edward* of *Windsor*, and would bear a part with them in this adventure: So that the Hearts of the *English* were wonderfully exalted beyond their usual height of Courage, being as well animated by the Example and Presence of their King, as also by Honour and Necessity it self. The Archers especially stripping up their sleeves to the shoulder, to have the more liberty for Action, stood ready to bestow their home-drawn Arrows, with such judgement and concernedness, that not one of them might fail of due Execution. Then the Armed Men on both sides met furiously, and the King in the Head of his Men did Marvels, raging, as [z] One says, like a Wild Boar, and crying out for Indignation, as his usual Manner was, Ha! St. *Edward*, Ha! St. *George*; the Archers all this while doing great Execution on the Enemies flank: till at last, the *English* being well-nigh oppresst by the too unequal Numbers of the Enemy; the Young Prince of *Wales* came opportunely to the Rescue.

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[y] *Walsing. hist. p.* 159. & Stow *p.* 249.

[z] *Walsing. ibid.* & M.S. *Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* c. 228.

But let who will be of this Opinion, I cannot cordially embrace it my self, not only because it makes so Great a Captain, against *decorum*, too inconsiderate and rash for that Character; but also because it seems utterly improbable, that the Prince of *Wales*, the Lord *Manny*, and those other Lords, who knew of the Kings being there, should suffer him to be so lightly attended in so hazardous a juncture, or that thô disguised to the rest, he was not yet remarkable enough to them. Not to say, that it is scarce credible, the King, who had such a zeal for the safety of *Calais*, should leave the Head of the Enemy fighting at the Gates, and run forth after Matters of far less Moment, leaving the Place in danger of being taken. From all which we are enclin'd to believe, that when the Causey and Bridge was clear'd by that Detachment, which the King had sent thither, one Moiety might remain there still to clear the field of the *French*, who could not recover their Horses, or who fled not so fast, and the other in the mean time follow'd the Chace upon the Spur: And perhaps here and there did meet with some resistance, till their Partners having clear'd their hands by this time, came up to their Reinforcement: But that the King himself, his Son, and the Lord *Manny*, fought all the while in the Field by *Boulogne*-Gate, where the main stress of the whole business lay. In this part the [a] *Frenchmen* fought bravely indeed, under the Conduct of the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, and the Lord *Charles* of *Monmorency*, and gave the *Englishmen* their hands full, thô the King himself, and his Son the Prince, with the strength of the Garrison, and the Flower of those he brought with him from *England*, was engag'd against them. The King fought on foot among his Enemies, unknown both to them, and most of his own Men, under the Banner of the Lord *Walter Manny*, which was [b] *Or*, Three *Chevrons* Sable. The *French* at their first approach stood ready to receive them with their Spears cut five foot long before them. It was the Fortune of King *Edward* to encountre hand to hand, with a strong and hardy Knight of *France*, named *Eustace de Ribemont*, Lord of *Ribemont* in *Tierasche*, a tract in *Picardy*; between these two there began a fierce and gallant Combat, that it was a great pleasure to behold them; but at last they were put asunder against their both Wills, by others, who on each side came between, and still the Battle waxed hotter and hotter. King *Edward* began to be chafed with this opposition, and especially desired to meet singly with that Lord again, who had put him so hard to it: For he had twice by pure strength and weight of his stroaks upon the Kings Helmet, made him bend his knee almost to the Earth. At last they met together again, and then the King had such apparent Advantage of him, that Sr. *Eustace* was forced to save his Life by delivering his Sword unto him; when neither knowing, who, nor what he was, he said, "Sr. Knight, I yield my self your Prisoner. Whereupon the King, who himself alone had taken him, gave him to a Lord, his Servant there by, with a strict Charge to see him forth coming, upon demand. About the same time there were taken by others, the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, and his Son; Sr. *Geoffry* himself being grievously wounded, for he had all the while been among the

[a] *Froiss. c.* 151. *fol.* 74.

[b] *Vid Ashmole's* Garter in Plate 46. *ad p.* 709.

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foremoſt. There was ſlain Sr. *Pepin de la Gueret*, Sr. *Henry du Bois*, Sr. *Walter de* [c] *Valence*, and Sr. *Robert de Beauvais*, with many more. The Lord *Monmorency* very narrowly eſcaped away, with the Lord of *Landas*, and others: Beſides thoſe mention'd before, who eſcaped away at *Newland*-Bridge: So that almoſt all Sr. *Geoffry's* Party were cut off, or taken, together with the Lord *Edward Renty*, and thoſe other twelve Knights, who with an 100 Men of Arms had been ſurpriſed before, and clap'd up in the Dungeon.

[c] *Fabian p.226.*

[d] *Fabian p.226.*

After this Victory, which was happily compleated on the Firſt day of *January*, by Ten in the Morning, the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, [d] being grievouſly wounded, was laid forth upon a Dreſſer, and ſo expoſed to the Kings View; who, notwithſtanding he knew him the Author of this Treaſon, began to relent, to behold ſo great a Spirit, in ſo low a Condition, and took pity of him: Inſomuch that he forthwith Commanded his own Chirurgeons, to take the beſt Care they could of his Life, and to look faithfully and diligently to his Wounds, giving him ſuch Reſtoratives, as might ſooneſt ſupply the Defects of Nature: And they ſo well obſerv'd this Charge, that having not receiv'd any Mortal hurt, the Lord *Geoffry* was at Night able to walk, and ſat at Supper with the reſt of the Priſoners, as we ſhall now declare.

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XI. The Battle being thus happily ended to the Advantage of the *Engliſh*, King *Edward* return'd to the Caſtle of *Calais*, and Commanded all the Priſoners to be brought thither, and beſtow'd in ſafe Cuſtody: [e] And then, firſt the *Frenchmen* knew and ſaw, that the King of *England* had been Perſonally in this Exploit, thô diſguiſed in Common Armour, without any Rich Surcoat, or other Honourable Cogniſance, under the Banner of one of his own Knights; a Greater Honour, than which, did never any Sovereign Confer on a Well-deſerving Subject. The King moſt Courteouſly viſited the Priſoners, and told them, He would that Night give them all an Entertainment in his Caſtle of *Calais*; and accordingly at the time of Supper, the Tables were ſpread in the Great Hall, and a Magnificent and Royal Feaſt provided. The King and his Lords were all there freſh and Richly cloathed, and the *Frenchmen* alſo were, as the King had order'd, in the ſame Room, making merry, at leaſt to outward appearance, thô they were Priſoners. The King ſat down at a Table by himſelf, at the Upper end of the Hall, the Prince his Son, and the Lords and Knights of *England* ſerving in the Firſt Courſe: But at the Second Courſe, they alſo ſat down on each ſide of the King; the *French* Lords and Captains, being all at one long Table in the midſt of the Hall. There was a moſt Splendid Feaſt, and it continued long; and after Supper the King tarried ſtill in the Hall among his Nobles, and the *Frenchmen* had Wine brought to them at the Table.

[e] *Froiſ. c. 152.*

Preſently after Supper, the King, being bare-headed, except a Rich Circlet of Gold about his Head, beſet with Precious Pearl, roſe up with ſome of his Chief Lords, and went to look and diſcourſe with the *Frenchmen*. When he came to Sr. *Geoffry Charny*, he changed countenance a little, and beheld him with ſome Signs of Diſpleaſure, and ſaid, "Sr. *Geoffry*, of Right I ſhould owe you but ſmall Thanks, ſince you "deſign'd to ſteal from me in the Dark, that which I ſo fairly won by day, and which "coſt me ſo dearly. I am very well ſatisfied, that I took you in the Fact: For ſure-"ly you thought to make a better Market, than I had; when you attempted to pur-"chaſe *Calais* for 20000 Crowns. But God Almighty hath in Mercy aſſiſted Me, "and you have miſt your aim. He for his part had never a word to return, both ſhame and an evil Conſcience forbidding him, and his Wounds alſo rendring him not well diſpos'd to ſpeak. So the King left him, and went to the Lord *Euſtace de Ribemont*, where he made a ſtand, and with a joyfull and friendly countenance ſaid unto him: "Sr. *Euſtace*, of all Men living, You are the Knight, whom I have found moſt "Valiant and Couragious, as well in offending your Enemies, as in defending your ſelf, and "I never in my life met with that Man, that gave me ſo much adoe, Body to Body, as "you have done this day. Wherefore I adjudge the Prize of Knighthood unto you by "Right Sentence above all the Knights of my Court. And with that the King took off the Chaplet of Pearls, which he wore upon his Head, being very Fair, Goodly and Rich, and preſenting him therewith ſaid, "Sr. *Euſtace*, I give you this Chaplet for the beſt "Doer in Arms at this laſt Battle of either Party, whether *French* or *Engliſh*, and I "deſire you to wear it this Year at Feſtivals for my ſake. I know well, you are a Per-"ſonable Gentleman, Young and Amorous, and well accepted of among the Ladies; "wherefore if you will wear it in all Publique Balls, and declare unto them, that the "King of *England* gave you this, as a Teſtimony of your Valour; I will alſo now re-"leaſe you from Priſon, quitting you wholly of your Ranſom, and you ſhall depart to

"mor-

"morrow, if you pleaſe. The Knight, who by this time had been fully informed of all things, was ſo abundantly ſatisfied, that it had been his Fortune to fight hand to hand with ſo great a King, and to receive ſuch an Honourable Acknowledgement from him, that he not only wore the ſaid Chaplet accordingly, while he lived; but in Memory of ſo Gracious a Gift from ſo Mighty a Prince, did [f] bear ever after in his Arms Three Chaplets garniſhed with Pearls.

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[f] *Ferne's* Blazon of Gentry. *l.*1. *p.*211.

XII. Thus was this Treaſon of the *French*, attempted in the time of Truce, by another Treaſon of the *Lombard* Captain juſtly thrown upon their own Heads: Thô the perfidious Knight eſcaped not long himſelf: For [g] being the next Year taken by ſome *Frenchmen* about St. *Omers*, he was firſt degraded of the Order of Knighthood, by having his Spurs hew'd from his Heels, then branded with a burning hot Iron for a Rogue, and then his Tongue being cut out in token of his Perjury, he was Hanged by the Neck, and laſtly Beheaded, Quarter'd and Diſmembred as a Traytor. And ſurely, however cunningly he had carried himſelf in this matter, either there remain'd ſtill ſo much Suſpicion on him, or however the Action appeared ſo deteſtable, that King *Edward* never after had any Kindneſs for him, or Confidence in his Loyalty: For we find, [h] how on that very Day, whereon the Reſcue of *Calais* had been made, namely on the Firſt of *January*, the King appointed the Noble, Valiant and Loyal Baron Sr. *John Beauchamp* for Captain of *Calais*.

[g] *Mezeray ad an.* 1350. *&c. Stow p.* 249.

[h] *Aſhmole p.* 657. *ex Rot. Franc.* 22. *Ed.* 3. *m.*1.

Nor was the King unmindfull of thoſe his Gallant Subjects, who had accompanied him in the Reſcue of this important Place: Among whom the Lord *Walter Manny*, under whoſe Banner he had fought, [i] obtain'd of him a Pardon for all ſuch Eſcapes, as any Felons or Fugitives had made out of the Priſon of the *Marſhalſey*, he being this Year Marſhall thereof; and the next [k] Year had a Grant of thoſe Houſes and Wharfs in the Town of *Libourne* within the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, which *Edmund Marcell* (a Partaker with the Kings Enemies) had formerly poſſeſſed; as alſo a [l] Grant of the Mannor of *Oſpettlington* in the County of *Barwick*, which *Thomas Byſet*, a *Scot* in Arms againſt the King, had formerly held. And as for the Lord *Guy Bryan*, who was Standard-Bearer to the King in this Action, [m] he behav'd himſelf with ſuch great Courage and Valour at that time, that in Recompence thereof he obtained of the King a Grant of 200 Marks *per annum* out of the Exchequer, during Life, which was afterwards augmented [n] with 200 *l.* more *per annum*, *ut priùs*; beſides ſeveral other Charters, Grants and Emoluments at ſundry times confer'd upon him, and the great Honour of being made firſt a Banneret, and afterwards upon a Vacancy Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter: He [o] bore for his Arms *Or* Three Piles *Azure*.

[i] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*149. *ex Pat.* 23. *Ed.*3. *p.*2. *m.* 26.

[k] *Dugd. ibid. ex Rot. Vaſc.*24 *Ed.*3. *m.*6.

[l] *Id. ibid. ex Rot. Vaſc.*24 *Ed.*3. *m.*3.

[m] *Dugd. Bar.* 2 *Vol. p.*151. *ex Pat.*23 *Ed.*3. *p.*2. *m.*3.

[n] *Id. ibid. ex Autogr. penes Cleric. pell.*

[o] *Aſhmole's Garter p.*709. *Plate* 57.

And thus the Noble King of *England* having happily atchieved his Enterprize, and left the Caſtle of *Calais* under the Command of the Lord *Beauchamp* aforeſaid, and the Town as it was before under the Lord *John Mongomery*, returned Triumphant homeward with the Chief of the *French* Priſoners, and arrived ſafe in *England*. But the Lord *Mongomery* and his Lady preſently after died at *Calais* of a Plague, which by and by will furniſh us with much matter of Diſcourſe.

Not long before this, [p] *Charles* Eldeſt Son of *John* Duke of *Normandy*, King *Philips* Eldeſt Son, took Poſſeſſion of the Dauphinate of *Vienna*, which the Old *Dauphin* Prince *Humbert*, having loſt the Lord *James*, his onely Son and Heir in the Battle of *Creſſy*, had ſold a good Penniworth to the *French* King: He himſelf retiring from the World into a Convent of *Jacobins*, where he took their Habit. From that Prince the Kings of *France's* Eldeſt Sons have been called Dauphins of *Vienna*, as the Kings of *England's* Eldeſt Sons are ſtiled Princes of *Wales*.

[p] *Fabian p.*278. *& Mezeray ad an.* 1349. *Odor. Rainal. ad. an.* 1350. *n.*40.

XIII. In the [q] Month of *Auguſt* of this laſt Year died the Mother of the ſaid *Dauphin*, commonly called the Good Dutcheſs of *Normandy*, who was Daughter to *John* the Old King of *Bohemia*, that was ſlain alſo in the Battle of *Creſſy*: And [r] yet the ſame King of *Bohemia*'s Son, *Charles* the Emperour, was married to the Lady *Blanch*, Siſter of King *Philip* of *Valois*, Father to the ſaid *John* Duke of *Normandy*. And in *December* following died *Jane* Queen of *France*, Daughter to *Robert* once Duke of *Burgundy*, and Siſter to *Eudes* then Duke of *Burgundy*; ſo that the *French* King and his eldeſt Son *John* were both Widowers at one time. But as for King *Philip* he had lately ſent for a freſh Young Lady, deſigning to give her unto his Son *John*, but now being a Widower himſelf, he thought good to ſerve his own Turn firſt; and ſo on the Ninth of *January* took her for his Second Queen: Her Name was *Blanch*, Daughter to *Philip* late King of *Navarre*, by his Queen, who was Siſter to the Earl of *Foix*; but the Eſpouſals were kept ſecretly at the Mannor of *Robert* Earl of *Braye*, ſhe being then ſcarce 18 Years of Age, and the Bridegroom already a Grandfather; but he enjoy'd her little

[q] *Froiſ. c.*152. *Fabian p.*278. *Mezeray ad hunc annum.*

[r] *Ex Vitâ Caroli Imperatoris per ſe ſcriptâ ab initio.*

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more than a Year and an half, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. On the Ninth of *February*, his Son *John* alſo married his Second Wife, which was the Lady *Joan* Counteſs of *Boulogne*, Relict of the young Lord *Philip* of *Burgundy*, Son of *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*, who died at the Siege of *Aiguillon* about three Years before, as we have [f] ſhewn. She was Daughter to *William* Earl of *Boulogne*, by his Lady the Daughter of *Lewis* Earl of *Eureux*, and ſo held in her Hands at that time the Counties of *Artois*, *Boulogne*, *Auvergne*, and divers other Lands, and after the Death of *Eudo* Duke of *Burgundy* (which happen'd this Year) that [t] Dutchy alſo, during the Minority of her Son *Philip*, who was Heir thereof. And thus King *Philip* remained a Widower not quite a Month, and his Son *John* ſcarce out Half a Year.

[f] *L.2.c.4.§.6. p.369.*
[t] *Favine l.4.c.3.p.6.*

CHAPTER the EIGHTH.

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I. HAving toward the latter end of the preceding Chapter made mention of the Death of Sr. *John Mongomery*, Captain of the Town of *Calais*, and a Baron of this Realm, who together with his Lady died, a little after King *Edwards* Exploit there, of a Peſtilence that then began; now We following the Example of no [a] mean Hiſtorian, are inclin'd to think it not unworthy of our preſent Work, to inſert therein a more particular Account of that Plague: Since for its ſtrange and manifold Prognoſticks, univerſal Contagion, wonderfull and fatal Events and long Continuance, it was not only as memorable as the Plague of *Athens*, but perhaps the Greateſt that ever happen'd in the World.

[a] *Thucydides*, who elegantly deſcribes the Plague of *Athens*. *Thucyd. l.2.Lucret.l.6. Virg.Georg.l.3.*

Now in the [b] Year 1345, being three Years before this Fatality came into *England*, on the [c] 28 of *March*, a little before Nine of the Clock, according to the Adequation of a great Mathematician and Aſtrologer, called Doctor *Paulo di ſer Piero*, there was a Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* in 20 Degrees of *Aquarius*, with thoſe Aſpects of the other Planets, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter: But According to the Almanack of [d] *Profazio* a *Jew*, and the Tables of *Toledo*, that Conjunction ſhould be fixt on the 20 of the ſaid Month of *March*, and the Planet of *Mars* was with them in the ſaid Sign of *Aquarius* 27 Degrees: And the Moon ſuffer'd a total Eccliſpe on the 18 of the ſame Month in 7 Degrees of *Libra*. And on the 11 of *March*, when *Sol* enter'd *Aries*, *Saturn* was in his Aſcendant in 18 Degrees of *Aquarius*, and Lord of the Year; and *Jupiter* was in 16 Degrees of the ſaid Sign of *Aquarius*, and *Mars*

[b] *De hâc famosâ Peſtilentiâ vid.* Franciſci Petrarch. *de Rebus Famil. Epiſtol. l.* 8 *ep.* 7. Johan. Cantacuzen. *l.*4. *c.* 8. Odoric. Rainald. *ad Annum* 1348. §. 1. *&* 30. *ad* §. 33. Giovanni Villani *&* Matth. Villani *M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. c.* 228. Knighton, Walſingham, Fabian, Holinſhead, Stow, Lanquet, Speed, Fox, R. Avesbury, Godwins *Catal. Biſhops*, Sandfords *Geneal. Hiſtory*, Mezeray, Cluverius, *Epit. Hiſt.* Polydor. Virgil. *l.* 19. *p.* 377. Bucholcerus Haagog. *Chron.* Lampad. & Pezel. *in* Sleidan, &c.

[c] *Giov. Villani* l. 12. *c.* 40. *p.* 848.

[d] *Profatius* a learned *Jewiſh* Aſtrologer, who wrote about an 100 Years before this time a Perpetual Almanack, *&c. vid.* Eſq; *Sherburn's* Catal. of Aſtronom. at his Sphere of *Manilius p.* 33.

Mars in 22 Degrees of the ſame. But if we follow the Equation of the ſaid Dr. *Paulo*, who was the moſt Eminent of the Moderns in thoſe Days, and ſays, that by the Help of his Inſtruments he ſaw viſibly the Conjunction on the 28 of *March*, the ſaid Conjunction being in an Angle of the Eaſt, that the *Sun* was well-nigh in the Mid-Heaven, a little declining to the Angle of 16 Degrees of *Aries*, and in his Exaltation and *Leo* his Houſe, was in his Aſcendant 13 Degrees, and *Mars* was now already in 16 Degrees of *Piſces*, *Venus* in 12 Degrees of *Taurus*, her Houſe, and in the Mid-Heaven; *Mercury* in the firſt Degree of *Taurus*, and the *Moon* 4 Degrees in *Aquarius*. But according to the Calculation of Mr. *John Aſhindon*, and Mr. *William Read* (two *Engliſh* Aſtrologers of thoſe Days of *Merton* College in *Oxford*) which they made for the Latitude of *Oxford*, [c] on the ſaid 18 Day of *March* the *Moon* was totally Eclipſed at fourty Scruples paſt Nine of the Clock, the *Sun* being in 22[d] Degree of *Aries*, and the *Moon* in the 22[d] of *Libra*. But the Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* was moſt notable in the 19 Degree of *Aquarius*, on the 20 Day of *March*, in the Evening at Eight of the Clock and one Scruple. From which *Eclipſe* the ſaid *Aſhindon* and *Read*, and another *Oxford* Man named *Geoffry de Meldis*, undertook to foretell Wars, Famine and Peſtilence: Particularly *Aſhindon* predicted, that the Influence of that Eclipſe ſhould continue for eight Years and five Months; but that the Effects of the Conjunction ſhould prevail for the ſpace of three Years onely. And indeed the foreſaid Conjunction with its Aſpects of the other Planets and Signs, according to the beſt Aſtrologers, did naturally [f] ſignifie (God permitting) ſome Grand Event to the World, as Battle and Slaughter, and remarkable Mutations of Kingdoms and People, and the Death of Kings, and Tranſlation of Dominions, and Alterations in Religion, and the Appearance of ſome Prophet, and new Errours and Fallings from the Faith, and the ſudden Arrival of New Lords and Strange Nations, and Dearth and Mortality, near at hand; in thoſe Climates, Kingdoms, Countries and Cities, to which the Influence of the ſaid Signs and Planets belongs; and ſometimes is attended with ſome Comet in the Air, or other Prodigies, or Inundations, and Floods and exceſſive Rains: Becauſe that Conjunction being of it ſelf important, is ſo much the more to be feared from the Propinquity of *Mars*; and alſo the Eclipſe of the Moon, which of it ſelf ſometimes is of evil Portent.

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[c] *Vid. Antonii Wood Antiq.* Oxon. *Acad.* *l.* 1. *p.* 172.

[f] *Giov. Villani ibid. vid. Sr.* George Wharton's *Works* (*put forth by Mr.* John Gadbury) *p.* 133, *&c.*

This we do not averr to be done of Neceſſity from ſuch and ſuch Appearances or Poſitions of the Heavenly Bodies; but yet we ſay, that it is done more or leſs, as it pleaſes God, the Creator and Ruler of all things, either in Juſtice or Mercy, according to the Good or Evil Merits of Nations, or Kingdoms or People, to puniſh or reward them. And ſtill there remains a Free-Will in Man, thô only as to what may be ſuppoſed within his own Power.

Nay if we obſerve further we ſhall find, that *Mars* entred into *Cancer* on the 12 of *September* in the foreſaid Year 1345, and ſtood in the ſaid Sign between *Direct* and *Retrograde* till the 10 of *January*; when being *Retrograde* he went into *Gemini*, and continued there till the 16 of *February*, and returned afterward into *Cancer*, and then ſtood in that Sign till the Firſt of *May* 1346. From whence it appears, that he ſtood in *Cancer* within the ſpace of ſix Months almoſt twice, when according to his uſual Courſe, he did not ſtay in a Sign above 50 Days. Whence it was ſaid by many Maſters in Aſtrology, "That the Realm of *France* ſhould ſuffer many Adverſities and "Changes, becauſe that Sign of *Cancer* is the Exaltation of *Jupiter*, a ſweet and peace-"able Planet, beſtowing Riches and Nobility: Which Sign of *Cancer* is attributed to "the Realm of *France*. Beſides the Planet of *Jupiter* ſtood in Oppoſition to *Saturn* "and *Mars*, which Planet *Jupiter* is appropriated to the Church, and to the *French* "King. Note alſo that *Jupiter*, after that, entring *Piſces*, his Houſe, was preſently in "that Sign in Conjunction with *Cauda Draconis*, which doth farther advance the Ma-"levolence by abating the more benign Force of *Jupiter*, eſpecially in that Country, "where his Influence is aſcribed.

But now to qualifie all this, leſt we ſhould be counted too much addicted to the Obſervation of Matters, which have been wholly deſpiſed by many Wiſe Men (thô not much the Wiſer perhaps for abſolutely Rejecting all Aſtrologicall Judgments) we ought firmly to believe and hold for certain; that God Almighty ſuffereth ſuch Plagues and Adverſities to fall upon People, Cities or Countries, for the Puniſhmenr of Sin; not neceſſarily from the Courſe of the Stars: But that at ſuch times being Lord of the Univerſe, and ſo conſequently of the Heavenly Bodies, as he pleaſes, and even when he will, he makes the Courſe of the Stars to accord and harmonize with his Judgments. To which Opinion the Scripture it ſelf doth more than ſeem to bear an Alluſion, when

it

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it says, "That the Stars in their Courses fought against *Sisera*: Which is as much as to say, after the Exposition of a Reverend and Learned [g] Prelate of the Church of *England*, That *Sisera* fought, when there was an Evil Aspect, or Malignant Influence upon him.

II. And yet beside this Dreadfull Conjunction, which was ever observed to be of almost Universal and Fatal Consequence to Mankind, there were innumerable other strange and prodigious Sympathisings of Nature, as so many evident Tokens of an Angry God; or rather, as so many Gentle Admonitions and Fatherly Warnings, before this heavy stroak of Justice was inflicted.

[g] Bishop *Taylors* Life of the Holy *Jesus Part.*3. *sect.*13. *p.*307.

But because this horrible Pestilence passed by Degrees over the whole World, and therefore cannot be supposed to have scourged all Places at the same time (for it began about the Year 1345, as we have said, came not into *England*, till the latter end of the Year 1348, and yet continued its Malignant Itineration thrô the World, even till the Year 1362) We shall therefore for Methods sake heap up together the several Prognosticks belonging thereto, as they happen'd at sundry times in divers Places.

[h] *Stow p.* 247.

In the County [h] of *Oxford* nigh *Chippingnorton*, was found about this time a Monstrous Serpent, having two Heads, with Faces like Women, one being shaped so, as to resemble the New Tire of those Days, and the other to represent the Old antiquated Fashion: It had also great and large Wings; but something like those of a Flittermouse, or Bat, as Authors have reported. And the last Year it rain'd in *England*, especially [i] in the *South*-Countries, and in the *West*, from *Christmas* even to *Midsummer* in a manner continually; so that all the while it hardly ever held up so much as but for one Day and Night together: Whereupon great Inundations followed, and the Earth became corrupted, and afterwards the Air; whence partly ensued that Mortality, of which we shall speak by and by. Particularly seven Days after *Christmas*, the [k] River *Ouse* overflow'd so mightily at *York*, that it reach'd from the end of the Bridge towards St. *Michael*-Gate to the Market-place.

[i] *M. Scvet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. c.*228. *Walsing. hypod. p.*121. & *hist.* 159. *Fabian p.*226. *Holinshead p* 943.

[k] *Tho. Stubbs Act. Pontif. Eborac. apud* 10 *Angl. scriptores p.*1732. *n.*20.

Also at *Paris* in the [l] Moneth of *August*, the foregoing Year, there was seen an extraordinary Dreadfull Comet, which is called *Nigra*, or Black, from its Evil Portent, in 16 Degrees of *Taurus*, in the Head of the Figure and Sign, named *Caput Argol*, or *Medusa's* Head: It appeared before the Sun was down, and seemed to be not very high in the Air. The second Night it was less luminous, and as it were divided into several radiant streaks; and after about fifteen days continuance, it wholly disappeared. This sort of Comet partakes of the Nature of *Saturn*, and from its influence is called *Nigra*; according as *Zael* the Philosopher and Astrologer, and other Masters of the said science affirm: Which portends nothing but the Death of Kings and Potentates, and great Mortality. And this particularly appeared, not only from this Plague which we are discoursing of, but more especially from the Death of the *French* King, which followed soon after.

[l] *Mezeray p.*32. & *Giov. Villani l.*12. *c.*97. *p.*903

On the [m] 20 of *December* 1348, in the Morning, the Sun being risen, there appeared at *Avignon* in *Provence* in *France*, where the Popes resided in those Days, over his Holinesses Palace, as it were a Pillar of Fire, and tarried there the space of an Hour: Which was seen by all of his Court to their great Amazement. And thô there may be given a Natural reason for it, as that it may proceed from the Rays of the Sun in manner of an Arch; yet always such an appearance hath been taken to portend some strange Novelty; And therefore is it not amiss ranked among those many previous Denunciations of so notable a Plague, as now we are discoursing of.

[m] *Giov. Villani c.*119. *p.*927.

Besides all these unusual and unhappy Presages, there were [n] this Year in many Countries, frequent and terrible Earthquakes; but especially in *Italy*; so that in the City of *Rome* many Houses, Steeples and Churches were thrown down; and at *Naples* the Archbishops Palace was wholly overthrown, with several other stately Edifices, strong Towers, and goodly Monasteries; so that what with the Earthquake and a strange Tempest, that happen'd at the same time, a great part of the City was destroy'd: Particularly, while a certain Frier was Preaching in a Church, both he and all his Auditors were buried in the Earth together; except only One Frier, who, doubting the Event from the trembling and groaning, which he perceived in the Earth, fled into a Garden without the City, where he sav'd himself. And many other Churches and Chief Buildings, were with such violence overturned by this Hurricane; that the Inhabitants had neither time, nor warning, to foresee or escape the Danger; but a great Number were suddenly buried in these Ruines. Wherefore neither Citizens, nor strangers durst stay in their Houses, either Night or Day; but continued with great fear in spacious Market-

[n] *Stow p.*247. & *Knighton p.* 2598.

ket-places, or removed into the open fields, till the Fury of this terrible Earthquake was abated: Which yet lasted by fits for about 8 days. And during those Dreadfull Turbulencies, the People, thô on plain ground, were not able to stand on their Feet. In [o] *Achaia*, and about *Corinth*, in *Peloponnesus*, several whole Villages were overwhelmed, and absorpt by Earthquakes: In *Cyprus* Mountains were removed from their places; so that Towns and Villages were crushed down, and the Course of Great Rivers were obstructed thereby. In [p] *Germany* two Mountains were swallowed up by this Earthquake; particularly [q] *Villach* in *Istria* was a sad Example of this Calamity: For every House in that City was utterly overthrown, except only the Cottage of a Just and Charitable Man. And yet the Inhabitants had timely warning of this Evil, that so they might fly from it: For in the midst of the Market-place the Earth was cloven in sunder in the form of a Cross; and first it sent forth Blood, and then Water. And [r] *Lazius* says, that most of the Towns in *Austria* and *Styria* fell with this Earthquake; and many other Provinces suffer'd such lasting Characters of the Fury of these strong Convulsions of Nature; that least the joynt concurrence of so many Authors of those days should not obtain sufficient Credit, they might be very plainly read even by late Posterity.

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[o] *Knighton ibid.*
[p] *Lampad. & Pezel. in Sleidan. par.* 3. *p.* 365.
[q] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 122. *p.* 929. *& D. Ant. Archiep. Floren. Chron. par.* 3. *p.* 355. *ad an.* 1349. *tit.* 21. *c.* 8. *§* 4.
[r] *Lazius Geneal. Austr. Comment. l.* 12. *p.* 234. *& Jch. Aventin. Ann. Boior. l.* 7. *p.* 633.

This Wonderfull Earthquake, as if in it self not enough terrible, was for the most part [s] attended with loud and horrid Thunders, and dismal flashes of Lightning; whereby among the rest, in the Year 1353, the great Bell of St. *Peters* Church in *Rome*, was thrown down and almost melted. The same Year at *Cremona*, near *Mantua* in *Italy*, there fell a Mighty storm of Hail, whereby many Cattle and People were destroyed, and even strong-built Houses not a little damnified. For if we may believe the Report of Historians, several of the Hail-stones weigh'd 8 pound, and those of the lesser sort a pound. Two Years after, *viz.* 1355, upon a [t] *Tuesday*, being the 17 of *February*, at half an hour past 4 in the Morning, the Moon being then in *Aquarius*, began to suffer an Eclipse, and by half an hour past 5 it was totally Eclipsed, and so continued to the Astonishment of all that saw it, for well nigh an Hour. The Year following there was another terrible Earthquake in divers Countries, but especially in *Spain* and *Germany*, to the Desolation of many Edifices, and the Destruction of much People, to whom for the most part their own houses became Sepulchers: But the City of *Basil* felt the Effects of its Fury more severely, being almost wholly ruinated thereby. Three Years after, namely 1359, on the 21 [u] of *April*, being *Easter*-day, in the Cathedral-Church of *Siena* in *Tuscany*, while the Bishop being assisted with five other Priests, stood by the Altar preparing the Elements for the Holy *Eucharist*, there fell a strong and terrible shour of Rain, accompanied with loud Thunders and horrid flashes of Lightning, during which Tempests many parts of the Church were stricken, and the Chappel spoil'd and beaten down, together with the Table of the High-Altar: The Bishop and the Priests, what with the Lightning and their own Amazement, were fell'd down half-dead, and the Chalice and Cross were violently born away, or melted, or stricken into the ground; so that afterwards they could never be found. About the same time were many Monstrous and Prodigious Births in divers Countries, and Women frequently miscarried, or perished in Childbirth. In the Year 1348, it rain'd [x] Blood in *Germany*, and Comets, Meteors, Fiery Beams, and other Coruscations appear'd in the Air; [y] with divers Mock Suns, and the Heavens seem'd to burn.

[s] *Stow p.* 247.
[t] *Stow* says *Tuesday* the 16 of *Feb.* but *D* being the Domin. Letter of that Year, the 16 of *Febr.* was on a *Monday.*
[u] *Hic* Stow *exacte cum* Labbæo *concordat. ubi ad an.* 1359. Lit. Dom. *F.* Pascha 21 *Apr.*
[x] *Lampadius & Pezel. in Sleid. pars* 3. *p.* 365.
[y] *Mr.* John Gadbury's *Natura Prodigiorum p.* 77.

Nor was the Long-suffering of Heaven content to give these short warnings; some being but a little before, and some even in the very time of the great Plague; but 30 [z] Years before the Blow was given, that Infinite Father of all Mercies, declared by the Mouth of one named *Robert*, a *Jacobin* Frier; that heavy Judgements were preparing, as well for all Mankind, if they did not speedily repent; as especially for the Clergy (which part also we shall see most exactly performed by and by) to punish them for their Pride, Simony, Sloth, Lust, and Avarice. All these and many more Predictions and unusual Prodigies, which happen'd in these days, did easily perswade the more judicious and sober part of Mankind (which yet are always but a few in Number) that some great and signal Judgements were ready to pursue the Falshood, Vanity, and Irreligion of the World: And accordingly now there arose such a Plague, as a [a] very Judicious and Worthy Person sticks not to averr, that it was never yet equall'd by any: For, says He, it rag'd Universally over all our Hemisphere, and there was neither City, Village, nor House, whereinto it did not cruelly intrude.

[z] *Stow p.* 248.
[a] *Mezeray An°.* 1348.

III. It is said to have had its Original [b] among the *Tartars*, in the Kingdom of *Cathay* in *Asia*, and among the *Indians*, by reason of a certain Igneous Vapour, or Sulphurous

[b] *Mezeray ibid. & Knighton p.* 2598.

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phurous Fire, horribly breaking forth from the Earth; or, as [c] others, descending from Heaven, which utterly consumed and devoured Men and Beasts, Houses, Stones, and Trees, to the very ground it self, and stretched forward, rowling along in smoaky globes of horrid Stink and Pestilential Fire, for more than 200 Leagues of the Country, or 15 days journey together: Whereby the Air became so infected in those parts, that there fell down [d] Millions of young Serpents, and other Venemous Insects, and in other Countries more remote from this fiery eruption, were found infinite quantities of huge Vermin, with 8 short Legs and Tails, all over black, some living, and some dead; the latter whereof stank over all the Country, and the former were not only most dreadfull to behold; but whomsoever any of them chanced but to touch, they became immediately to them as Mortal Poison: As was testified by Letters even in those days by Persons of undoubted Credit, to several Citizens of *Florence*, and others.

[c] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 83. *p.* 892. *&* *D. Anton. Chron. par.* 3. *p.* 355.

[d] *Mezeray ibid. Giov. Villani ib. & Mr.* John Gadbury's *Natura Prodigorum p.* 77. *D. Anton. Chron. par.* 3 *p.* 355. *&c.*

The Plague also of *Athens* is reported to have had its Original in the same Parts: For whereas *Thucydides* names the Place of its Rise to be that Part of *Ethiopia* which lies upon *Egypt*; we are assured, that the Antients were used frequently to confound the Names of *Ethiopia* and *India* together, as [e] *Servius* also witnesses: Wherefore *Thucydides*, who follow'd only common Report herein, might be deceived, as to the Place of its Birth, or rather those Authors, whom I am fain to follow. Which I am rather inclin'd to believe, not onely out of Respect to that Incomparable *Greek* Historian; but also I find a Difference among our Writers: Some seriously affirming, [f] that the Original of this Pestilence was in *Egypt* also; tho Others say, that this Destructive Vapour arose at *Mecha* in *Arabia Felix*, among the *Jews*, *Turks* and *Arabians*, where at the same time it rained Snakes and Blood from Heaven for three Days and three Nights together; when also the Temple of *Mahomet* was beaten down by a terrible Tempest, and his Sepulchre torn up and broken to pieces; and that from this sulphurous and pestiferous Vapour, together with the Stink of Snakes and Blood, the whole Middle Region of the Air became corrupted, whence this unusual Infection took its Birth.

[e] *In* Lucan. *l.* 10. *ubi de Regia Ægypti: Sed* Indiam *omnem plagam Æthiopiæ accipimus.*

[f] *John Baptista Pign. Hist. Domûs Atestinæ l.* 4. *p.* 319.

Nor did it at all degenerate from its Original, but immediately proceeded to decimate all Mankind; or rather to destroy Nine of Ten thrô the whole World: For [g] Historians have not doubted to speak so largely of this Mortality. Nay some say, that where indeed it was most favourable, it left one Third, or One of Five; but where it shew'd its Tyranny more freely, it scarce left a fifteenth or a twentieth Person alive. Nay some Provinces partly with the Plague, and partly with Earthquakes and Lightnings, were quite left Desolate; and in the Country of *Anthemusia*, vulgarly *Alidult*, in *Mesopotamia*, [h] under the Dominion of the Soldan of *Babylon*, there was not one left alive but only some Women, whom either the Horrour of their Condition, or the strangeness of the Infection, or both, drove to such a furious Enragedness of Mind, that they devoured one another. The Method of this Plague was to stay but [i] two or three Days with any Person (for it surely kill'd in that or less time) and but five or six Months in any Place, and then to seek out for fresh Quarters. And as if disdaining to be rival'd by any Competitor, it solely reign'd, either keeping back all other sorts of Diseases, as being fully assured of its own Sufficiency, or rather engrossing to it self all the Armory of Death and Destruction: For it made more abundant Conquests, than ever all sorts of other Diseases did at one time before. It took Men generally in the Head and Stomach, appearing [k] first in the Groin, or under the Armpits by little Knobs or Swellings, called Kernels, being Biles, Blains, Blisters, Pimples, Wheals or Plague-Sores, generally attended with Pestilential Fevers, which occasion'd Spitting and Vomiting of Blood, whence for the most part they died in a manner presently, or in half [l] a Day, or within a Day or two at the most: After the Third day, thô seldom any liv'd so long, there was Hope, and yet then many falling into a deep Sleep never waked more. The Blisters and Kernels aforesaid were certain Symptoms of this Malady; but the most deadly and desperate was, when many of these [m] impostumous Swellings would rise over all the Body, which being hard and dry, upon Cutting sent forth little or no purulent Matter: Thô by this means after many Cuttings and Torments, not a few were healed in the end. But this Remedy was not found till very late, nor then in many Places neither: So that generally it was an irresistable Evil, every where tyrannizing without controll. Nor did Piety here avail, for those whose tender Minds obliged them, in meer Compassion, carefully to look to their Friends or Others, in this their deplorable Condition, were for the most part surely seised on themselves; for as [n] we are told, the Influence of this Disease was so contagious, that it not onely infected by a Touch

[g] *Walsingh. Hyp. p.* 129. *Godw. Catal. Bishops p.* 137. *& Mezeray ibid.*

[h] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 83. *p.* 892.

[i] *Knighton p.* 2599.

[k] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 83. *p.* 892. *&* Cortusiorum *Historia l.* 9. *c.* 14. *&* *D. Anton. Chron. par.* 3. *p.* 353.

[l] *Knighton p.* 2599. *& Cortus. Hist. ibid.*

[m] *Anton. Wood Antiq.* Oxon. *l.* 1. *p.* 172. *lin.* 20.

[n] *Cortus. Hist. ibid. & Mezeray ibid.*

Touch or Breathing, but transfus'd its Malignity into the very Beams of Light, and darted Death from the Eyes; and the very Seats and Garments of such proved fatal. Wherefore Parents forsook their Children, and Wives their Husbands; nor would Physicians here make their Visits, for neither were they able to do good to Others, and they were almost certain thereby to destroy themselves. Even the Priests also for the same horrid Consideration forbore either to administer the Sacraments, or absolve the dying Penitent. But yet neither Priests, nor Physicians, nor any other, who sought thus to escape, did find their Caution of any Advantage: For Death not only rag'd without Doors as well as in Chambers, but as if it took indignation, that any Mortal should think to fly from it, these kind of People died both more speedily and proportionably in greater Numbers. Then was there Death without Sorrow, Affinity without Friendship, willfull Penance and Dearth without Scarcity, and Flying without Refuge or Succour: For many fled from place to place because of the Pestilence; some into Deserts and places not inhabited, either in hope or despair: But quick-sighted Destruction found them out, and nimble-footed Misery was ever ready to attend them. Others having hired Boats or other Vessels, into which they laid up Provision, thought, or at lest hoped so to elude the Power of the Infection: But the Destroying Angel, like that in the [o] *Revelations*, had one Foot upon the Waters, as well as on the Land; for alas! the very Air they breathed being tainted, they drew in Death together with Life it self. The horrour of these things made others to lock up themselves close in their Houses, Gardens, and sweet retired Places, but the Evil they intended to exclude, pursued them thrô all their defences, and they had this onely difference, to die without the Company of any that might serve or pity them. No *Physician* could tell the Cause, or prescribe a Cure; and even what was saving to one was no less than fatal to another; no Astrologer could divine how or when it would cease: The only way left was to be prepared to receive it, and the most comfortable Resolution to expect it without Fear. Nay, it is to be remembred to the Praise of God, who correcteth the Body to save the Soul; that all Men being awaken'd to the quick by so dreadfull an appearance of Death at their Elbow, are said to have piously set themselves to bewail their sins, and to amend their Lives, and where they could, to frequent the Sacraments; and which was wonderfull, that most were so touched with a sense of Piety, Gods Grace sweetning the bitterness of Death with some small Taste of Eternal Felicity approaching, that they even rejoyced as they were dying: And [p] *Nauclerus* says, "That "it was some kind of Consolation in the midst of this general Grief, that innocent "Children being at the point of Death, did for the most part joyfully set forth the "Praises of God: And that Sinners themselves, before they perceiv'd any token of "the Pestilence upon them, had prepared themselves by an hearty Repentance: So that "they even willingly waited for Death.

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[o] Apocal. c. 10. v. 2. & 5.

[p] *Nauclerus Gener.* 45.

IV. I shall notwithstanding this prolix Description of ours subjoyn hereto one far more graphical and authentick, which came from the Royal Pen of *John Cantacuzenus*, who was at that time Emperour of *Constantinople*, and a great Sufferer thereby in the Devastation of his Countries. "This Plague says he, [q] taking its rise from the *Scythians* cal- "led *Hyberboreans*, overran almost all the Sea-coasts of the Habitable World, and de- "stroyed an incredible Number of People. For it did not only pass thrô *Pontus*, and "*Thrace* and *Macedonia*; but also thrô *Hellas* (properly so called) and *Italy*, and all "the Isles, and *Egypt*, and *Libya*, and *Indæa*, and *Syria*, and in a manner all the World "round about. But it was such an unconquerable Evil, that neither any Diet, or "Strength of Body could resist it: For it pull'd down all Bodies alike, as well the "Strong as the Weak, and those, who were most diligently look'd after, perished, as "well as those who wanted all things. That Year was free from all other Distempers; but "if perhaps any one was sick before, all other Distempers terminated in this. Here the "Knowledge of the Physicians was put to a stand: For some enduring a little died the "same Day, some the same Hour; but those that held out to the second or third Day, "were first taken with an acute Fever, and the Distemper getting up into the Head "were rendred speechless and insensible to all that was done; and so dropt off as it "were in a profound Sleep. But if any ever came to themselves a little, they endea- "vour'd to speak something, but the Tongue was difficultly moved; and so uttering "many inarticulate things, the Nerves being stupified in the hinder Part of the Head, "they presently died. Others were not taken in the Head, but in the Lungs, these had "an Inflamation in their Inwards, which created acute Pains about the Stomach: So that "they sent up Blood and a loathsome and cadaverous Stink from within. Their Jaws and "Tongues were dried up with Heat, and black and tainted with Gore; and whether

[q] *Joh Cantacuz. Hist. l. 4. c. 8. p. 730. & 731. & Jacob. Pontan. ibid. Latin. & id. in Attic. Bellar. par. 1. Syntag. 6. Descript. 9. p. 496.*

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"they drank much or little, 'twas all alike. These could take no sleep, but were in "continual pain and disquiet. Some had impostumous Ulcers and black Blisters, bigger "or lesser on their Arms, and under their Armpits; and some in the Cheeks, and o- "thers in other parts of the Body. And in others there arose black Nodes, Spots, "or Tokens over all the Body, in some more superficial and visible, in others deeper "and obscure. And yet of both sorts all died alike: For some had all these Sym- "toms together, others more or less, but to most even one of all was enough to do the "Business. Yet those few who recover'd, were no more touched with the same Mis- "chief, but remain'd secure now: For it never took any twice, so as to kill. Sundry "times there were great Impostumes in the Thighs and in the Arms, which being cut "sent forth much stinking matter: And so the Disease was carried off, flinging forth "together therewith all the noxious humours. And yet some, thô they had all these "symptoms, were beyond all expectation saved. But there was no certain Remedy: "For what was good for one, was to another in the same Condition fatal: Yet he that "cured another got his own death thereby, and this made the greatest havock, so that "houses were emptied of Inhabitants, even brute Creatures dying with their Masters. "Yet nothing herein seem'd more dismal than the Despair, to which Men were redu- "ced: For when any one perceived himself sick, he abandon'd all hopes of Recove- "ry; and thus they gave themselves over and died presently, adding their defection of "Mind as an assistance to the Disease. Such a kind of Malady cannot be expressed; "and it was most manifest, that it was not any Plague natural or usual to Mankind, but "a Scourge from Heaven: Wherefore many also were much better'd thereby; not on- "ly of those who died, but as many as survived: For then casting aside all their "vices, they applied themselves wholly to the study of Vertue, and several gave all they "had to the Poor: But when any found themselves affected, there was none so stony "or so obdurate, but that he repented heartily of his sins, and thereby gave the Di- "vine Goodness some occasion of being Gracious at his Tribunal. Thus far the *Greek* Emperour.

V. And in this manner this terrible Slaughter taking its rise, whether in *India*, *Tartaria*, *Scythia* or *Arabia*, but [s] most certainly in that manner, as we have related, went sweeping along thrô the *Indians*, *Tartarians*, *Saracens*, *Turks*, *Syrians*, *Palestinians*, *Persians*, *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, *Africans*, and the Parts about *Tunis* and *Tribisond*, where it rag'd most furiously. Then it proceeded over all the *Levant*, thrô *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldæa*, *Cyprus*, *Candie*, *Rhodes*, and every Island in the *Archipelago*, scattering unspeakable Desolation all about: Insomuch that at first, before the Plague had touched the *Christians*, several Heathen Princes being dismayed above measure at its unexpressible rage and fury, were fully resolved to embrace the *Christian* Faith; for as then they heard how the *Christians* that dwelt on this side the *Greekish* Sea, were not, beyond the ordinary manner of Men, troubled with any Sickness or Mortality. Whereas in those Eastern Parts they found no less than 8000 [f] Legions, that is 23840000 Souls had been swept away in the space of one Year, as it was reported before the Pope at *Avignon*. But especially a marvellous manner of Death, and almost incredible to be told happen'd in *Arcaccia*; [t] so that Men, Women, and all living Creatures became in a manner statues at their Decease, being rendred almost as hard as marble after they were dead. Whereupon the Lords of that Country being horribly amazed at these unaccountable matters, propounded to themselves to receive the Gospell, till hearing of a like Mortality among the *Christians*, they were content to remain in their Infidelity. But the King [u] of *Tharsis* in *Comagena* supposing verily, that this unusual Scourge of Gods Wrath was laid upon him and his People for their Unbelief, with a great multitude of his Princes and Nobles, began his journey towards *Avignon* to visit Pope *Clement* VI, and to receive Baptism at his Hands: But being about 20 Diets onward of his way, when he heard that the *Christians* also were not free from this Contagion, he turned back, laying wholly aside the saving Design of Embracing the Faith, and so return'd into his own Country an Infidel as he came out: But in the way he lost about 2000 of his Company, whom the *Christians* cut off at the Tail of his Army.

Nor did this impartial Judgment make less havock throughout *Christendom*, for having [x] ravaged thrô all *Asia* and *Africk*, at last it came over into *Greece*, and thence successively to other Parts of *Europe*, till it had run it all over even to the Extremity of the *North*. In which Countries because we have surer Testimonies to rely upon, and a better Account made out thereby; we shall be here a little more particular in relating what it did: Well knowing what good Use wise and sober Men may make of so

[s] *Giov. Villani l.12 c.83. p. 892. E fu pure vera, e chiara, e certa, che si comincio un fuoco uscito di sotterra, overo che scendesse da cielo, &c.*

[f] *Knighton p. 2598. Legio. continet 6730.*

[t] *Giov. Villani l.12. c.83. p. 892.*

[u] *Knighton p. 2598.*

[x] *Mezeray p. 32.*

so ample an Account of a Judgment that ought never to be forgotten; thô we are not unsensible, that to a great many, even this that we have already said, may seem both too much, and of no great Consequence. AN. DOM. 1349. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXIII. *Franciæ* X.

The *Venetians*, [y] having lost an 100000 Souls, hired Vessels at a great Price, and were wafted to the Isles, leaving the City almost desolate. To *Padua* there came but one unknown Person infected, who so spread the Contagion, that hardly a Third remain'd alive in the whole Precinct. At *Florence* there died in one Year of this Plague no less than [z] 60000 Men, among whom was that Learned and Diligent Historian [a] *Giovanni Villani*, whom we have so often quoted in this present Work, and grieve, that by his untimely Death, we shall not be able in the Progress of our History to make any more Advantage of his Excellent and Authentick Labours: For he was certainly a Man, that surpassed all the *Historians* of that Age, whether we consider his Universal knowledge, or comprehensive Labours, or Curious, Industrious, Elegant and Faithfull Commentaries. Yet he died but toward the latter end of the Plague; wherefore during this our Description, we shall have some recourse to his Golden Book: For it seems the Worthy Gentleman laid not aside his Pen, till Death snatch'd it out of his Hand. And yet [b] a near Kinsman of his named *Matthew Villani*, as Heir of his Vertues and Industry, continued to write where he left off, nor without good success. The Citizens of *Florence* this mean while, [c] were so consternated at these perpetual Alarms of Dying, that they made a Publique Decree, that none should presume to publish the Number of the Dead, nor to sound any Passing Bell in the Churches, for fear of driving the living to despair by the frequent noise of Funerals. Nor did this Tyrannous Mischief rage less in *Pistoia*, a City between *Lucca* and *Florence*, in *Bolognia*, *Romania*, *Genoa*, and other parts of *Italy*, as also in *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, and innumerable other Places. But especially it was exceeding grievous at *Avignon* in *Provence*, where the People died [d] bleeding at the Nose, Mouth, and Fundament; so that Rivers ran with Blood, and streams of putrid gore issued forth from the Graves and Sepulchres of the Dead. When first it began there, no [e] less than 66 of the *Carmelite*-Fryers died, before any knew, what was the Matter; so that at first 'twas imagin'd, they had murder'd one another. Of the *English* College at *Avignon*, not one was left alive, and of the whole City scarce one in five. For according to a Bill of Mortality or Computation made before the Pope, there died there in one day 1212, and on another more than 400. But all this while, the Pope himself [f] deny'd all Publique Access to him, and made use of many Fires in his Chamber to purifie the Air: By which means [g] they say Pope *Nicolas* IV, had before that avoided a like Epidemical distemper, constantly keeping many fires in his Palace, even in the hottest of Summer. However Pope *Clement* did not lock himself up so, as to confine his Charity; "for all this while he "[h] allowed wages to certain *Physicians* to visit the Poor; and others he hired, to pro- "vide them with Necessaries, while they lived, and upon their departure to give them "decent burial. He also purchased for a burying-place a large Field, wherein he cau- "sed to be consecrated a Cœmitery, able to contain all their Dead. And there infi- "nite Numbers from that time were buried, and it was called *Campo il Florido*, which "name continues to this day. In [i] *Provence* there died in *Lent* only of the *Fryers-Preachers* 358, and in *Montpellier* of an 140 of the said Order of Fryers, there remain'd but seven alive: But at *Marseilles* of an 140 *Predicants*, and 10 Fryers-Minors, there was but only One left to tell the sad Story of his Brethrens Death. At St. *Dennis* this Devouring Monster dispatch'd [k] 14000, and so proceeded to *Paris*, where, as if it had been yet fasting, it made a more Plentifull Banquet of no less than 50000. At *Lubeck*, a City of *Germany*, in one Year it swept away no less than [l] 90000, whereof 1500 are reported to have died within the space of Four Hours: And thrô all *Germany* there are reckoned 1244434 to have died of the Plague only.

[y] *Cortusiorum Hist. l.9. c.14. & Odor. Raynal. ad an.* 1348. §. 30.
[z] *Cluverius Epit. Hist. p.573. &c. & D. Anton. Archiep. Florent. Chron. par. 3. p. 353.*
[a] *Additio ad finem Giov. Villan. p.929.*
[b] *Odoric. Raynald. ad an.* 1348. §. 33. *ex Matth. Villani l.1. c.1.*
[c] *Giov. Villani l.12. c.83. p. 891.*
[d] *Stow p. 248.*
[e] *Knighton p. 2598.*
[f] *Odor. Raynald. ad an.* 1348. §. 32.
[g] *Odor. Raynald. ad an.* 1288. §. 1.
[h] *Gesta Clement. VI. apud Bosqu. & Odor. Raynal. ad an.* 1348. §. 32.
[i] *Knighton p. 2598.*
[k] *Fabian p. 226. & Lanquet's Chron. ad an.* 1348.
[l] *Cluverii Epit. Hist. p. 573. & Lampad. & Pezel. in Sleidan. par. 3. p. 365.*

It would be both incredible to hear, and almost impossible to declare, the Wonderfull havock it made in other Foreign Parts, even as we have said, throughout the whole world: Insomuch [m] that many Towns and Cities, nay whole Provinces, were in a manner left desolate of Inhabitants. Wherefore we shall have done with this Tragical Truth; when we have shewn, how our own Country fared thereby: For at last this fiery scourge of God came over the Seas to afflict our World also.

[m] *Giov. Villani l.12. c 83. p.893*

VI. About the [n] First of *August* 1348, it began in the Sea-port Towns, on the Coasts of *Dorsetshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Somersetshire*, whence it ran up to *Bristow*: So that the *Glocestershire*-men forbad all entercourse with the *Bristolians*. But this Familiar Fury wanted no *Medium* to introduce it: For as the Scripture says of the Pestilence,

[n] *Fox Acts & Mon. & Stow p. 245. &c.*

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stilence, that it walketh in Darkneſs or inviſibly; its Progreſs not being to be found out; ſo unexpectedly and contrary to humane Precaution this Plague alſo walked, or rather flew, among the *Gloceſterſhire* men; whence it went [o] to *Oxford*, and about the Firſt of *November* it reached *London*, and finally ſpread it ſelf all over *England*, ſcattering every where ſuch Ruine and Deſolation, that of all ſorts hardly the Tenth Perſon was left alive.

In the [p] Church and Church-yard of *Yarmouth*, were buried in one Year no leſs, than 7052 Perſons, all of the Plague: So that the Parſonage, which before was worth 700 Marks *per annum*, was hardly afterwards worth 40 pounds, as it was certified to King *Henry* VII, in the 22 Year of his Reign, and was written upon the Gates of the Church of that Town. In the City [q] of *Norwich*, from the Firſt of *January* to the Firſt of *July*, which is but half a Years Space, there died no leſs than 57104, or as others have it, 57374. In the City [r] of *Leiceſter* out of the ſmall Pariſh of St. *Leonard*, there fell no leſs than 380: In the Pariſh of *Holy-Rood* 400 more, then in St. *Margarets* 700, and ſo proportionably in other Pariſhes. In the City [s] of *York* it raged moſt furiouſly from about the Aſcenſion to the Feaſt of St. *James* the Apoſtle: But in the Famous City of *London*, Death was ſo outragiouſly Cruel, that every day at leaſt 20, ſometimes 40, ſometimes 60, or more dead Corpſes were flung together into one Pit; and yet the Church-yards not ſufficing for the Dead, they were fain to ſet apart certain Fields for additional places of Burial: And yet even ſo, thoſe Offices were not performed with any uſual Decency or Honeſty; for the Numbers of the Dead being ſo great, they were fain to [t] make deep Ditches and Pits very broad; wherein they lay'd a range of Carcaſſes, and a range of Earth upon them, and then another range of Dead Bodies, which were all together cover'd; and after this manner were all People buried at that time, except thoſe of the better ſort. Among thoſe, who charitably took care of the Dead in this manner, we find, [u] that the Noble and Valiant Lord *Walter Manny*, ſo often mention'd in this our Hiſtory, having a Pious Regard to Gods Judgements, and the common Frailty of Humane Nature, purchas'd a piece of ground, adjoyning to a place called *No Mans Land*, and lying in a place, called *Spittle-Croft*, becauſe it belonged to St. *Bartholomews Spittle*, or Hoſpital in *Smithfield*, ſince that, called the *New-Church-*[x] *Haw*, containing 13 Acres of Land and a Rod, and cauſed the ſame to be incloſed and conſecrated by *Ralph Stafford* Biſhop of *London*: In which one place (beſides thoſe buried in other *Church-yards*, Churches and Monaſteries in and about *London*) there were buried within one Year more than [y] 50000 Perſons, as I have read, ſays Mr. *Stow*, in the Charters of *Edward* III. The ſame Author affirms alſo, that he had ſeen and read an Inſcription, fixed on a Stone-Croſs, ſometime ſtanding in the ſame Church-yard, in theſe Words, Anno Domini MCCCXLIX Regnante Magna Peſtilentia, Conſecratum Fuit Hoc Coemiterium. In Quo Et Infra Septa Præſentis Monaſterii Sepulta Fuerunt Mortuorum Corpora Plusquam LM Præter Alia Multa Abhinc Usque Ad Præſens. Quorum Animabus Propitietur Deus. Amen.

But eſpecially between *Candlemas* and *Eaſter* this Year, there were buried in the place aforeſaid, about [z] 200 Corpſes *per diem* every day: Wherefore the ſaid Noble Lord *Walter Manny*, in memory of the vaſt Numbers of *Chriſtian* People there buried, and in Pious Charity (as he thought) to their Souls, cauſed afterwards on the ſame ground a Chappel to be builded, of rare Workmanſhip with Deſign to make it Collegiate for 12 Prieſts, and a Provoſt, and to endow it amply: [a] And there for about twenty two Years, Offerings were made, in which time it is to be noted, that above an 100000 Bodies of *Chriſtian* People, had been buried in that Church-yard. For the ſaid Sr. *Walter Manny* had purchaſed the Place for the Burial of Poor People, Travailers, and others, to remain for ever, and order was taken to avoid contention thereupon between That Houſe and Parſons of Churches.

But in the Year 1371, the ſaid Lord *Manny*, changing his Mind, in ſtead thereof obtained [b] a Licence to found a Monaſtery of *Carthuſian* Monks, to pray for the good Eſtate of himſelf, and of *Margaret* his Wife, during their Lives in this World, and afterwards for their Souls: As alſo for the Souls of *Alice* of *Hainalt*, *Michael Northburgh*, ſometime Biſhop of *London*, and of all his Anceſtors. And this [c] Houſe of *Carthuſian* Monks, he the ſaid Founder willed to be call'd the Salutation, and that One of the Monks ſhould be called *Prior*, and he gave them the ſaid place of 13 Acres, and a Rod of Land, with the Chappel and Houſes there builded for their habitation. He alſo gave them the three Acres of Land, lying without the Walls on the *North-*

part,

[o] Anton. Wood *Antiq.* Oxon. *l.* 1. *p.* 171. & 172. & Fox *Acts & Mon. ibid.* & Stow *p.* 246.

[p] *Annal. Eccleſiæ Prior.* Yarmouth *apud* Stow *ibid.*

[q] Stow *ibid. ex Regiſtro Norvicenſi*, & Sandford's *Geneal. Hiſt. p.* 166. *ſed male ibi* London, *pro* Norwich. & Daniel's *Hiſt. p.* 241. & Godwin's *Catal. Bps p.* 427. & Blome's *Britan. p.* 169.

[r] *Knighton p.* 2599.

[s] Tho. Stubbs *apud Decem Angl. Hiſt. Scriptores p.* 1732.

[t] *M.S. Vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantabr. c.* 228.

[u] *Stow Chron. p.* 246. and Survey of *London p.* 477. & *Bp. Godw. Catal. Bps p.* 198. & *Monaſt. Angl. Vol.* 1. *p.* 961.

[x] Haw *apud Veteres* Yard *ſonat.*

[y] *Fabian p.* 227. & *Stow Chron. p.* 246. and Survey of *London* 478.

[z] *Fox Acts & Mon, p.* 507. & *Holinſh. p.* 945. *ex Rob. Aveſbury.*

[a] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 150. *ex Monaſt. Ang.* 1 *Vol. p.* 961.

[b] *Dugd. ibid. ex Monaſt. Ang. ibid.*

[c] *Stow* Survey *London p.* 478, 479, 480, 481, &c.

part, betwixt the Lands of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and the Lands of the Prior of St. *John*: Which three Acres being purchaſed, encloſed, and dedicated by *Ralph Stafford* Biſhop of *London*, as aforeſaid, remain'd till our Fathers days by the Name of *Pardon Church-yard*, and ſerved for burying of ſuch, as deſparately ended their own Lives, or were executed for Felony. But now it is an Hoſpital for poor Men and Children, of the Foundation of the Worthy *Thomas Sutton* Eſquire, ſtill called by Corruption the *Charter-houſe*, and for its Revenues and decent Proviſion for young Scholars and others, excepting that Royal Foundation of *Chriſt-Church* Hoſpital in *London* (to which I owe my Education) the moſt notable in all this Kingdom.

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About the ſame time, and upon the ſame occaſion, that this Work of Charity began in *Weſt-Smithfield*; One [d] Mr. *John Corey*, a Godly and Learned Divine purchaſed of Doctor *Nicolas* Prior of the Holy *Trinity* within *Aldgate*, one Toft of ground near *Eaſt-Smithfield* by the Tower of *London*, for the Burial of them that died, with condition, that it might be called the *Church-yard* of the Holy *Trinity*; which ground by the aid of divers Devout Citizens, he cauſed to be encloſed with a Wall of Stone. In which place afterwards, namely, in the Year 1359, King *Edward* III (in contemplation of a vow which in a Tempeſt at Sea he had made, to build a Monaſtery to the Honour of God and our Lady of Grace, if God would graciouſly bring him ſafe to Land) did, by the conſent of the ſaid Prior and his Convent, build and found the Abbey of St. *Mary* of Grace, cauſing it to be named *Eaſt-Minſter*, thô it was alſo called by the Name of New-Abbey, placing therein an Abbot and Monks of the *Ciſtertian* Order.

[d] *Stow's Chron. p.* 246. & 277. and Survey of *London p.* 117.

VII. The mean while, in conſideration of this grievous Mortality, [e] all Suits and Pleadings in the Kings Bench, and other places ceaſed; and all * Seſſions of Parliament for the Space of more than two Years were hindred. Pope *Clement* for his part, being alarum'd with theſe heavy and prodigious Judgements of Almighty God, never ceaſed * by his Letters to both the Kings of *England* and *France*, to exhort them, as he doth moſt earneſtly, to a final agreement, that they might ſo avoid the ſevere ſtroke of Gods Vengeance: Aſſuring them that all theſe things happen'd as a Puniſhment for the Sins of Mankind. But eſpecially he entreated King *Edward* to ſend his Orators to *Avignon*, [f] "having (ſays he) our confidence in him, in whoſe hands are the "Hearts of Kings, We reſolve by no means to deſiſt from the proſecution of the "Treaty already begun: But intend by ſo much the more effectually and carefully to "promote it, by how much the more the miſerable ſtate of the World (which the jea-"lous God, and the Lord of Vengeance, being provoked with the multitude of Sins, "which Charity doth not cover, but wrath encreaſes, doth conſume in fury by a ge-"neral ſlaughter of an unheard-of Peſtilence) doth moſt eſpecially require an agreement "between you and the ſaid King of *France*, and is known to want it extreamly: "Leſt, which God forbid, that ſmall Flock, which the Saviour of the World, who "woundeth and healeth, hath like Seed-corn preſerved from this Deſtruction, ſhould "now be drown'd in the Waves of Commotions, and ſwallow'd in the miſerable Tem-"peſt of War, &c. Dat. *Avin.* XV Cal. *December*: *An°. Pontif. noſtri*, VIII. Upon this Pious Exhortation, King *Edward* was ſo far prevail'd with, as to [g] ſend his Commiſſioners, who were *William Bateman* Biſhop of *Norwich*, the Earls of *Lancaſter*, *Suffolk*, and *Northampton*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord [h] *Robert Bourchier*, the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, and the Lord *Richard Talbot*. Theſe all arrived at *Calais* in order to Treat with the *French* Commiſſioners, who were then come as far as St. *Omers* to meet them, together with the Biſhop of *Lyons*, the Abbot of St. *Dennis*, and the two Cardinals, who came on the Pope's behalf to moderate Matters between the two parties. Being all met in a Convenient place half-way between the Towns of *Calais* and St. *Omers*, the *Frenchmen* ſtill inſiſted on the reſtoring of *Calais*, or raſing it down to the ground: But neither of theſe would the *Engliſh* admit of. However, at laſt by the urgent Prayers, and Interceſſion of the Cardinals, it was at laſt agreed, that certain Commiſſioners from both the Kings of *England* & *France* ſhould enter upon a Treaty of Peace, to be held from the time, that this Treaty ended, unto the Month of *September* following: By which, if then a final Peace could not be had, that the Crown of *France* ſhould be brought by the Conſent of both Partys to a certain convenient place within that Realm, and there without any other Tryal or Appeal, the Right thereof to be decided by a Pitch'd Battle. This Truce and Agreement was thus made on the [i] Tenth of *March* * $13\frac{49}{50}$, but the Conditions came to no Effect, the whole project being null'd on occaſion of the Death of *Philip* of *Valois*, who died a Month before the limited time, to wit, on the [k] 22[d] of *Auguſt* the Year following.

[e] *Stow Chron. p.* 246. * *M.S. R.P. p.* 71. §. 4. *Sr. Rob. Cotton's* Abridgement *p.* 73. §. 4. *An°.* 25. *Ed.* 3. * *Knighton p.* 2598. & *Odor. Rainald. ad an.* 1349. §. 26. *&c. ex Tom. Epiſt. Secret. ep.* 72. & 73.

[f] *Odor. Rainald. ibid. ex Tom.* 7. *Epiſt. Secret. ep.* 102.

[g] *Stow p.* 246. & *Holinſh. p.* 945.

[h] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 127.

[i] *Aſhmole p.* 657. * $13\frac{49}{50}$.

[k] *Mezeray ad an.* 1350.

VIII. Du-

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VIII. During the rage of this horrid Peſtilence, the Pope, [l] to raiſe the Faithfull to a *Chriſtian*-like Conſtancy, by the hope of a Glorious Immortality, gave Authority to all Prieſts of abſolving the Penitent from all their ſins, and granting them the benefit of Indulgences: And in his *Diploma*, bearing date the XIV Kal. *June* the Year foregoing, he propoſes great Indulgences to thoſe Prieſts, who ſhould adminiſter the Sacrament, or other Ghoſtly Comforts to the ſick, as alſo to all thoſe who ſhould perform any good or friendly Office to the Dying, or to the Dead, either in Phyſick, Burial, or the like: And further, becauſe many were like to be deprived of the Benefit of Prieſts Converſation, he now by his Bulls [m] granted throughout all *Chriſtendom* a full Remiſſion of Sins to any One, that being in peril of Death ſhould but once receive Abſolution; and that every One might take whom he pleas'd, or whom he could, for his Confeſſor; which Grant to endure till the *Eaſter* then next enſuing. A Grant to be queſtion'd, as to its validity (For who can forgive ſins, but God alone?) yet no doubt proceeding from a good purpoſe, and for that reſpect, at leaſt commendable. Upon the ſame account alſo here in *England*, *Thomas Beck* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, ſent throughout all his Diœceſe, empowring all Prieſts both Regular and Secular to hear Confeſſions, and to abſolve any Perſon with full and Epiſcopal Authority of all Sins, except only for Debt: In which caſe, if the Party was able, he ſhould make full Satisfaction in his own Perſon, while he lived, or carefully provide, that others ſhould perform the ſame after his Death. And in all *Chriſtian* Countries, Cities, and Towns, there were Publique and Solemn Proceſſions made for [n] ſeveral days together, that God would be pleaſed to ſheath his angry Sword, and preſerve the Reſidue from this devouring Peſtilence.

[l] *Matth. Villani l.* 1 *c.* 3. *& Odor. Rainald. ad an.* 1348. §. 33. *& Giov. Villani l.* 12. *c.* 83. *p.* 893.
[m] *Knighton p.* 2599.
[n] *Giov. Villani l.* 12. *p.* 893.

IX. Of which, thô innumerable Numbers of the Common ſort of People died, chiefly old Men, Women and Children; yet (which is Wonderfull) not [o] one King, or Prince of a Nation, is ſaid to have died thrô all the World: And even of Nobles but a very few were taken away at this time, eſpecially of the *Engliſh* Nation: Whether by chance, or that it pleaſed God to ſpare theſe, either for the Well-governing the Remainder, or for their further Puniſhment; for in thoſe days the Wars were moſtly carried on, and Menag'd by the Intereſt, Valour, and Conduct of the Nobility in all Nations. Among the Nobles of *England*, that died of this Plague, we find beſides the Lord *John Mongomery*, Captain of *Calais*, and his Lady, that the Princeſs *Joan*, ſecond Daughter, and third Child of King *Edward* the Third, was the Chief, who taſted this bitter Cup. About four Years ſince ſhe had been requeſted by *Alphonſo* XI, King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, as a Match for his Eldeſt Son *Don Pedro*, *Infant* of *Spain*, in order to which Marriage King *Edward* then [p] ſent over Sr. *William Truſſel*, and the Prior of *Rocheſter*, to confer with the ſaid *Alphonſo*: Accordingly the laſt Year, being thirteen Years of Age, ſhe was [q] eſpouſed by Proxy to *Don Pedro*, entitled *Infanta* of *Spain*, and then Honourably convey'd into that Country, where ſhe preſently deceaſed of this Plague, then reigning in thoſe Parts; So that the Prince, who came to meet her to ſolemnize the Eſpouſals, was fain to accompany her Body to Church to her Funeral, which happen'd in the Year aforeſaid. Of the ſame Plague alſo there died this Year [r] on the 31 of *May*, without Iſſue, the Lord *Thomas Wake* of *Lidel*, leaving behind him the Lady *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Kent* (Dowager of *Edmund* of *Woodſtock*, late Earl of *Kent*) his Siſter and Heir, Fourty Years of Age: Who thereupon performing her Fealty, had Livery of all his Lands ſhortly after. There [s] died alſo about this time Sr. *John Fauconberg* a Valiant and Hardy Baron of this Realm, being aged 57 Years: He was a Perſon highly Eminent for his Military Services both in *France* and *Scotland*, and had been ſucceſſively in his time High-Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, and Governour of the Caſtle of *York*, and afterwards of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*. He was ſucceeded by *Walter* his Son and Heir, then of full Age, who performing his Homage, had Livery of his Fathers Lands, and became a good Knight in his days. And laſtly there died the Lord *Robert Bourchier*, [t] leaving *John* his Son and Heir twenty Years of Age, and was buried at *Haulſted* in *Eſſex*. I know of no more of the Nobility, that fell at this time, nor did any of the Epiſcopal Order ſuffer Deeper; but only the Chair of *Canterbury*, which loſt no leſs, than three Archbiſhops all in one Year. And thoſe were firſt Dr. *John Stratford*, a Man of great Learning, Loyalty, and Charity, with whom that Famous Contention paſſed, whereof we ſpake ſo largely; after he had ſat in that ſee about 15 Years. The Second was his Succeſſor Dr. *John Hufford*, Son (as [u] ſome ſay) to *Robert Hufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*: Thô I find it not [x] in that Earls Pedigree, and beſides, the Age ſhews ſome diſcrepance, the Earl ſurviving him full 20 Years: He is not by ſome reckon'd among the Archbiſhops,

[o] *Cortuſiorum Hiſtoria l.* 9. *c.* 14.
[p] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 144.
[q] *Aſhmole p.* 669. *Speeds Chron. p.* 590. *b in Ed.* 3. *ad finem.*
[r] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 541. *& Tho. Mills Catal. Honor. p.* 764.
[s] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 4.
[t] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 127.
[u] *Godw. Catal. Biſh. p.* 136. *&* 137.
[x] *Mill's Catal. of Hon. p.* 529. *& Dudg. Bar.* 2 *Vol. p.* 48. *b.*

biſhops, becauſe having expected his Pall and Conſecration full ſix Months, he died now at laſt without either, in the [y] Month of *May*, or as one [z] ſays, on the Seventh of *June* this Year, having been in his time ſucceſſively both Dean of *Lincoln* and Lord Chancellour of *England*. AN. DOM. 1349. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXIII. *Franciæ* X.

The laſt but not the leaſt Worthy, was his Succeſſor *Thomas* [a] *Bradwardin*, called for his deep Knowledge in Divinity, *Doctor de Profundis*: Who died of the Plague within two days after he came to *London*, and within five Weeks and four Days after his Conſecration at *Avignon*; ſo that he alſo was never Enthroniſed at all. But we ſhall not ſoon part with him here, becauſe Men of Merit are the beſt and moſt profitable Subjects of Hiſtory; and for whoſe ſakes a fruitfull Digreſſion may well obtain a Pardon.

[y] *Philpots Catal. Chancell. p.40.*
[z] *Godw. Catal. Biſh. p.137.*
[a] *Knighton p. 2600. n. 10.*

Of his extraordinary Piety and Learning, and deep skill both in the *Mathematicks* and *Theology*, as well his own excellent Works, as our *Hiſtorians* are concurrent and ample Teſtimonies. But one thing for Example ſake I ſhall not omit to remember in this Place: That [b] being King *Edwards* Confeſſor, he behav'd himſelf in that Office with ſingular Moderation, Integrity and Diſcretion; and whatever he ſaw amiſs, he would in ſecret freely reprehend in the King before his Face, which Boldneſs of his the King always took in good part, not only becauſe he thereby ſaw the Zeal and diſcreet Piety of the Man, but alſo knew his ſincerity and love to his Perſon. In the *French* Wars, while he lived he was always preſent, never enduring to abſent himſelf from his Royal Charge, but ſtill admoniſh'd him ſecretly, and his whole Army openly in his learned and eloquent Sermons and other Exhortations, "To take carefull heed of waxing proud "and inſolent after thoſe many great Victories which God had ſent them: But rather to "improve them to their greater Advantage, by uſing them with Thankfulneſs and Mo- "deration. Some there are who have not doubted to aſcribe thoſe many notable Succeſſes of King *Edward* rather to the Vertue, Holineſs, and Prayers of this Man, than to any other worldly, either Wiſdom or Proweſs: Thus much we ſhall readily acknowledge; that althô after his Death King *Edward* had the ſame good Succeſs as before, the Reaſon may be juſtly attributed to that Prince's Care, of following the Precepts of this memorable Prelate. For whoſe wonderfull Modeſty we have this alſo to ſay; that whereas he might have obtain'd of the King whatever Preferment he would have asked, he was ſo far from any Ambitious Deſire of ſuperfluous Promotion, that it was long e'r he could be prevail'd with to accept a Prebend of *Lincoln* when it was offer'd him, he being at the ſame time Chancellor of St. *Pauls* in *London*. And it is certain, that the Archbiſhoprick came at laſt to him without the leaſt of his Endeavours for it; the Convent electing him, the King allowing their Choice, and the Pope, who knew not any of theſe things, at the ſame time conferring this Dignity upon him, without the leaſt Application made to him in his Behalf. Whereas had he but ſhew'd the ſmalleſt Inclination for the Place, he might have obtain'd it of the King before: Concerning which Matter, when certain ſpake to the King, ſaying, they admired that his Majeſty did not admit of this Mans Election from the Convent (for they had choſen him before his Predeceſſour *John Hufford* was choſen) he replied, "That it was, be- "cauſe he could very ill ſpare ſo Worthy a Man to be from him, and he never could "perceive that he himſelf deſired to be ſpared. He was ſucceeded by *Simon Iſlip* Keeper of the Privy Seal, who was Conſecrated in *December* 1349.

[b] *Godw. Catal. Biſh. p.138.*

Beſides theſe [c] *Simon* --- -- Abbot of *Weſtminſter* being taken away in this Viſitation, was ſucceeded by *Simon Langham*, who was afterwards Lord Treaſurer of *England*, then Biſhop of *Ely*, ſoon after Lord Chancellour, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in which Seat having ſat two Years, he was by Pope *Urban* V created Cardinal *Titulo S^ti Sixti*, and laſtly was made Biſhop-Cardinal of *Preneſte* by *Gregory* the XI.

[c] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.160. ubi* Banham *malè pro* Langham: *Vti apertè liquet; cùm* Simon Langham *ſolus ſibi hæc omnia Officia & Titulos vendicet. v. Godw. Catal. Biſh. p.143. & Philpots Catal. Chancell. p.41. & Catal. Treaſ. p. 36.*
[d] *Knighton. p. p.2600. n.20.*

X. Theſe are all whom I find to have died this Bout of the moſt Eminent of the Prelacy of *England*; a Number not great, but for the Heighth of the Dignity, and Worth of the Perſons very conſiderable. But of the inferior Clergy there was ſuch havock made, that many Churches were left wholly void, without either Parſon or Curate, or any to perform the leaſt Divine Office, whether Maſs, Mattins, Veſpers, Sacraments or Burial. So that it was hard to procure any one to be a Chaplain, or to Adminiſter in any Church under Ten Pounds or Ten Marks *per Annum* at leaſt: Which Ten Marks as Money then went, did countervail 40 *l.* with us. And few or none would accept of a Vicaridge worth 20 *l.* or 20 Marks *per annum*; whereas before the Peſtilence, when there was Plenty of young Divines, a Man might have a Chaplain for four or five Marks *per annum*; nay ſometimes for two or three, beſides his Board. So that now the Prophecy of *Robert* the *Jacobin* Frier againſt the Clergy, was very fully and

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and ſeverely accompliſhed indeed. But ſhortly after this Scarcity of Clergymen was abundantly made up, or rather the Church was overſtock'd: For vaſt Numbers of Laymen, whoſe Wives were dead of the Plague, came crowding now into Orders, many of whom were meer Idiots, and utterly unlearned, except that perhaps they knew how to read, thô not with Underſtanding.

Sr. *John Poultney*, [c] who had been Mayor of *London* Four times, and a very charitable and munificent Perſon, died alſo in this Peſtilence; but of others, who were either conſiderable for their Dignity, Birth or Station, I have not met with any: So that it is no wonder, if when the Wars were again renewed between *England* and *France*, King *Edward* ſeem'd nothing the weaker for all the great Loſs of his People in this Plague: For of the Common Sort *France* was as much exhauſted hereby as *England*, and in a manner all King *Edwards* expert Barons and Captains remained ſtill alive to be another Plague to that Nation.

[c] *Stow's Survey p.86. & 252.*

XI. In *Wales* [f] alſo this Epidemical Calamity raged extreamly, and ſhortly after paſſing over into *Ireland*, it made great havock of the *Engliſhmen* in thoſe Parts; eſpecially about the Sea-coaſts: But as for thoſe who were true *Iriſhmen* born, and dwelt in the hilly Countries, it ſcarce juſt ſaluted them: So that they ſuffer'd but little or no loſs thereby.

[f] *Stow p.246. & Holinſh. Chr.* Ireland *p.72.*

When the *Scots* heard of this ſtrange and dreadful Fatality here in *England*, [g] they too maliciouſly inſulted over our Sufferings, and inſtead of humbling themſelves under a due ſenſe of Gods terrible Judgments, made a Scoff and Deriſion of what ſhould have been their Warning, and in their ordinary Converſation took up this profane Oath, *by the foul Deaths of the Engliſh*. Nor this only, but out of a moſt inveterate and implacable hatred, deſiring if poſſible to add more weight to the heavy Judgments of Gods Hand, they made a Warlike Rendezvous in *Solkirk* Foreſt on purpoſe to invade the *North-Borders*. But before they could make any conſiderable Progreſs, a ſudden and moſt terrible kind of Death fell among them: So that more than 5000 of them died in a manner preſently. Whereupon they made all the haſte home imaginable, as well the infected as the whole; but they were overtaken, wearied, deſpairing and out of Order by a ſtrong and well-prepared Body of *Engliſh*, who eaſily overcame and ſlew of them with a great Slaughter. But however ſo many eſcaped home as ſufficed to communicate the Infection they had won by this Expedition, over all that Kingdom alſo. So that *Scotland* partook of the univerſal Contagion in as high a Degree, and in the ſame manner as other Countries had done before them: Only in this there was a difference; that whereas other Nations with trembling ſat ſtill and waited for it, the *Scots* did ſeem ambitious to fetch it in among themſelves.

[g] *Knighton p. 2600 n.1. & Stow p.246.a. n.60.*

XII. In the mean time, whereas during the Plague, there was almoſt every where ſufficient plenty of all things, ſo that in a manner no other Miſchief reigned all that while; as ſoon as this grand Conquerour was march'd off, innumerable other Miſchiefs, as ſo many petty Tyrants, began to play their Tragical parts alſo. And [h] firſt by occaſion of the Plague, the Cattle for want of Men to look to them, wandred about in fields at randome, from whence no Body drove or gather'd them. So that they began to periſh among hedges and ditches in ſuch Numbers, that it was no leſs loſs than wonder to behold: For there died in and about one Paſture more than five Thouſand Sheep. Wherefore it might be ſuppoſed, that they alſo died in this manner thrô ſome kind of Plague, that was as ſtrange and unaccountable among them as the former had been to Mankind: For it is [i] ſaid, that neither Bird nor Beaſt of Prey would touch their Carcaſſes. And this is another Inſtance, that the late Peſtilence did yet further differ from thoſe of other Times: Since uſually Beaſts by reaſon of their prone Looks downward on the Earth, and their quicker Scent therewithall are firſt infected; but here it happened quite contrary. However there ſhortly enſued hereby ſuch a Scarcity of Cattle, that all Proviſion of Fleſh became exceſſive Dear, as well as other Beaſts, for uſe and labour: Whereas in the plague time, partly thrô their great abundance, and partly alſo becauſe thrô the preſent Apprehenſions of Death Men were then leſs intent upon Gain, a good Horſe worth 40 *s.* before, might be bought for a Mark; a large fat Ox for four ſhillings, a Cow for one ſhilling, an Heifer for ſix Pence, a fat Mutton for four Pence, a Sheep for two Pence, a Lamb for two Pence, and a Pork for five Pence, one Stone of Wooll for nine pence, and other things went at the ſame Rate in *England*.

[h] *Knighton p. 2599. lin. 65.*

[i] *Knighton p. ibid. lin. 40.*

But now the ſtate of Affairs was alter'd; and beſides the prodigious Decay of Cattle aforeſaid, there ſucceeded alſo a great Dearth of Corn in many Parts of the World; not ſo much thrô any defect or Parſimony of Nature (for the Fields were ſufficiently cloathed with Grain in many Parts, eſpecially here in *England*) as partly thrô an inordinate

ordinate desire of Gain in some, and also partly from the want of Men in most Places to gather it in. Particularly this Year about Harvest-time a Reaper was not to be had for Money under eight Pence a Day, nor a Mower under twelve Pence besides Victuals, which in those Days was excessive Wages; Mony bearing then almost a *Decuple* value to what it doth now. So that the King was fain [l] to issue out his Commands thrô all the Counties of *England*, that Reapers and other Labourers should neither demand, nor take any more than formerly was used in the 20 Year of his Reign, or other five or six Years before, on Penalties limited in the said Statute, which bare Date [l] 14 of *June Anno Regni Angliæ* XXIII, *Franciæ verò* X, *&c.* But this Sort of Men being lightly puffed up with Thoughts far beyond what was agreeable to their Condition, when they saw the absolute necessity Men stood in, of using their Assistance, set at nought the Kings Commands, and became peremptory in this, either not to work at all, or to have what they should demand for their hire. But this King, who knew as well how to reduce a refractory and disobedient Subject, as to conquer a Foreign Enemy, undertook to tame their insolence such a way, as both wholly cured their madness, and prevented that ruine, which was like to ensue thereby; and also at the same time enriched his own Coffers, in order to the carrying on of his great and chargeable Affairs. For having understood, that many Abbeys and Colleges, and such Persons, or Societies and Corporations, who held great Possessions, rather than loose their Corn and other Fruits, had contrary to the Statute aforesaid given unto their Labourers larger stipends than were there appointed: He first of all levied considerable Amerciaments upon the Abbots, Priors, Barons, Knights and Others of all Degrees, of some 5 *l.* of others 4 *l.* 3 *l.* 2 *l.* 1 *l.* and of every *Carucat*, Hide or Plough-Land, over all *England* 1 *l.* and yet in general one Fifteen besides. Then he caused many Hundreds of the said Labourers, especially the Master-workmen to be apprehended; so that many who had offended in that kind, having intimation of the matter, were fain to retire into Woods and Forests, where they skulked about, living hardly for a while; but those that were taken were severely fined, and after the discipline of a temporary Imprisonment, being first sworn to take for the future their Day Wages according to the old usage only, were dismissed. Other [m] Artificers also in Towns and Burroughs were served in the same manner: For by reason of the scarcity of Men, these People began to demand most unreasonable Rates for all their Work and Services, till now at length this other Plague of their insolence was removed by the healing hand of King *Edwards* Justice: As may be seen at large in the [n] Statute, where all the Prizes are appointed for all such Labourers and Artificers, according to the Rate of Money in those Days, to which I refer the Curious Reader. However vast quantities of Corn were already lost for want of Hands to gather it in; but a timely Remedy being so seasonably applied, a greater Famine was prevented in this Nation: Thô in many other Parts it raged most immeasurably. For soon after the Pestilence a Famine beginning in *Barbary* and *Morocco*, the *Christians* of sundry Nations, in hopes of inordinate Gain from these Infidels, carried thither such huge Quantities of Corn, as thereby they occasion'd a greater Famine in *Spain*, [o] *Italy*, *France* and other Parts of *Europe*: So that at the most there was but three Ounces *per diem* allowed for every Man. And soon after there happen'd in most Parts of the World great and strange Inundations, with Presters, and frequent and unusual Storms and Tempests, which were succeeded by monstrous and terrible Sights and Flames of Fire in the Air, gastly and dismal Spectres and Apparitions, and then extream Droughts and want of Waters. All which in their several Capacities, in divers Places, and at several Times, did no small harm to all living Creatures in the Air, Sea and Land; and to all Sorts of Vegetables, as also to many goodly Structures and Edifices. And [p] this was generally observed of all those, who were born next and immediately after this wonderfull Plague, that when the time came for the growth of their Teeth, they had two Cheek-Teeth in their heads less than they had afore.

XIII. And yet [q] to all these Evils there was added one more; for there arose a certain Rumour, that there were many Poisoners, and especially the *Jews*, who infected the Waters and Fountains: From whence the foresaid Pestilence began. Wherefore in many Places Thousands of *Jews* and some *Christians* also, thô innocent and blameless, were burnt, slain and cruelly handled: Whereas indeed it was the Hand of God which wrought all this for the sins of the World. To resist which unreasonable Fury of the *Christians* against the *Jews*, Pope *Clement* twice wrote his *Encyclical* Letters to all Archbishops, Bishops and other Prelates of the Church to stop this Fury of the People. But all his Endeavours could not prevent the unjust Prosecution of this miserable Nation: For every where, except in the Province of *Venaissin* and about *Avignon*,

[l] *Knighton p. 2600. lin. 37.* [l] *Vid. Statute-Book 23. Ed. 3. p. 90. licet malè ibi 23. Ed. 3. pro 25. ut videre est: M. S. Record. Parl. p. 71. & Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgm. p. 3. §. 6.*

[m] *Knighton ib. lin. 61.*

[n] *25 Ed. 3. vid. Statute-Book p. 91. & 92.*

[o] *Giov. Villani ad ann. 1346. c. 72. p. 883. & Stow p. 247. a. & b. vid. Froiss. c. 153. & Lanquet ad ann. 1351. de Fame in Gallia.*

[p] *M. S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C. c. 228. ad finem.*

[q] *Gesta Clement VI. apud Bosq. & Alb. Argent. in Chron. vid. Odor. Rainald. ad ann. 1348. n. 33.*

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the *Jews* were ſought out on all hands to be put to Death for Poiſoners. And particularly this Year in *Germany*, where the Plague then reigned, this falſe Rumour made them ſo odious, that as [r] *Rebdorf* witneſſes, 12000 of them were put to Death in the City of *Mentz*. And [ſ] *Albert* of *Straſburgh* writes, that from this rage of the People againſt them, they were reduced to ſuch Deſpair and Madneſs, that locking themſelves up, they conſumed themſelves and all that they had with Fire. But in *England* early this Year the Plague began to abate, and about the end of *Auguſt* was wholly extinct at *London*, and in moſt other Parts of the Land; and immediately a more pleaſant Face of things began to ſmile, and cheer up the late dejected Minds of the People: And thus we ſhall end this Tragical Chapter.

[r] *Rebdorfius in Annal.*
[ſ] *Alb. Argent. in Chron.*

CHAPTER the NINTH.

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I. NOW this being the Year, that King *Edward* the Third founded and eſtabliſhed in his Royal Caſtle of *Windſor* the Ever-Noble and Honourable Order of the Knights of the *Garter*, of which we ſpake more fully in the 18 Year of his Reign; it will not be amiſs to reſume ſo much of that Matter in this Place, as we left unremembred in that. And firſt for the Dignity and Worth of the Subject, we ſhall preſent the Curious Reader with the Copy of his [a] Letters Patents for Founding of St. *George's* Chappel in *Windſor*-Caſtle, faithfully tranſlated from the Original *Latine*, which we ſhall find to bear Date the ſixth of *Auguſt*, in the Year foregoing, before the Plague began in *London*.

[a] *Pat. an. 22. Ed. 3. par. 2. m. 6. extant apud Aſhmole de Ordine Garterii in Appendice N. 1.*

"EDWARD by the Grace of God King of *England*, and *France*, and Lord of "*Ireland*, to All, who ſhall ſee theſe Preſent Letters, Greeting. It becomes the Ma- "jeſty of a King to delight always in Acts of Piety, that when he ſhall ſtand before "the Tribunal of the Moſt-High-King (with whom there is no acceptance of Perſons, "but every One ſhall receive according to what he hath done in the Body, whether "it be good, or whether it be Evil) he may be able to ſtand among the Good on "the Right Hand, and not be condemned with the Reprobates, as a ſlothfull and "unprofitable ſervant. We truly with grief of Heart carefully remembring the vari- "ous Labours of our Life, and our own ſmall deſerts, as alſo rightly conſidering the "Divine Favours ſhewed unto us, and the Graces and Honours, wherewith above o- "thers the Moſt High hath prevented us, do greatly repent of thoſe goods, which be- "ing granted us by God, we have above meaſure ſo often vainly expended. And "there remains nothing elſe for us to do, but only that unto *Chriſt* and his Mother "the Glorious Virgin, who hath never failed to defend us, but has hitherto by her "bleſſed Prayers protected us, when we were ſet in many Dangers, we wholly convert "our mind, and give unto him thanks for his Favours, and ask pardon for our Offences. "And becauſe it is a good way of Merchandiſe, whereby, with an happy bartering, "tranſitory things are exchanged for Eternal: We have cauſed a certain Chappel of "convenient Beauty for eight Secular Canons, ſcituate within our Caſtle of *Windſor*, wherein

"wherein we were washed with the Water of Holy Baptism, magnificently begun to "the Honour of St. *Edward* the Confessor, by our Progenitors, to which (*Canons*) for "their sustentation they allowed a certain Sum of Money at their pleasure, and gave "it them for Alms out of their Exchequer, to be finished at our Royal Charge to "the Honour of God Almighty, and of his Mother the Glorious Virgin *Mary*, and of the "Saints, *George* the Martyr, and *Edward* the Confessor. And earnestly desiring, and effectually "endeavouring, that the said Canons, being there to serve the Lord, may be augmented, as "well with an encrease of Revenues, as in the number of other Canons, Ministers, and Ser-"vants; and that in the said Chappel, the Glory of the Divine Name may be exalted with "greater Worship, unto the foresaid Eight Canons we think fit to superadd One *Custos*, "presiding over them, and fifteen other Canons more, and twenty four Poor Knights, im-"potent of themselves, or inclining to Poverty, to be perpetually maintain'd of the goods "of the said Chappel, and other Ministers of the said Chappel perpetually serving *Christ* "under the Command of the said *Custos*, [or Warden] and there Cause to be recei-"ved, as well the Canons and Knights, as other Ministers of the said Chappel, as is "premised: [And this] We firmly decree, inviolably ordain, and by our Royal Au-"thority, as much as in us lies, establish for ever. Willing that the said Canons and "Ministers perform Divine Offices for us, and our Progenitors and Successors, in part "of Satisfaction for those things, whereof in the last judgement we are to give an Ac-"count, they being to celebrate for ever according to the form of our Ordination "thence more fully to be made: Unto whom the Rights of Patronage, and the Ad-"vousons of the Churches of [b] *Wyrardesbury*, in the Diœcese of *Lincoln*, *Southtan-"ton*, of *Exon*, and *Uttoxater*, of *Coventry*, and *Lichfield*, which we have lately "purchased for that Cause, for Us and our Heirs, We have given and granted, and "do give and grant, to have and to hold to them, and their Successors, for free, "pure, and perpetual Alms, altogether free and quiet for ever, from all secular exa-"ction. We have also granted unto them, for Us and our Heirs, and given leave, "that they, the Warden and Canons, may appropriate the said Churches, and hold "them so appropriated to their own uses, to them and their Successors for ever, not-"withstanding the Statute set forth concerning Lands and Tenements, not to be put "to *Mortmaine*. We will also, that unto the said Warden, Canons, Knights, and o-"ther Ministers of the said Chappel, there to serve, so much be paid every Year out "of our Exchequer, as together with the Profits arising from the said Churches, shall "seem sufficient and honest for their Diet, and the support of the Burthens incum-"bent on them, according to the Decency of their Condition the mean while, until "there shall be provided by Us, in goods immoveable, Lands, Benefices, or Rents, to "an agreeable sufficience, and to our Honour, to the Sum of a Thousand Pounds "yearly: All which We promise and undertake for Us, and for our Heirs effectually "to fulfill. In witness whereof, We have caused these our Letters to be made Pa-"tent. Witness our self at *Westminster* the VI of *August*, in the Year of our Reign "of *England* XXII, and of *France* IX.

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[b] *Vulgò* Ras-bury.

From that Passage in these Letters------And this *We firmly decree, inviolably ordain, and by our Royal Authority, as much as in us lies, establish for ever*-----it is to be observed, that according to the Opinion of those times, the Kingly Authority extended not to the instituting any where Men of Religion, and other Officers, to perform and attend the service of God: For that lay in the Power and Disposition of the Pope. And therefore King *Edward* setting forth what he had design'd in reference to the Endowment of this Chappel, requested Pope *Clement* VI to grant unto the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, full Authority and Power of ordaining and instituting the College, and other things thereunto appertaining.

II. Hereupon the said Pope by his [c] Bull, bearing date at *Avignon*, *Pridiè Calendas Decembris* in the Ninth Year of his Pontificate (which answers to the Thirtieth day of *November*, *An°. Dom.* [d] 1350) commending the Pious intent of the King in this matter, granted unto the Archbishop and Bishop aforesaid, and to either of them, full Power and Authority to *ordain*, *institute*, and *appoint* in this *Chappel*, as should seem good to them, a certain Number of *Canons*, *Priests*, *Clerks*, *Knights*, and *Officers*, continually to attend upon the Service of God, of which Canons and Priests, one was to have the Title of *Custos*, or *Warden*, and preside over the Rest. And in another Bull, bearing date at *Avignon* II *Idus Februarii*, the same Year, he exempted the said College of *Windsor* from the Jurisdiction of Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and the like, as may be seen at large in the said [e] Bull.

[c] *Ashmole p.* 152. *Extat ibid. in Append.* N. 11. *ex ipso Autographo, &c.*

[d] *Non* 1351, *ut Ashmole: vid.* Rainald. *ad hunc an. &* Labbe *in Chronol. Techn.*

[e] *Extat Ashmole in Appendice* N. 111.

III. And [f] now at this time We find the King beginning seriously to apply himself

[f] *Ashmole p.* 128. *ex Pat. de anno* 23. *Ed.* 3. *pars* 1. *m.* 10. *&c.*

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to the compleating the College of the Chappel of St. *George*, and to the enlarging and beautifying of the Caſtle. And to this Work he appointed ſeveral eminent *Surveyors*; among whom we find numbred *John Peyntour*, *Richard Rochell*, *William Hurle*, *William Ireland*, *Robert Barnham*, *John Brocas*, *Oliver de Bourdeaux*, *Thomas Foxley*, *John Alkeſhull*, *Walter Palmer*, and *William* of *Wickham*, who by this imployment became ſo acceptable to the King, that in time, after many other conſiderable Preferments, he attained to the Dignity of Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and was the ſecond Prelate of the Garter. All theſe, during the whole time of this Magnificent Work, were aſſign'd to preſs Hewers of Stone, Carpenters, and ſuch other Artificers, as were thought uſefull and neceſſary, to provide Stone, Timber, Lead, Iron, and other Materials and Carriages for them: Three whereof, to the end this great undertaking might be honeſtly and ſubſtantially performed, were aſſigned joyntly and ſeverally (at leaſt once a Moneth all together) with all Care and Diligence to ſurvey the *Workmen* and their Work, and to encourage ſuch as did their Duty competently well, but to compell the Idle and Slothfull: And after this manner the Building went on, till the 43d Year of the ſaid King, at which time it was quite finiſhed, namely, as much as this King undertook, [s] that is to ſay, the *Chappel* of St. *George*, the *Great-Hall* of St. *George*, the Kings Palace, the Lodgings on the *Eaſt* and *South*-ſide of the Upper-Ward, the *Keep*, or Tower, in the Middle-Ward, the *Houſes* for the *Cuſtos* and *Canons* in the Lower-Ward, together with the whole Circumference of the *Walls*, and their ſeveral Towers and Gates, as they ſtand to this day.

[s] *Aſhmole p.* 129.

IV. But it was now, that the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter* received its full Inſtitution, in ſuch manner, as We have [h] before related ſomething largely in the 18 Year of this King: Who on the 23 of *April*, being a *Thurſday*, and the Feſtival of St. *George*, [i] the Military Patron of *England*, went himſelf with the 25 Knights, Companions aforemention'd, being all cloathed in Gowns of Ruſſet, and Mantles [k] of *Fine-Woollen* Cloth, of *Blue*-Colour, pouder'd with Garters, and each having a pair of long *Cordans* of Blue-ſilk fixed to his Collar, together with the reſt of the Habit of the Order, in a Solemn Proceſſion, [l] all bare-headed, to the Chappel of St. *George*, to hear Maſs, which was celebrated by *William Edindon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Prelate of the Order. This done they return'd in their former Ranks to a Magnificent Feaſt, at which they ſat in ſuch Regular Manner, as is continued to this day.

[h] *Lib.* 1. *c.* 22. §. 6. *p.* 296, &c.

[i] *Regiſtr. M.S.* Arundel. *Archiv. Cant. par.* 1. *fol.* 53. *b.* § 27.

[k] *Aſhmole p.* 209. *ex Rotul. Compct. Joh. Coke Cler. Magn. Garderob. ab an.* 21. *ad an.* 23. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 8. *penes Remem. Regis in Scaccario.*

[l] *Sr Tho. de la More apud* Stow *p.* 250.

At this Solemnity [m] King *Edward* after his uſual Manner, exhibited thoſe Martial Sports of Tilting and Tourneament, whereat King *David* of *Scotland*, thô a Priſoner, was not only permitted to be preſent, but alſo to ennoble himſelf by the uſe and exerciſe of Arms: the Harneſs of his Horſe being made of Blue Velvet at King *Edwards* Charge, with a *Pale* of Red Velvet, and beneath, a White-Roſe embroidered thereon. The King of *England* alſo himſelf held a part in theſe Solemn Juſts, having for his Deviſe a White-Swan, Gorged Or, with this daring and inviting *Motto*, wrought upon his Surcoat and Shield,

Hay hay the White Swan;
By Gods Soul I am thy Man.

[m] *Stow p.* 246. *b. & Aſhmole p.* 185. *vid. l.* 2. *c.* 6. §. 22. *p.* 414.

The ſame Liberty, which was granted to the [n] King of *Scots*, was alſo allowed to *Ralph* Earl of *Eu* and *Guiſnes*, and Conſtable of *France*, with the Earl of *Tancarville*, the Lord *Charles* of [o] *Blois*, and many other both *French* and *Scotch* Captives; to whom the Courteous King not only permitted the uſe of Arms upon this, and other the like occaſions, but impartially awarded them the Prizes, they deſerved. Particularly the Earl of *Eu* bare himſelf at this time with ſo much Honour, that King *Edward* adjudged unto him that days Prize, and ſoon after gave him [p] leave upon Paroll to return into *France*, in order to gather up 20000 Scutes for his own Ranſom, and to negotiate about the Redemption of others his Country-men, that were then alſo Priſoners here. But this Favour of King *Edwards*, thus graciouſly beſtowed on this Worthy Perſonage, proved accidentally an occaſion of ſuch a Mortal Jealouſie to the *French* King, that thereby he found, or made, a Pretence to bereave him of his Life, as in the next Year we ſhall ſhew more plainly. The mean while the Fame of theſe frequent and notable Tourneaments, held by ſo Warlike a Prince, invited hither many Gallant Knights from Foreign Parts; but eſpecially the Young Noblemen of *Gaſcoign* came hither, as to the Chiefeſt School of War, to practiſe themſelves in Feats of Arms: And during the Summer-ſeaſon, both theſe, and others the Priſoners of both Nations were allow'd to [q] follow the Court, and paſs their time with the King and his Nobles, in hunting in *Claringdon*-Park, near *Salisbury* in *Wiltſhire*, and in ſeveral other the Kings Foreſts, both in thoſe parts and elſewhere.

[n] *Stow ibid.*

[o] Valois *apud* Stow *male.*

[p] *Knighton p.* 2606. *n.* 64.

[q] *Stow p.* 246.

On

V. On the [r] 20 of *Auguſt* King *Edward*, being deſirous to do further Honour to his Heroick Couſin, *Henry Plantagenet*, who already bore the Title of Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Darby*, and *Leiceſter*, and Steward of *England*, added further, the Title and Dignity of Earl of *Lincoln*, granting him therewith the Annual Fee of 20 pounds to be paid by the Sheriff of that County, in lieu of the *Tertium denarium*, as *Thomas* his Uncle, late Earl of *Lincoln*, had before him. And hereupon [r] he was conſtituted the Kings Lieutenant, and Captain General in the parts of *Poictou*, with Power to Treat of Peace and Amity, as alſo for a ſtrict obſervation of the Truce already taken with the *French*: And upon his journey thither, he obtain'd [t] Licence to grant a 1000 *l. per annum*, Lands and Rents, unto certain Perſons to diſpoſe of, according to his own direction, for the term of 12 Years then to come.

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[r] *Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p.* 112. *& Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 786. *b. ex Clauſ* 23. *Ed.* 3. *par.* 2. *m.* 5. *& ex Chart.* 23. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 4.

[t] *Rot. Vaſc.* 23. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 3. *Pat.* 23. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 2. *m.* 6.

VI. Now it is to be premiſed, that the occaſion of this Valiant Earls Expedition into *Gaſcoign* at this time, was, becauſe by the Treachery of ſome wicked Men, the Truce was highly violated there. And [u] *John* Duke of *Normandy*, King *Philips* Eldeſt Son, had made a great diſturbance in that Dutchy, challenging, and taking of Places, that belonged not unto him, nor were King *Edwards* Captains there preſent able to impeach him. And in *Bretagne* likewiſe, about this time, that Noble and Valiant Baron Sr. *Thomas Dagworth*, who about 2 Years before had taken the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* before *Roche D' Arien*, was baſely and barbarouſly murder'd in time of Truce. *Froiſard* [x] ſays, he was fairly fought withall by Sr. *Ralph de Cahors*, who had ſixſcore Men of Arms in his Company before his Caſtle of *Auray*, where together with him were ſlain an hundred Men of Arms, *Engliſh* and *Bretons*. *Fabian* [y] ſays indeed, the ſame *French* Knight ſlew him, but that it was by chance-medley. However, the greater part of our [z] Hiſtorians agree, 'twas done by fraud, and not plain Valour, and one relates the Matter thus, that the Sons of *Sabater* with a few others, having firſt laid a ſtrong Ambuſh in the Wood adjoyning, paſſed openly that way, as deſigning to forage thereabouts. Of theſe Prollers Sr. *Thomas Dagworth*, who was the King of *Englands* Lieutenant in thoſe parts, and at that time lay in the Caſtle of *Auray*, having notice, with only 16 Armed Men in his Company, purſued theſe Robbers, who fled purpoſely toward their Ambuſh, and enter'd the Wood after them, where being ſurpris'd by the Ambuſh, thô he ſlew no leſs than 300 of them; yet at laſt having received five Wounds upon his Face and Body, and loſt all his Men, who died faithfully by his ſide, he himſelf was finally thruſt thrô the Body with a Spear, and ended his Life, as formerly he had maintain'd it, Valiantly and with Honour. *Froiſard*, and from him *Du Cheſne*, and from them (as it happens) many of our old Writers call him *Dangorne* and *Dagorne*, but this proceeding from the obſcurity of old M. SS. or the variation of the name thrô foreign Languages, muſt be corrected and read *Dagworth*, as is well known, beſides other undeniable Authorities, from the Records themſelves. Wherefore neither is it material to obſerve the difference among Authors, concerning the time of his Death, ſome fixing it a Year more forward, others two Years backward: Since the [a] Records are the ſureſt Guide, which in this place alſo I have followed. However thus this Valiant Worthy fell thrô the Treaſon of the *French* and *Bretons*, that held of their part (for it was a notorious violation of the Truce) leaving behind him by his Lady *Eleanor*, *Nicolas* his Son and Heir, then very young, who in time came to be a notable Imitator of his Fathers Vertues, and Revenger of his Death.

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[x] *Froiſ. c.* 153.

[y] *Fabian p.* 228.

[z] *Knighton p.* 2602. *n.* 42. *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 148. *& Stow p.* 246. *ex Sr Tho. de la More, &c.*

[a] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 148. *ex Rot. Franc.* 23. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 5.

VII. Such Provocations as theſe being given by the *French* both in *Bretagne* and in *Gaſcogne*, King *Edward* eaſily provided for the former, having already ſufficient Captains in thoſe Parts: But as for the latter, he conſtituted, as we ſaid before, *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Derby* his Lieutenant and Captain General, and [b] about the Feaſt of *All-Saints* ſent him well provided into *Gaſcogne*: Where preſently he began to take the Field with an Army [c] of 30000 Men; and marched forth to ſeek his Enemies for above ten Days, in which time he took more than fourty Towns and Caſtles, and with Fire and Sword made great Spoil for above 40 *French* Miles *Southward*. At laſt he came to *Tholouſe*, a great and ſtrong City on the River *Garonne*, and by his Heralds demanded of them in the Name of his Maſter the King of *England* to yield, or to come forth and give him Battle. To which the Captains within returned Anſwer, that if he would tarry five Days, they would then come out and fight him. Hereupon he granted them a Truce for Four days, but on the Fifth, when he ſaw they would not fight according to their Promiſe, he ſet fire on the Suburbs and ſo returned, having ſpoiled the Country all about to the great terrour of the Inhabitants. There accompanied the Earl of *Lancaſter* in this his Expedition, [d] *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, and Sr. *Bartholomew* his Son, the Eldeſt Sons of the Lords

[b] *Stow p.* 247.

[c] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol.* 786. *& Hen. Knighton p.* 2601. *n.* 60. *& p.* 2602.

[d] *Stow p.* 247.

Nevill

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Nevill and *Piercy*, Sr. [e] *Miles Stapleton* Knight of the Garter, and *Thomas* Lord *Furnival*: Which latter [f] within a while after, too raſhly engaging with his Enemies, was by them taken Priſoner. Soon after King *Edward* himſelf prepared to make a Voyage into *France*, but the Earl of *Lancaſter* returning the mean while out of *Gaſcogne*, ſignified unto him, that according to the Extent of his Commiſſion he had agreed unto a further Truce; wherefore that Deſign was no further purſued at that time.

[a] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 70.* [f] *Stow p. 249. & 250.*

VIII. Now during theſe Wars in *Bretagne* and *Gaſcogne*, there were many ſingle Combats, and ſometimes Battles at utterance between certain Numbers of *French* and *Engliſh*, as ſometimes 10, 20 or 30 on each Side: All which were fought with extream Animoſity and Obſtinacy, as wherein the Honour of their ſeveral Countries was ſo nearly concerned. One particularly at one time was occaſion'd in this Manner: Twenty [g] *French* Knights challenged Twenty Others, either of *England* or *Gaſcogne*, to fight them in a certain place aſſigned them in the Marches between *Gaſcogne* and *France*: which Challenge being accepted, each Party gave Security to the other, not to forſake the Field upon any Account, ſo long as one was left ready and willing to engage him in Combat. Accordingly the time being come they all performed their Parts ſo valiantly, and ſtood to it ſo long, that of the *French* but Three were left alive; and of the other Part, only the Noble Lord of *Pamiers* being ſlain, almoſt all the reſt were grievouſly wounded. Another Combat in like manner was agreed to be fought between [h] Thirty *Engliſh* and Thirty *Bretons*, Sr. *Richard Bembre* being Captain of the former, and the Lord of *Beaumanoir* of the latter: In which Number there was a Valiant Young *Engliſh* Gentleman named Sr. *Hugh Calverlee*: Of whoſe Martial Acts we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Froiſard* names [i] one young Eſquire *Croquart*, who being at this time choſen on the *Engliſh* Part, wan the Prize above all of either ſide. However *Mezeray* ſays, the Advantage remain'd here with the *Bretons*, and the chief Honour of that Side with the Captain, the Lord of *Beaumanoir*; and it is added in the Margin, that afterwards Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* fighting hand to hand with the ſaid Sr. *Richard Brembre*, in cloſe Field vanquiſhed and ſlew him.

[g] *Knighton p. 2607. n. 20.*

[h] *Mezeray p. 39. ad ann. 1351.* *Sr. Walter Raleigh Hiſt. of the World p. 954.*

[i] *Froiſ. c. 149.*

IX. By reaſon of theſe hot Wars many poor and mean Fellows arrived to great Riches, as Fortune favour'd that ſide they ſerved: So that in time ſeveral ſuch kind of Perſons ſet up for themſelves, and grew Captains of Robbers, and retain'd Aſſiſtants, whereby they wan Towns and Caſtles, took Priſoners, and by their Ranſoms and otherwiſe, got incredible Pillage and Booty; ſome of their Captains being worth above 40000 Crowns of Gold.

Theſe Men would often by their Spies ſeek out where there was any conſiderable Town, or Village within a Days journey or ſo from them; and being informed as to that point, they would aſſemble Thirty or Fourty of them together, and take by-ways, travelling night and day, and ſo unknown enter into the Place deſigned before it was Light, and ſtraight ſet fire to ſome Houſe or Barn: Whereupon the poor Inhabitants thinking ſome Men of War near, would fly away with all ſpeed imaginable; the mean while theſe Robbers would break up their Houſes and Coffers, and having thence taken what they pleaſed march off as they came. Among others there was one of theſe graceleſs Captains in *Languedoc* named *Bacon*, who having by his Spies privily found out the manner of the ſtrong Caſtle of *Colbourne* in *Limoſin*, rode by Night with 30 Choſen Men in his Company, and preſently ſurprized the Caſtle, and the Lord thereof who was called by the Caſtles Name the Lord *Colbourne*, whom he impriſon'd, and held there in his own Caſtle under reſtraint ſo long, till at laſt he made him pay 24000 Crowns for his Ranſom. And yet for all that he kept the Caſtle ſtill, and thence made war upon the Country: Till at laſt the *French* King was fain to buy him off, and to purchaſe his Service and the Caſtle: For the latter whereof he gave him 20000 Crowns more, and made him Uſher of Arms about his own Perſon: And thus was this *Bacon* of a Robber made a Gentleman, and Servant to a King, and he went always well Horſed and Armed, as if he had been an Earl, during his life.

Nor was the Dutchy of *Bretagne* free from this Sort of People, who now in time of Truce made War where they liſted, and wan and ſurprized Towns and Caſtles, and lived on Plunder, holding of no Man: For what they got they kept themſelves, or ſold back to the Country at their own Rates. The moſt conſiderable among thoſe who reign'd thus in *Bretagne*, was one Captain *Croquart*, a valiant and expert Man of Arms, who had formerly been a Page, and waited on the Lord *Barkley* in *Holland*; but when he began to be a Man, his Maſter gave him leave to follow the Wars in *Bretagne*. There he fell into ſervice with an *Engliſh* Man of Arms, and behav'd himſelf ſo well, that

that when afterwards his Maſter was ſlain in a Skirmiſh, his Fellow-Souldiers choſe him for their Captain and Maſter. Whereupon teaching his Men this ſweet way of Free-booty, he arrived to ſuch Wealth, that he was accounted worth above 40000 Crowns, beſides his Horſes and Warlike Furniture; and he had always at leaſt twenty or thirty good Barbed Horſes menaged for the War: And himſelf bare the Reputation of being one of the moſt expert Men of Arms in all that Country; for he had been choſen in the Combat, whereof we ſpake, to be one of the Thirty on the *Engliſh* Side, and there he wan the Prize beyond all of either Party. The *French* King attempted to bring him alſo over to his Side, offering him, if he would turn againſt the *Engliſh*, to make him a Knight, and marry him to a great Fortune, and likewiſe to allow him out of his Exchequer 2000 *l.* of yearly Revenues during his Life. But either he loved the *Engliſh*, or at leaſt this licentious way of Robbing, ſo well, that he abſolutely rejected theſe honeſt and advantagious Conditions. But it happen'd ſoon after, that having bought a young mettleſome Horſe for 300 Crowns, he would needs try him himſelf, and in riding ſo ſpurr'd him, that the Horſe ran away with him, and in running fell in a great Ditch, where poor *Croquart* brake his Neck to the infinite regret of his Men, but to the full ſatisfaction of all the Country thereabouts, which he had ſo wonderfully haraſſed, ravaged and plunder'd.

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X. As for the Affairs of *Ireland*, I have all this while forbore to ſpeak more particularly of them, becauſe neither is the Matter it ſelf of any great Moment, and there is not only much variety and confuſion in the Relation, but alſo what is related is done very imperfectly; at leaſt, nothing that I have met with hitherto hath given me ſatisfaction. But however I ſhall not omit one or two Occurrences, that are coincident with this Year in that Kingdom.

The Kings Lieutenant of *Ireland* at this time was [k] Sr. *Robert Darcy*, Second Son to *John* Lord *Darcy* deceaſed, and Brother to *John* Lord *Darcy Junior*; under whom Sr. *Thomas Rokeby*, [l] of whoſe being Knighted we ſpake in the beginning of this our Work, was now Deputy-Lieutenant. He had beſides his ordinary Retinue aſſign'd him by the King, for the defence of his Perſon and Authority 30 Men of Arms, and 200 Archers on Horſeback, ſo long as it ſhould be judged needfull. This Gentleman was a Perſon of great ſincerity and integrity, and being once twitted for ſuffering himſelf to be ſerved in Cups of Wood, anſwer'd, "Theſe homely Cups and Diſhes pay truly for "what they contain: I had rather drink out of Wooden Cups and pay Gold and "Silver, than drink out of Gold and Silver and make Wooden Payment. In the time of this Mans Governance, there dwelt in the Province of *Ulſter* a ſubſtantial *Engliſh* Knight called Sr. *Robert Savage*, who the better to preſerve his own from the ſuddain Incurſions of the Wild *Iriſh*, began to encloſe and fortifie his Mannor-Houſes with ſtrong Caſtles, Piles and Trenches, exhorting his Son and Heir *Henry Savage* to purſue the ſame Work, as a thing likely to be beneficial to himſelf and his Poſterity. "Father (replied the young *Savage*) I am for that Proverb which ſays, *a Caſtle of Bones is "better than one of Stones.* When Strength and Courage of valiant Men may be found "to help us, never will I by the Grace of God ſeek to lurk behind dead Walls. "My Fort ſhall be wherever young Blood is ſtirring, and where I can find room to "fight in. Upon this Anſwer his Father in a heat ſurceaſed the Building, and ſware never to proceed any further therein. But however the gallant young *Henry Savage* maintain'd his Poſſeſſions by the Valour of his Hands as he had promiſed. And among many other of his Acts, all worthy of eternal Memory, I ſhall chooſe to relate this one, not doubting, but its own Worth may attone for the Digreſſion.

[k] *Holinſhead Chron.* Ireland p. 72.
[l] *L.* 1. *c.* 1. §. 6. p. 11.

Having one time gather'd a little Band of Men, to go forth againſt the *Iriſh*, he allow'd to every Souldier to drink, before they began their March a good Draught of *Aqua-Vitæ*, Wine or ſtrong Ale, and for Proviſion againſt their Return, had kill'd ready beforehand great ſtore of Beef, Veniſon and Fowl: Whereupon ſome of his Officers, conſidering the uncertainty of War, told him it would be better Policy to poiſon the Meat, or at leaſt to deſtroy it, than to leave it there perhaps to feed and cheriſh a ſort of Rude Barbarians their Enemies, at ſo ſplendid a rate; if being a few againſt many, they ſhould, as 'twas moſt likely, miſcarry in this Adventure.

"Now God have Mercy, replied this Worthy Gentleman ſmiling, You are too full "of envy againſt your Fellow Creatures: This World is but an Inn, to which we "can claim no Propriety, but are only as Tenants at will to the Landlord. If it pleaſe "him to command us to leave it, as it were our Lodgings which he had lent us, and "to ſet other good Fellows in our Room; what harm is it for us if we leave them "ſome meat for their Suppers, of which we our ſelves have no Occaſion? Let them

"win

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"win it hardly and they deserve to eat it. For if they enter our Dwellings, common "Civility would do no less than welcome them with such Fare as the Country affords, "and with all my Heart much good may it do them. Notwithstanding I repose such an "assurance in the Grace of God, and in your noble Courages; that I am fully per- "swaded in my Mind, we shall return Conquerours at Night, and feast our selves with "our own Provision. Thus he said, and thus accordingly he returned at Night, having with a small Number slain no less than Three Thousand of the *Irish* his Enemies.

But however this Valiant Gentleman was of the Opinion with the *Lacedæmonians*, and scorned to be defended by any other thing, than his own Courage; it is certain, that for want of Walls and other places of Strength, not only the family of the *Savages*, but also most of many other *English* Gentlemen, have been greatly diminished in *Ulster*, and other parts of *Ireland*, the lack of Walled Towns, being one of the Principal occasions of the rude barbarity of that People.

XI. But before we close this Year, we think fit to remember a remarkable Instance of the Generous Prince of *Wales* his Bounty, to a Valiant Servant of his Sr. *Henry Eam* of *Flanders*; which will best be discover'd from an Instrument made unto him by the said Prince two Years before, and now confirmed by the King his Father, the Copy whereof being to be seen according to the Original *French* and *Latine* in [m] Esquire *Ashmole's* noble Work of the Garter, we shall take leave to set it down in *English*---

[m] *Ashmole Instit. Garter p. 707. ex Pat. an. 23. Ed. 3. par. 2. m. 24.*

"*The King, to all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting. We have seen the* "*Letters Patents of our most Dear, most Well-beloved, and most Trusty Son,* Edward, "*Prince of* Wales, *Duke of* Cornwall, *and Earl of* Chester, *in these Words:* "ED- "WARD, Eldest Son of the Noble King of *England*, and of *France*, Prince of "*Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, to all, who shall see or hear these "Letters, Greeting. Know, that whereas our Thrice-Dear and Well-beloved Sr. *Henry* "*Eam*, from the time that he hath taken at our hands the Order of Knighthood, "hath offer'd and promis'd of his Free-will to be intending to our Service, during his "Life, and while we shall sufficiently furnish him with Arms, to go along with Us "to what part We shall please, as well in Peace as in War, and to bear Arms with "Us at our Pleasure against all Men, except the Duke of *Brabant*, his Liege Lord, "in defence of his own Lands: We accepting of this his Offer and Promise, and be- "ing willing to retain him for our Service, and (that he may be the more obliged to "serve Us before any other) to bear such a regard unto him, whereby he may the "better maintain his Estate, have given unto him the Annual Rent of one Hundred "Marks, during his Life, to be received out of our Mannor of *Bradinuch*, in the Coun- "ty of *Devonshire*, every Year at the terms of *Easter*, and of St. *Michael* by equal "Portions, of the hands of the Keepers of our said Mannor for the time being, the "Offer and Promise aforesaid, being in all points held and kept. And We will also, "that at what time, and as often, as his said payment shall be upon arriere, in part "or in whole, without term assigned, it shall be Lawfull for the said Sr. *Henry* to di- "strain on the said Mannor, and to have what is so distrained, until he shall be fully "payed, so much, as shall be found due unto him upon arriere, as aforesaid. In wit- "ness whereof We have made these our Letters Patent: Given under our Seal at *West-* "*minster*, the 18 day of *January* in the Year of the Reign of our most Dear Lord "and Father the King, over *England* the 21, and over *France* the 8. "*We* [n] *allow-* "*ing and approving the foresaid Grant do by the Tenour of these Presents confirm and* "*ratifie the same unto the said* Henry, *during his Life*, as the foresaid Letters do im- "port. In witness whereof, &c. *Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium* XXVIII *die* "Junii, *Anno Regni nostri* Angliæ 23, *Regni verò nostri* Franciæ 10. *Per ipsum* "*Regem.*

[n] *i.e.* the King.

CHAP-

AN. DOM. 1350. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXIV. *Franciæ* XI.

CHAPTER the TENTH.

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I. *Pope* Clement *reduces the* Bonifacian *Jubilee from the Hundredth to the Fiftieth Year, with an Account of the first Original of a* Jubilee. II. *King* Edward *forbids his subjects to go to* Rome *on that occasion, with his Answer to the Popes expostulation thereupon.* III. *The sect of* Whippers *arises, and is suppress't.* IV. *King* Edwards *Victory over the* Spaniards *at Sea.* V. *King* Philip *of* France *dies, and is succeeded by his Eldest Son,* John *Duke of* Normandy. VI. *A Duel fought before King* Edward *between a* Cypriote *Knight, and the Bastard of* France. VII. *King* John *puts the Bastard to Death, together with the Earl of* Eu *and* Guisnes, *for envy; because they commended the Carriage of King* Edward *of* England. VIII. *Some steps towards a Peace with* Scotland, *in order to King* Davids *Redemption.*

I. THis Year being the Fiftieth of the Fourteenth *Century*, accounting from the Nativity of our Lord, being held as a Solemn *Jubilee* at *Rome*, we shall here make some short enquiry after that Matter. And it appears from the Sacred Records, that God Almighty himself was the First Institutor of this great Solemnity: For He, having appointed the *Sabbath*-Day, or the *Seventh* of the Week, to be kept Holy in Memory of the Creation of the World, which was by his Word alone compleated in the space of *six* Days, did afterwards at the promulgation of the Law from Mount *Sina*, [a] add unto the Jews a Sabbath of Years to be observed, that so the Land of *Palestine*, having been tilled and manured for *six* continued Years, should be left fallow every *Seventh* Year, without any manuring, tilling, reaping, or dressing: And *seven* of these *Sabbatical* Years, or Fourty Nine common Years, being compleat, God commanded the *Jews* to proclaim thrô their whole Land a Festival Year, by sound of the Holy Trumpets, to be universally held as the great *Sabbatical* Year, a Year of general Release, and of Religious Rest, and of Joy, and of Exultation, as a Type of that Eternal Rest, Relaxation, and Liberty, which the *Messias* was to procure unto the Sons of God: Which Fiftieth Year was called the Year of *Jubilee*, from a [b] Word in *Hebrew*, which signifies a *Ram*, because it was proclaimed with the sound of Trumpets made of *Rams-horns*: Unless some had rather derive it from a Word of *Latine*-Original, which signifies to *Rejoyce*.

[a] *Levitic.* c. 25. v. 2, 3, &c.

[b] יובל *vid. Joh. Buxtorf. Lexicon Hebr. in hâc voce p.* 293, &c.

This being the First Institution of the *Jubilee* among the *Jews*, deliver'd by their great Prince and Law-giver *Moses*, Pope *Boniface* VIII brought it in also among the *Christians*, [c] in the Year of our Lord MCCC, which was the *sixth* of his Papacy, and then ordain'd, that it should be solemnly kept every Hundredth Year. Althô we find, that in the Year of our Lord CCXLVII, which was *Ab* U. C. *Annus Millesimus*, the Emperour [d] *Philip* the Second, kept a Festive Year in Memory of the first Foundation of the Imperial City of *Rome*, with all imaginable Splendour and Magnificence: And this, althô it had not the Name, was indeed no other, than a *Jubilee*.

[c] *Labbæi Chron. Techn. ad hunc an. & Polydor. Virg. l.* 19. *p.* 385.

[d] Dr. Cave's *Apostolici in tabulâ Chronol.*

But now [e] Pope *Clement* VI, because it was not likely, that any Man, who had seen the first *Bonifacian Jubilee*, should live to see the Return of another, and also in that the *Fiftieth* Year was more consonant to the *Mosaical* Law, at the Instant Request of the *Roman* Ambassadors, granted that on this Year, and every *Fiftieth* Year following, the *Jubilee* should be celebrated at the Holy City of *Rome*; at which time he granted by his Apostolical Power many great Indulgences to all those, who should devoutly Visit the Churches of the Apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and also the *Lateran*, called S^to *Giovanni Laterano*; the Dignity of which Church doth sufficiently appear from this Ancient Inscription in Marble, in the Porch thereof at *Rome*,

[e] *Odor. Rainald. ad an. Christi* 1349. §. 11. &c. & *ad an.* 1350. §. 1. &c.

Dogmate Papali datur & simul Imperiali;
Ut sim cunctarum Mater & Caput Ecclesiarum.

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The opinion, that these Indulgences were of no small Advantage, did so mightily prevail, that infinite Numbers of both Sexes went on Pilgrimage to *Rome*, there being reckoned no less than [f] 1200000 Thousand Strangers passing too and fro in the City at One time, among whom were many Persons of extraordinary Quality, and some Princes, Dukes, and the like. But [g] Kings and Persons of an higher Station, who were by their great Affairs detained at home, being desirous to be made partakers nevertheless of these Sacred Privileges, wrote their Letters Supplicatory to the Pope, that in them the Good-Will might be taken for the Deed, and that thô they could not tend to go in Person, yet since they so devoutly desired it, they might obtain of his Holiness the same Indulgences, as others, who performed that Pilgrimage, among which there was the King of *Castille* and *Leon*, the Kings of *Aragon*, *Portugal*, and *Cyprus*, *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, and others. And thô the Pope defer'd a while to answer their Requests, till he might confer thereupon with his Cardinals in Council, yet it is likely that they enjoy'd the said Benefit at last, for it appears, that soon [h] after the same was granted to King *Edward* of *England*, and to his Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, to the Queens of *England*, *Isabell*, and *Philippa*, and to *Elisabeth* Queen of *Hungary*.

[f] *Matth. Villani l.* 1. *c.* 58.
[g] *Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1349. §. 9.
[h] *Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1350. §. 2.

II. The *Jubilee* began [i] on the 25 of *March*, being the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, and lasted until the said Feast of the Year following, during the most part of which space, especially about *Easter*, *Ascension-Day*, and *Whitsuntide*, there was such a crowding, rather than concourse, of People at *Rome*, [k] that *Francis Petrarch*, who was then present, says, how it seem'd the late horrid Plague had done little or no harm; there came thither every day such Incredible Multitudes of *Christian* People from all parts of *Europe*: Althô few or none went out of *England* upon that account, (except the [l] Lady *Margaret*, Mother to *William* Lord *Ros* of *Hamlake*) King *Edward* [m] expresly forbidding it, as of ill Consequence to his Realm; very considerable Sums of Money, being necessarily on such occasions transported out of the Kingdom. When the Pope understood this, he sent his Nuntio's to the King of *England*, desiring of him, "First, *that he would not hinder the Passage of those, who desired to visit the Places of the Holy Apostles.* Item, *that he would grant a Truce*, "*that so the Earl of* Lancaster *might not act any Hostilities in* Aquitain, *to the hindrance of those, who desired to visit Holy Places.* Lastly, *that he would not hinder*, "*or permit to be hindred, those, who were promoted by his Bulls at the Court of* Rome, "*from receiving Benefices so incumbent on them.* To the first Article it was answer'd, "*that the King being busied in his Wars, did therefore Want to be Aided of what was* "*his own, and that it was necessary to provide for the Treasure of his Kingdom, lest*, "*while the War endured, it should be exported out of the Realm, to the Prejudice of* "*Him and of his Subjects.* And further as to this point the King caused to be proclaimed, that all *Englishmen*, as well at *Rome*, as any other place beyond Sea, should make haste to return home, as soon as might be, on pain of forfeiture of Life and Goods. As to the second Article, relating to the Truce, it was answer'd, "*that the* "*King of* France *had often acted Hostilities, during such a Truce, upon the Lands of* "*the King of* England *treacherously, to the destruction of his People, and contrary to the* "*Conventions contained in the said Truce.* And as to the Third Article, respecting the Provisors, it was answer'd, "*that the King would graciously receive Clergy-men, ma-*"*king use of Papal Provision, who were of good Condition, and worthy of Promotion, but* "*not others.* And with this Answer the Popes Nuntio's returned.

[i] *Knighton p.* 2602. *n.* 29. *vid Walsingh. Hist. p.* 160.
[k] *Vid. Matur. Annot. ad D. Antonin. Chron. t.* 355.
[l] *Dudg.* 1 *Vol. p.* 550.
[m] *Knighton p.* 2601. *n.* 30, 40, 50, *&c.*

III. About the [n] same time there arose a certain Sect of People, who were seised with a pious Frenzy, and went about in several Parts of the World whipping themselves with four-corded Whips, and Preaching, Singing and Praying with much seeming Devotion; but it proved no better than Hypocrisie or misguided Zeal at the best, as may appear to any, that shall consult the Places quoted in the Margin: Wherefore the Pope wrote his Letters to the Archbishops and Bishops of *Germany*, *Poland*, *Sweedland*, *England* and *France*, enjoyning them to extinguish this Sect of *Whippers*; and also to the several Kings, that by their Kingly Authority they would uphold the said Prelates in this matter. Particularly there are extant to our King *Edward* Letters from the Pope, wherein he writes thus concerning the Rise of these Whippers. [o] *Lately in the Parts* of *Almain* under the *pretence of Piety and doing Penance, there hath arisen a Superstitious and vain Generation*, and so having at large declared, how they had been condemned by the Apostolick Decree; and that Patriarchs and Archbishops had been enjoyned to pluck up that poisonous Plant, which the Heavenly Husbandman had not planted, he adds these Prayers, "*Do You therefore, ô most Dear Son, not only drive a-*

[n] *Vid. Odoric. Rainald. ad an.* 1349. §. 18. *Albert. Argent. in Chron. Lanquet. Chron. ad an.* 1350. *Walsing. hist. p.* 160. *Stow p.* 246.
[o] *Tom.* 8. *Epist. secr. p.* 104. *apud Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1349. §. 22.

"*way*

"*way the same Wicked Persons, if perhaps they should presume to come into your King-*
"*dom, out of the Limits of your said Kingdom; but also that they may repent of their*
"*Follies and Errours, and return to Modesty, correct and punish them: That so the*
"*Purity of the Catholick Faith may always shine forth, and the leaven of the Malice*
"*of these Men may by your provident Care be taken away from among all your Subjects.*
Dat. Avenion: III Non. Decembris, Anno Pontif. VIII. About [p] *Michaelmas* this Year, above an hundred and twenty Noblemen and Others, Natives of *Zealand*, *Holland* and *Hainalt*, in the same blind Devotion passing thrô *Flanders*, came into *England*; and at *London*, sometimes in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*, sometimes in other Religious Places of the City, made their procession all together, being coverd from the Loins to the Heels with Linnen, marked with Red Crosses before and behind, and on their Hats, all the rest of their Bodies being bare: they had every one a Three-corded Whip in his hand, well knotted, wherewith twice or thrice in a Day they beat themselves on their bare bloody Bodies most cruelly, Four of them singing all the while in their own Language, and all the rest making up the *Chorus*. King *Edward* (thô he strictly forbad all others from joining with them) inflicted no other Punishment on them than what was the effect of their own Folly; seeing how severely they chastised themselves, and knowing such Smarting Devotion could not hold out long, if no manner of notice was taken of them. I remember to have read, [q] that when *Diogenes* the *Cynick* stood naked out of an Ostentatious humour, in a very cold Season, embracing a Pillar of Marble, and all the People flocking about him pitied the poor Mans Condition, the Divine *Plato* passing accidentally by, told the Spectators, "If they really pitied him, they "should take no notice of him, but pass regardless on, and then they should see the "Vain-glorious Philosopher, make haste away, and gladly run to a Fire. In like manner these Enthusiasts, when they saw none took notice of them, and that but a few of the Common People afforded them any pity or respect (the most part of them also flouting and deriding their Madness) began to cool in their warm fit of Penance, and at last vanished away, as ashamed of their former folly. Certainly the soundest and most effectual Devotion consisteth not in Popular Mortifications of the Body, as in Whippings, Fastings and the like; but in secret and firm Resolutions against sin, and a steady and discreet Curbing of the unruly Concupiscence.

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[p] *Walsing. hist. p.* 160. *Stow p.* 24 *b.*

[q] *Vid. Diogen. Laert.*

IV. In the [r] beginning of this Summer some Variance happening between the Fleets of *England* and *Spain*, which was fomented by *French* Arts, the *Spaniards* under the Conduct of *Don Carlos de la Cerda* their Admiral, beset the *Brittish* Sea with a Fleet of fourty four Tall Men of War; and particularly encountring with ten *English* Merchants laden with Wine from *Gascogne*, they boarded, wan, rifled and sank them, and so took the Haven of *Scluse* in *Flanders*. And many more Evils they did about the Coasts of *England* and *Aquitain*, as firing of Ships which they found at Anchor, Robbing and Killing our Merchants, and what other *Englishmen* fell into their hands. Hereupon King *Edward* sent first into *Flanders*, that they should not presume to allow any Harbour or Assistance unto these his Enemies: And he the mean while prepared to set out against them in Person. Accordingly being soon furnish'd with a Fleet of Fifty good Ships and Pinnaces, and taking along with him his Eldest Son, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, then in the Twentieth Year of his Age, together with the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Northampton*, *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Arundel*, *Huntington*, *Glouceſter*, and other Lords and Knights with their several Retinues, and a good Number of stout Archers, he went on board at *Sandwich* with design to meet the *Spanish* Armada at their return with Wares from *Flanders*; and at last on [f] a *Monday*, the IV of the Kalends of *September*, being the 29 of *August*, and the Feast of the Decollation of St. *John Baptist*, he met with them upon the Coasts of *Winchelsea*, and about *Rye*, near the hour of Mattins. There arose immediately a fierce Engagement between the two Fleets, the *Spanish* huge Carracks easily overlooking the *English* Vessels, and almost overwhelming them with a storm of Crosbow-shot, Stones, Timber and Bars of iron, that flew incessantly from their high built Castles. But the Archers of *England* pierced their Arbalisters with a further Reach than they could strike again; and so compelled them to appear more rarely on the Decks, obliging also at the same time those that fought on the Hatches to cover themselves with Planks and Tables, and fetching likewise down with their winged Messengers, such as threw Stones from the tops of their Ships: And then after a long and doubtfull Fight, the *English* Men of Arms began boldly to board the *Spanish* Vessels with Swords, Lances, Halberds and Battle-Axes in their hands, cruelly slaying and tumbling over-board all they met with to make room for new Guests, which King *Edward* had brought with him for that purpose. And now Seventeen of the Enemies

[r] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an.* §. 40. *& Matth. Villani l.* 1. *c.* 99. *Walsingh. Hist. p.* 160. *n.* 10. *Knighton p.* 2602. *Fabian p.* 228. *Holinsh.* 945. *Stow p.* 251. *& M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c.* 224.

[f] Lit. Dom. C.

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Ships were thus wholly in the *Engliſh* power, when all out of ſeaſon envious Night came on to befriend the poor *Spaniards*, but to deprive the *Engliſh* of an abſolute and entire Victory. For hereby they were fain to caſt Anchor, and to deſiſt from purſuing their good Beginnings, being forced to attend a further Trial till the next Day: And therefore as ſuppoſing nothing done to purpoſe, while any thing remained undone; they fell to dreſſing their own Wounded, but flang the miſerable *Spaniards* into that Sea, whereon they had ſo lately treſpaſſed: And then having taken their repaſt, and ſet the Watch, they all waited for the Morning. The next Day being freſhly apparel'd for fight, they look'd about all over the Seas, but ſaw no ſign of any thing to reſiſt them. For 27 *Spaniards* Ships had fled away during the Night-ſeaſon, leaving thô againſt their wills no leſs than 17 (thô [u] Others ſay 22, and Some 26) to the diſcretion of King *Edward*, who was thus again adorned with a Naval Crown. But this Honour the King thought too dearly bought with the Life of Sr. *John Goldesborough*, a young Knight of great Valour, of comely Shape and noble Deportment, who died in this Engagement, and was much lamented by the King and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, to whom he was always very Dear, upon the account of his extraordinary Qualities, and almoſt equal Age, and Conformity of Will and Inclination. His Loſs King *Edward* having endeavour'd to repair by Advancing no leſs than fourſcore young Gentlemen, who performed beſt in the Fight, to the Honour of Knighthood, return'd again with Victory and Triumph for *England*. This Defeat happen'd [y] to the *Spaniard* juſt upon the beginning of Don *Pedro*'s Reign, his Father *Alphonſo* XI being [z] in the Month of *March* preceding taken away by the Plague, as he lay at the Siege of *Heraclea*, now called *Gibraltar Viejo*.

[u] *Fabian p.228. Martin p. 125.* [b] *Speed p. 581. Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p. 946. Sed M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantabr. *c. 224. Naves XXIV captas refert.*

[y] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an. §. 40,41, &c.* [z] *Matth. Villani l. 1. c. 41. & Joh. Mariana l. 16. c. 15.*

V. A Week before this Battle was fought, namely [a] on the 22[d] of *Auguſt*, or as ſome ſay the 28, being a *Sunday*, *Philip* of *Valois* King of *France*, departed this Life at *Nogent le Roy* in *Chartrain*, in the Fifty Seventh Year of his Age, and the Twenty Third of his Reign. He was a Prince ſurely of very great Accompliſhments, Pious, Brave and Liberal: But either by the more powerfull *Genius* of King *Edward* his Adverſary, or the Injuſtice of his Cauſe, or both, all his Gallantry and Courage were rendred ineffectual, or rather of dangerous effect to himſelf. He [b] was more happy in Negotiations than in Battles, very ſevere and ſtrict to his Subjects, ſuſpicious, vindicative, and apt to be immoderately tranſported by the impetuoſity of his Choler. From [c] *Nogent* his Body was honourably conveyed to our Lady's Church in *Paris*, and on the *Thurſday* following he was Royally interred at St. *Dennis* on the Left ſide the High Altar, his [d] Bowels being left among the *Jacobins* in *Paris*, and his Heart, as himſelf had deſired, at [e] *Bourefountain* in *Valois*. His Eldeſt Son and Heir *John*, Duke of *Normandy* ſucceeded him in his Troubleſome Throne, and on the 26 of *September* following, being a *Sunday*, was ſolemnly Anointed and Crowned King of *France*, together with his Queen *Joan*, [f] late Widow of the Lord *Philip* of *Burgundy*, in the City of *Rheims*. At which time he made ſeveral Knights, [g] as his Eldeſt Son *Charles* the Dauphin, his Second Son *Lewis* Earl of *Alenſon*, the young Earl of *Eſtampes*, the Lord *John* of *Artois*, Son to the late Famous *Robert* of *Artois*; alſo *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*, the Kings only Brother, the little Young Duke of *Burgundy*, Son to his Queen by her Firſt Husband the Lord *Philip* aforeſaid, the Earl of *Dampmartin* and Others: And at the ſame [h] time in conſideration of the eminent and agreeable Services of the Lord Don *Carlos de la Cerda* of *Spain*, who had lately enter'd the narrow Seas in Behalf of the *French* with a Powerfull Fleet, and thô he was beaten by King *Edward*, as we ſhew'd even now, had firſt done conſiderable dammage to *England*, created him Earl of *Angouleſme*. The next day the King removed thence and went to *Laon*, and ſo thrô *Soiſſons* and *Senlis*; after which both He and his Queen enter'd into *Paris* on the 17 of *October* in great Triumph, where there was general Feaſting and Revels for an whole Week together; and the King tarried at his Palace of *Neſle* untill the Eleventh of *November*, or the Feaſt of St. *Martin* the Biſhop and Confeſſor, during which time he ſent forth his Summons for the Three Eſtates to meet him in Parliament at ſuch a Day.

[b] *Mezeray ad hunc an.*

[c] *Froiſ. c. 153.*

[d] *Lanquets Chr. ad hunc an.* [e] *an Fountainbleau.*

[f] *Vid. l. 2. c. 7. §. 13. p. 428.* [g] *Froiſ. ibid. Mezeray, &c.*

[h] *Martin p. 125*

[i] *Froiſ. ibid.*

VI. Now it is to be noted, [k] that in theſe Days there was hot War between the Soldan of *Babylon* and *Conſtantine* King of *Armenia*, the former invading the King of *Armenia*'s Dominions with vaſt and numerous Armies, and the latter endeavouring by the united Strength of his own Subjects, the *Cypriotes* and *Rhodians* to repell the Violence of the ſaid Heathen Invaders, or at leaſt to ſtop their Progreſs, which then began to threaten all *Chriſtendom*. Among [l] the ſeveral great Men, who together with the *Chriſtian* Princes were engaged in this Holy War, whereof *Hugh* the Valiant King of *Cyprus* was the moſt Notable; there was a *Cypriote* Knight, named *John de Veſconti*, of the

[k] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum. §. 37. &c.*

[l] *Walſing. Hiſt. p. 160. n. 25. Stow p. 250. b. n. 56. & Holinſh. p. 945. b. n. 20.*

King

King of *Cyprus* his Blood, and a Knight of *France* called *Thomas de la Marche*, Baſtard-Brother to *John de Valois* the *French* King; both who had a conſiderable Command in the *Chriſtian* Army. It ſo fell out, that *John de Veſconti* laid flat Treaſon to the Charge of the Baſtard of *France*, namely, that he had ſecretly appointed, in Conſideration of a certain Summ of Gold to be paid unto him before-hand in part of a greater Summ to be paid afterward, to betray the *Chriſtian* Army to the *Turks*. The Defendant ſtrenuouſly denied the Charge, which the Appellant as eagerly urged; but there was no other Proof on either ſide, ſave only their ſingle Aſſeverations. Whereupon a Challenge being denounced, and accepted between the Parties, the *Chriſtian* Captains, fearing either to diſpleaſe the King of *Cyprus*, or the King of *France*, to whom they were Allied; or at leaſt doubting ſome Diſſention might happen thereupon among themſelves by reaſon of Part-taking on eitther ſide, made them both ſwear to ſtand to their Award, as it ſhould be determin'd by the Confederates in Council. The Judgment was, that they ſhould take and carry Letters importing their Cauſe fully and clearly, from the ſaid *Chriſtian* Princes unto King *Edward* of *England*, and to ſubmit themſelves to be tried by Combat before him, as the moſt Worthy and Honourable Prince in all *Chriſtendom*, they ſwearing to remain as perfect Friends untill that time.

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As it was determin'd, ſo theſe Generous Knights performed, and came into *England* in the beginning of *September*, and forthwith preſented their Letters unto King *Edward* in the Name of the Kings of *Armenia* and *Cyprus*, and the reſt of the Princes and Captains of the *Chriſtians*, containing the whole Difference between them, and that they were to determine the Matter by Combat before him, as their Judge. And then again Sr. *John de Veſconti* openly before the King, began to accuſe Sr. *Thomas de la Marche* of the Treaſonable Intent and Purpoſe aforeſaid, challenging to prove it upon his Body, and thereupon flung down his Gantlet: Which the ſaid Sr. *Thomas* as boldly took up, and accepted the Challenge in proof of his Innocency. King *Edward* having read the Letters, and ſeriouſly conſider'd the whole Matter, ſet them a Day, namely the *Fourth* of *October*, being the *Monday* after St. *Michael*, wherein to decide their Quarrel in cloſe Field within the Liſts at his Palace of *Weſtminſter*. On the day appointed they met accordingly, Armed at all Points on Horſeback, the King, the Prince of *Wales*, and the whole Court of *England* being Spectators. There preſently upon Sound of Trumpet began a moſt gallant Combat between theſe two Gentlemen, for at the Tilt both their Spears brake on each others Shield, yet neither of them was moved from his Saddle, wherefore as it were by Conſent, they both alighted at one inſtant, aud renewed the Combat on Foot, till having with equal Valour and Diſcretion fought a Conſiderable while, both their Weapons were rendred uſeleſs, and they were obliged to come to cloſe Grapple, till by Wreſtling both fell lock'd together, ſtill contending for the Victory. Now the Viſors of both their Helmets were defended before with ſmall diſtant Bars of Steel, thrô which they might ſee and breath more freely, all the reſt of their Bodies being wholly cover'd with Armour: Wherefore Sr. *Thomas de la Marche* the Knight of *France*, who only of the two had certain ſhort but ſharp Pricks of Steel called [m] *Gadlings*, encloſed in the Joints of his Right Gauntlet, ſtruck therewith at the Viſor of Sr. *John de Veſconti*, as often as he could come at him, and grievouſly tormented him in the Face. Inſomuch that being himſelf unprovided of the like *Gadlings*, he was forced thrô Extremity of pain to cry out aloud, as one that could not help himſelf. At that King *Edward* flang down his *Wardour*, and the Marſhal cried *Ho*, and ſo the Combat ceaſed; the King adjudging the Victory to the *Frenchman*, and the Vanquiſhed to be at his Mercy, according to the Law of Arms. Sr. *Thomas de la Marche*, however being ſatisfied with ſo plain and honourable a Proof of his Innocency, before ſo Great a Preſence, forbore to uſe his power over his Enemy, and only took him and made a Preſent of him unto the *Black-Prince*, to uſe at his Diſcretion: Which done with great, Devotion he Dedicated his own Suit of Armour to the *Engliſh* Patron St. *George*, in the famous Cathedral of St. *Paul* at *London*. A few Days after this, King *Edward* having graciouſly entertained and rewarded the Baſtard of *France*, ſent him home honourably with Commendations to King *John* his Brother. And as for the Captive Knight of *Cyprus*, ſome while after the Generous Prince of *Wales*, for the Sake of the King of *Cyprus*, gave him his full Liberty, and let him go at his Leiſure.

C. Lit. Dom.

[m] *Ab Anglo-Sax.* **Gadd**, *Maſſa chalybis.*

VII. Now King *John* of *France*, before the return of his Baſtard-Brother, had heard of all this buſineſs, and taking it in deep indignation, that a *Frenchman* of his Blood ſhould yield to try a Combat before a King, his Enemy, was mortally diſpleaſed at him, and thô he had gain'd ſuch Honour, both in the Holy Wars, and in the late Duel, abſolutely

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solutely deny'd to admit him into his Presence. But after a few days, having with much adoe, and earnest Intercession obtain'd admittance, the said Lord *Thomas*, as one that was desirous to shew himself a true Subject, and so to recover his Brothers favour, besides his declaring the necessity, which the *Christian* Lords had put upon him to go into *England*, "began among his excuses highly to extoll the Generosity of King *Ed-*"*ward*, and to shew how justly his Fame was spread throughout the whole World: "Nor did he forget to commend his Equity, which he had shewn in his cause, not "at all accepting the Person of the *Cypriote* (althô it was well known, what a Friend "he was to the King of *Cyprus* himself) but Prefer'd, and Honoured, and Rewarded "me, said he, thô I am a *Frenchman*, and Brother, and Servant to you my Lord, the "King of *France*. These Words the Noble Earl of *Ewe*, and of *Guisnes*, and Constable of *France*, then Present, not knowing how distastfull they were to King *John*, confirmed by his own experience, and rose up, and shew'd among other instances, [n] "how far that Noble King had banish'd all envy and hatred from his Breast, inso-"much that lately in a solemn Tourneament at *Windsor*, he had not only admitted "him being a Prisoner, to that Honourable Exercise, but gave him an allowance of "all necessary accoutrements, and at last rewarded him with a Rich Prize, and now "had sent him home upon his Parole in trust of a small Ransom, and rather as Ne-"gotiator for the Redemption of others, than a Prisoner himself; whereby said he, "I am put in a Capacity to serve your Majesty, as I served your Father of blessed "Memory. These true Praises of King *Edwards* Princely Disposition, enflam'd the envious heart of King *John* with Madness; so that immediately without any further consideration or process of Law, he caused them both to be apprehended, and flung in Prison, and the third day after, [o] namely, on the 19 of *November*, to be beheaded by night, in the Presence of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and seven or eight other Lords of Note, before whom the Earl of *Ewe* is said to have confessed certain points of Treason, whereof he stood guilty. But however all the Treason, that Envy it self could lay to the Bastards Charge, was only, that (as he was bound by Oath to all the *Christian* Princes in the Holy War) he had accordingly committed his cause to the Arbitration of the King of *England*. And as for the Earl of *Ewe*, whatever at that time was devis'd to blacken him, he was notoriously a Person of such Gallantry, and had already so eminently signaliz'd his Loyalty, that to this day it could never be believed, that he could be really guilty of any manner of Treason; thô some, rather by way of conjecture, than proof, pretend to colour the Matter, that his frequent passing too and fro between *England* and *France* (which he did in order to hasten the Redemption of his Fellow-Prisoners) was with Designs in favour of the *English*. Others say, [p] that he was suspected of being over Familiar with the *French* Queen, "and that therefore King *John*, after the fall of these two Great, but Unfortunate "Gentlemen, famished his Queen to Death; thô she was Daughter to *John* of *Lux-*"*emburgh*, that Noble King of *Bohemia*, who lost his Life at the Battle of *Cressy*, "in the cause of *France*. But this is a most false and irrational Story; for King *Johns* first Wife, who indeed was Daughter to the said King of *Bohemia*, died, as we [q] shew'd, two Years before: And his second Wife, his Queen at this time, who was Daughter to *William* Earl of *Boulogne*, lived in his Favour, and died not till many Years after. However the Earl of *Ewe's* Lands and Honours, [r] were parcell'd out to others, his Office of Constable of *France* in *January* following, was by the King confer'd on the Lord *Don Carlos de la Cerda* of *Spain*, whom already he had made Earl of *Angoulesme*; his Earldom of *Eu* he gave to the Lord *John* of *Artois*, Eldest Son to Sr. *Robert* of *Artois*, of whose Revolt from *France*, and Friendship to King *Edward*, we have spoken in the first part of this our History: Only the Earldom of *Guisnes* he left with the Lady *Jane*, sole Daughter of the Defunct Earl of *Ewe*, who was then Married to *Walter* Duke of *Athens*, and after his Decease to *Lewis* Earl of *Estampes* of the house of *Eureux*, from whom are derived the present Earls of *Eu*, Princes of the Blood.

[n] *Knighton p. 2607. n. 1. &c.*

[o] *Froiss. c. 153. & Mezeray ad hunc ann.*

[p] *Stow p. 251.*

[q] *L. 2. c. 7. §. 13. p. 427.*

[r] *Froiss. c. 153. Mezeray ibid. & Martin. p. 125. Knighton ibid. &c.*

VIII. About this time, the *Scots* not yet agreeing to redeem their King *David*, who was still a Prisoner here, nor admitting of any just offers of Composition, but rather provoking the King of *England* farther by their Insolencies, Cruelties, and Depredations; He for his part, considering that the Truce with *France*, would either be soon ended by violation, or of its own course, sent his [s] Commissioners, *viz.* Dr. *Thomas Hatfield* Bishop of *Durham*, the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, and the Lord *Ralph Nevill*, to treat with the Lord *Robert Stuart*, Prince of *Scotland*, and other Nobles of that Realm, then met at *York*, about a firm and final Peace be-

[s] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 160. & p. 275 & p. 294.*

tween

tween the two Nations. And this Treaty was held on with good hopes of Succeſs, even till the end of the next Year; for we find, that it was at laſt between them agreed, [t] that upon the coming into *England* of the young Lord *John*, Eldeſt Son and Heir of *Robert Stuart*, and ſeveral other young Noblemen, Hoſtages for the ſaid King, he himſelf ſhould be permitted to go into *Scotland*, and upon his return back, the Hoſtages ſhould be deliver'd. The Kings Letters of ſafe Conduct to the Hoſtages, and of Power to certain Commiſſioners to receive them, and to take King *Davids* Oath for his Return, and the Command for his ſafe Cuſtody at *Newcaſtle*, till the Hoſtages were all come, bear date the 5 of *September*, *an.* 25. *Ed.* 3. to continue in force, till the *Quindena* of the Purification next following, and on the 3 of *November* after they were renewed, with a further term, even to the Feaſt of St. *Philip* and *James* enſuing. According to this agreement the Hoſtages being come, and diſpoſed into the Caſtles of *York* and *Nottingham*, King *Edward* ſent his Command, [u] bearing date the 5 of *October* to Sr. *John Copland*, High-Sheriff of *Northumberland*, the ſame, who firſt took the King of *Scotland* Priſoner, and at that time had the Cuſtody of him, to deliver him up to the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Caerlile*, to *William* Earl of *Northampton*, the Lords *Henry Piercy*, and *Ralph Nevill*, or to any Four, Three, or Two of them; and at the ſame time another Command was iſſued out to them, to deliver him under the form, and upon the Conditions agreed on. And ſo toward the latter end of *October*, King *David*, being at liberty upon Parole went into *Scotland*, in hopes by his Preſence to quicken his Subjects to come to a Compoſition with King *Edward*; but not being able to accompliſh his intention ſo ſoon as he had deſign'd, [x] the *Scots* refuſing alſo to redeem him on ſuch Conditions as King *Edward* propounded, he return'd into *England* about half a Year after; at which time a Command bearing date [y] 28 *March*, *an.* 26. *Ed.* 3. was ſent to the Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, to conduct the Hoſtages of *Scotland* to *Barwick*, they to be there in *Quindena* [z] *Paſchæ*, it being the Day fixed for King *Davids* return to that Town: And ſo he remain'd a Priſoner ſtill in *England*.

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[t] *Rot. Scotiæ* 25. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 3. & *Aſhmole p.* 657.

[u] *Rot. Scotiæ* 25. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 3.

[x] *Knighton p.* 2603. *n.* 10. *&c.*

[y] *Rot. Scotiæ* 26. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 3.

[z] *Paſcha* 17. *Aprilis.* B. Dom. Lit.

CHAPTER the ELEVENTH.

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I. ON the [a] *Seventh* of *February*, being the *Monday* in the *Utas* of the Purification of our Lady, at the Opening of this Year, King *Edward* held his High-Court of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*: Over which at firſt Prince *Lionel*, the Kings Third Son, was commiſſion'd to preſide, becauſe the King and his Eldeſt Son, Prince *Edward*, were then preparing to croſs the Seas, thô afterwards that Voyage being defer'd, we ſhall find them both preſent at this Seſſions.

[a] *M.S. Record. Parl. p.* 71. *&c. Sr. Rob. Cotton's* Abridgment, *p.* 73. *&c.*

Thô

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Thô the Parliament began ſo early to ſit, yet by reaſon of ſeveral Continuations from Day to Day, becauſe many of the Lords were not yet come, it was not open'd till *Tueſday* the 15 of *February*: At which time *Receivers* being appointed to gather, and *Tryers* to conſider of, the ſeveral Petitions from *England*, *Wales*, *Gaſcogne*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Bretagne*, and other Foreign Iſles and Places; the Reaſons for the Calling of the Parliament were declared in Preſence of the King and his Nobles: "As firſt, be- "cauſe the King having in the Twenty ſecond Year of his Reign ſummon'd a Parlia- "ment, was both hindred to continue that Seſſion, and alſo to [b] call them to another "by reaſon of the late dreadfull Plague, untill this time. Alſo, that the Buſineſs of his "Wars required their Concurrence, becauſe the Peace was not punctually obſerved, "and Domeſtick Matters were likewiſe to be taken into Conſideration; for that La- "bourers refuſed to do their Service at reaſonable and uſual Rates; and laſtly, becauſe "the Treaſure of the Realm was exported. For theſe Conſiderations was the Parlia- ment convened, and hereupon to conſult the King did eſpecially command and require them; and Sr. *William Shareſhull* Knight, the Kings Chief Juſtice repeated the Sub- ſtance of all this to the Commons, willing them to weigh all things well, and provide for them effectually.

[b] From hence it appears, that the Printed Statutes pretended to be made *anno* 23 *Ed.* 3. are falſly dated.

The whole Proceſs and Matter following, as it is to be ſeen at large in the Record, was deliver'd by Dr. *John Thoresby*, Biſhop of [c] *Worceſter*, then Lord Chancellour, to *John Codington* Clerk of the Parliament, at the Kings Command to be entred into the Rolls of the ſame Parliament.

[c] *Ita emendo* Wincheſter *in M. S. & Sr. Rob. Cotton, ex Philpots Catal. Chancell.*

In this [d] Parliament the old Controverſie between the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, concerning Bearing their Croſiers, began to be renew'd with the uſual Heat; but at laſt it was wholly referred to the King's Hearing: Who ſet down this final Rule to be obſerved for the future. "That the Archbiſhop of *York* might beat his "Croſs in the others Province, ſaving the Preeminence to *Canterbury*; but that in to- "ken of Subjection, every Archbiſhop of *York* at his Entrance into that Biſhoprick, "ſhould offer an Image of Gold to the value of Fourty Pounds at the Shrine of *Tho-* "*mas* of *Canterbury*. The ſame Image to be ſent by ſome Knight, or Doctor of the "Law, within the ſpace of two Months after his Inthronization.

[d] *Godw. Catal. Bps in* Canter. §. 54. *l.* 14.

In this Parliament *Richard Fitz-Alan*, the Great Earl of *Arundel*, by his Petition prayeth, that his Reſtitution granted in the [e] *Fourth* of *Edward* the *Third*, may be now better declared and confirmed: Which the King in Conſideration of the Equity of his Requeſt, and alſo of his many worthy Services done to the Crown, moſt readily granted. Whereupon the ſaid Act made in the *Fourth* of *Edward* the Third Tit. 14, touching this Earl was read over, and afterwards this Clauſe thereto adjoyned; "That "it is by the King and Parliament Agreed, that the ſaid Reſtitution be Confirmed, "and ſhall remain of ſuch full Force and Effect; that *John* now Earl of *Kent*, and his "Heirs ſhall neither Challenge nor Obtain againſt the ſaid *Richard* Earl of *Arundel* in "any Court of *England*, or in *Wales*, by Writ or otherwiſe, by any Petition in Parlia- "ment, any of the Poſſeſſions or Titles that the ſaid *John*, or *Edmund* his Eldeſt Bro- "ther (long ſince deceaſed) ever had in or to the ſaid Caſtle of *Arundel*, or of any "Part or Parcel thereof. So as by this Reſtitution the ſaid Earl *Richard* ſhall have the "like Eſtate and Title, as he ſhould have had by Deſcent of Inheritance, as well to all "other Hereditaments, whereof *Edmund* Earl of *Arundel*, his Father died ſeiſed, ei- "ther in *England* or in *Wales*, as of the ſaid Caſtle.

[e] *Vid. Lib.* 1. *c.* 3. §. 6. *p.* 52. *&* 53.

As for this Earl of *Arundel* here ſpoken of, his Cauſe as well as his Valour is ſufficiently declared in the former Part of this our Hiſtory; but for this Earl *John* we ſhall now once for all add ſomewhat of him, becauſe the ſmall Age to which he attained, rendred him unable to purchaſe any higher Character in this Work. He was Second Son to *Edmund Plantaginet*, Earl of *Kent*, the Kings Uncle, of whoſe Death [f] we ſpake in the *Fourth* Year: Yet he made no Proof of his Age till this very [g] Year, when upon his Homage, he had Livery of all his Lands, his Mother the Lady *Margaret* being then alſo dead. And at that time he granted unto King *Edward* the Third, and his Heirs Kings of *England*, the Caſtle and whole Lordſhip of *Lydel* (as well within the Precincts of *England* as *Scotland*) after the Deceaſe of *Blanche*, Relict of *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, which Caſtle and Lordſhip came to him in Right of the Lady *Margaret* his Mother, Siſter and Heir to the ſaid Lord *Wake* of *Lydel*. But this hopefull young Prince, having juſt married *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *William* Marqueſs of *Juliers*, departed this Life without Iſſue the Year next following, in the Prime of his Youth, leaving all his vaſt Poſſeſſions to his Siſter and Heir the Lady *Joan*, commonly called the Fair Maid of *Kent*, firſt Eſpouſed to *William Montagu*, ſecond Earl of *Salisbury* of that Name,

[f] *Lib.* 1. *c.* 3. §. 3. *p.* 38. *ad p.* 42.
[g] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 94. *b.*

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at this time the Wife of *Thomas* Lord *Holland*, in her Right afterwards Earl of *Kent*. But to return to the Tranſactions of this Parliament. AN. DOM. 1351.

King *Edward* during this Seſſion, beſtow'd ſeveral great Honours on Sundry of his Martial Nobility: As particularly his Valiant Coſen, *Henry Plantagenet* Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Darby*, *Groſmont* and *Ferrers*, him on the [h] *Sixth* of *March* he advanced to the Title and Dignity of Duke of *Lancaſter*. Which being done by the General Conſent of all the Prelates and Peers then ſitting in Parliament, and Confirmed unto him for his Life; he was inveſted therewith by the Cincture of a Sword, with Power to have a Chancery in the County of *Lancaſter*, and there to iſſue out Writs under his own Seal, as well touching Pleas of the Crown, as others relating to the Common Laws of this Realm: As alſo to enjoy all other Liberties and Regalities, belonging to a County-Palatine, in as ample Manner as the Earl of *Cheſter* was known to have within that County; the Tenths * and Fifteenths, and all other Payments granted by the *Clergy* or *Canons*, and Pardons for Life and Members to the King, excepted. Thus the *Black-Prince*, who was Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter*, and *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaſter*, being the two firſt Dukes in *England* ſince the Conqueſt, by the Grandeur of their Names, as well as Birth and Dignity, did ſeem the Worthieſt of all Men to be ſo. Duke *Henry* was yet [i] further about the ſame time conſtituted Admiral of the Kings whole Fleet from the River *Thames* Weſtward: And two Days after the King aſſigned him ſeveral Lieutenants, namely *Reginald Ferrers*, on the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*; *Robert Ledred* Serjeant at Arms within the Cinque-ports, *Philip de Wetton*, and *Walter de Harewell* Serjeant at Arms in the Port of *Seaford*, and in every Part and Place thence by the Sea-coaſt to *Foye*; *Richard Lengles* in the Port of *Foye*, and thence to *Briſtow*, and there and in the Port of *Chepſtow* and River of *Severn*; and *Ralph de Lullibrock* in all Places and Ports from *Chepſtow* to *Cheſter*, and there, and in all Parts and Maritime Places in *Wales*.

[h] *Aſhmoles Garter p.682. Dudg. Bar. 1 Vol. p.786. Stow p.251. & M.S. Vet. Ang. in Bib. C.C.C. Cantabr. c.224.*

[*] *Aſhmole ibid.*

[i] *8 Martii Rot. Franc. 25. Ed. 3. m.15. & Aſhmole p.682.*

Mr. *Stow* [k] ſays, that at this time Prince *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, the Kings Son, was made Earl of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, and *John* of *Gaunt*, his Younger Brother, Earl of *Richmond*, but the Former had not that Title till [l] Ten Years after, at what time he took to Wife the Heireſs of *Ulſter*; and the Latter had his Nine Years before, as appears by the [m] Records. So *Knighton* [n] tells us, that the Lord *Robert Hufford* was now made Earl of *Suffolk*, whereas he had been advanced to that Dignity no leſs than [o] fourteen Years before.

[k] *Stow Chron. p.251.*

[l] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.167, &c.*

[m] *Cart. 16 Ed. 3. n.2.*

[n] *Knighton p. 2602.*

[o] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.47.*

But the Lord *Ralph* [p] *Stafford* was at this time advanced to the Title of Earl of *Stafford*, and for his better Support in that Dignity, the King granted him a 1000 Marks *per annum* in Fee, untill he ſhould provide Lands of that Value to ſettle on Him and his Heirs. In this Parliament alſo the Lord *John Maltravers ſenior*, one who was thought to have had an hand in the Murder of King *Edward* the Second, having as we ſhew'd [q] ſix Years before, ſurrendred himſelf with great Contrition to the King, was now [r] by the Judgment of the Parliament acquitted, and by his Majeſty thereupon fully pardoned, reſtored and admitted to take Place in that Honourable Convention.

[p] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p.160. ex Cart. 25 Ed. 3. m.25. Martii 5.*

[q] *L.1.c.24.§.4.*

[r] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.102.*

In [s] Conſideration of the great Dearth, of which yet the Land was not wholly freed, the King releaſeth one Half of his Proviſion, appointed to be taken up by Purveyors. And Remedy was likewiſe taken againſt Labourers, who required Exceſſive Wages, as we partly intimated before; as alſo againſt the Pope's Reſervations, and thoſe who being caſt in the Kings Court, ſeek redreſs from the Court of *Rome*, to the Subverſion of the Laws of the Realm. Then the Commons petition'd, *That no Man may be put to anſwer, in what concerns his Freehold or whatever toucheth Life, Limb or Fine, by his Oppoſite before the Council, but by due Proceſs of Law.* To this the King, as to what concerned the Freehold, agreed, but for the reſt rejected it in the uſual Form ſaying, *Le Royſe adviſera. That no Man whatſoever but Merchants only, for their great Neceſſity of Traffick, ſhould export the Good Money of the Realm.* The King anſwer'd as before, that he would be adviſed. *That the Fines of Labourers may be paid to the chief Taxors of this Fifteen in Aid of the Poor.* The King replyed, the Surpluſage thereof ſhould be employed according as Circumſtances hereafter ſhall moſt require. *That the Steward, and Marſhal, and their Deputies do make no other Proceſs than was uſed in the Time of King* Edward *the Second, and limited by the Statute therefore provided.* The King willeth that the Statutes be kept, and all juſt Complainants heard. *That no Purveyance be made for Hay or Oates for Horſes.* The Statute ſhall be obſerved. *That the Payment of Merchants for Wafting over their Goods may ceaſe.* The King will be adviſed. "It ſeems, that it appear'd highly reaſonable "to that Wiſe Prince by this his Anſwer to this laſt Petition, that ſuch Payment

[s] *M.S. Rot. Par. p.72. §.11. & Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgment p. 74. §.11. &c. ad hunc annum.*

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"ought to be exacted: It being but equitable, that thoſe Tradeſmen or Merchants, "for whoſe benefit and ſecurity the King at his vaſt Expence, doth more eſpecially "maintain the Dominion of the Seas, ſhould by a proportionable Cuſtom on thoſe "Goods ſo exported, contribute towards the better enabling him to defend and ſecure "them in that their Traffick: And this Payment was called *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Further the Commons petition, *That the Subſidy of Wooll, viz. of every Sack may ceaſe.* But becauſe that Subſidy had been granted unto the King for a longer time, that Petition fell. Then to the requeſt, *That Sheriffs, Eſcheators, and Coroners may have ſufficient Allowance in their ſeveral Counties*; it was anſwer'd, that the Statute made for that Purpoſe ſhould be kept. *That Remedy may be had againſt Sheriffs for Paying the Kings Duties.* The Treaſurer upon Complaint ſhall pay the ſame. *That every Judgment in the Common Pleas may paſs under the Seal of the Chief Juſtice, as in Caſes of Oyer; ſo that the Charges of the Great Seal may ceaſe.* This Motion ſeems unreaſonable. *That no Pardon be granted to any Murtherer or Felon, but where the King may ſave his Oath.* This the King freely granteth. *That the Fines of Chancery Writs may be abated.* The King willeth, that the Chancellour conſider the Quality and Degree of every Perſon. *That no Purveyor of Timber do take away Trees about any Mans Houſe, and that henceforward Exception be made as to that Point in all their Commiſſions.* This the King granteth. *That no Writ* de Excommunicato Capiendo *come forth before a* Scire Facias *be directed, to cauſe the Party to anſwer: And that the Party may anſwer to the Cauſe after Letters of Excommunication.* To theſe two Petitions this one Anſwer was given, that it could not be granted. *That the Merchants may be paid their Loans in every Sack of Wooll. Walter de Chirton,* the Kings Farmer of his Cuſtoms hath not yet brought in his Accounts.

It is Enacted, That the Statute of *Weſtminſter* made againſt the Deſtruction of *Salmons* be obſerved, and that all Mills ſet on Rivers be thrown down.

It is Enacted, that the Juſtices of *Oyer* and *Terminer* ſhall ſeiſe, and take the Fines of the Parties in their Preſence, and by their own Accord: And that no Pardon ſhall be granted to ſuch as bring in Falſe Money.

That Remedy may be had againſt the Oppreſſion of Ordinaries and their Officers. The Laws of the Land and of the Church ſhall be obſerved. It is complained, *That the Cuſtom for every 300 of Wooll-Fells was 46 s. and 8 d. whereas of old it was but 3 s. and 4 d. for every 100, that is 10 s. for every 300.* The preſent Cuſtom being of long time received and eſtabliſhed, ought not to be withdrawn. *That a Standard of all Sorts of Meaſures may be in every County.* If there be not, there ſhall be. *That no Statute be alter'd for any Private Cauſe.* Let this Petition be better explain'd againſt the next Parliament.

Now it is to be obſerved, that the Printed Statutes touching thoſe that are born beyond the Seas, and that touching the Meaſure and Content of Woollen Cloths, Chapter 1. As alſo that of Merchandiſes to be ſold by Strangers, Chap. 2. Together with that of Foreſtalling, Chap. 3. And that for pulling down Mills ſet upon Rivers, Chap. 4. agree all with the Record: But only the Four latter in the Print are ſaid to be made at the *Utas* of St. *Hilary an.* 25. *Ed.* 3. Whereas it ſhould be the *Utas* of the *Purification*, as appears from the Record. So alſo the Act of Proviſions made againſt the Pope's unjuſt Encroachments, agreeth with the Print, Chap. 1. & 2. As alſo that about Labourers, Chap. 8. *In dorſo hujus Rotuli* is contained a Proclamation againſt Wearing of Arms, and againſt Players and Games, in and about *Weſtminſter*, during the Seſſions of Parliament; and the Writ alſo of Proclamation for the True Making of Woollen Cloth is endorſed.

[t] *Mezeray ad hunc annum.*

II. This [t] mean while the Truce with *France* not being fully ended, however each party took the Liberty, as they ſaw Advantage, to enterprize ſomewhat upon one another. Sr. *John Beauchamp*, Captain of *Calais* for King *Edward*, underſtanding, that the ways thereabout were much infeſted by the *French*, even as if it had been in time of open War, [u] went forth of the Garriſon with 300 Men of Arms, and 200 Archers on Horſeback, and took up booty about in the Country for 10 Leagues together: But in his Return he was encountred by the Lord of *Beaulieu* with a Brigade of 2000, which Lord notwithſtanding he ſlew, and had doubtleſs routed all his Company; but that before he had compleated the Victory, another ſtrong party came upon him; ſo that he himſelf, and 20 more Knights of *England* were taken Priſoners, almoſt all the reſt of his Men being ſlain: But Sr. *John* and his Fellow-Priſoners were ſoon redeemed, and ſent into *England*.

[u] *Knighton p. 2602.*

[x] *Stow p. 251.* [y] *Vid Aſhmole p. 683. ex Rot. Franc. 32 Ed. 3. m. 8.*

He was [x] ſucceeded by Sr. *Robert* [y] *Herle*, who being recruited with a Choice Band

lead

lead by the Lord *Walter Manny*, rode forth for all that into the *French* Pale, and having done much damage about in the vicinage, came off not only without loſs, but with a vaſt booty of Oxen, Sheep, and Swine; ſo that a fat Ox at *Calais* would hardly yield ſixteen pence Sterling, there was at that time ſuch exceeding plenty of Cattle. But about *Eaſter* [z] King *Edward* ſent over *Henry* then newly-created Duke of *Lancaſter*, who ſoon after marching forth of *Calais*, went along by the Sea-Coaſts of *Artois* and *Picardy*, and burnt the ſuburbs of *Boulogne* to the very Walls: He made an Aſſault alſo upon the Town it ſelf, but could not prevail, becauſe the Scaling Ladders which he brought with him, were too ſhort. However he fired all the Veſſels in the Haven, and then proceeded along down to *Eſtaples* on the River *Canche*, which having plunder'd, he took a Compaſs to return backward on the Right Hand, and did the like to *Fauquenberge*, and after that to *Terouënne*, only here many of his Men were hurt by the Townſmen, who fled into the Church, and thence made ſtout reſiſtance, till that alſo was taken, and the *Frenchmen* for the moſt part put to the Sword. In the Havens of theſe Towns he fired above an Hundred Veſſels of all ſorts, and then went on burning all about up to *Arques*, and the Gates of St. *Omers*, and having ſufficiently made known the Terror of his Arms, he return'd Triumphantly with many Priſoners and much Booty to *Calais*. But ſoon after the occaſions of the late Breach between the two Kings were fully concerted, and a further Truce was taken [a] with this condition, that either of the Kings might renounce it, when ever he pleaſed.

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[z] *Knighton p.* 2602. *n.* 48. *& Stow p.* 251. *n.* 40. Paſcha *contigit* 17 April. *hoc anno.* Lit. Dom. B.

[a] *Knighton p.* 2603. *n.* 4.

III. The ſame Yeart [b] the *Spaniſh* Ships had liberty to come to *England*, by Reaſon of a Peace eſtabliſhed with that Kingdom, whereas the Year before there was an *Imbargo* ſet upon them, becauſe of the late Breach: But now a Truce was taken between the two Crowns for twenty Years, before which time we ſhall find *Don Pedro* of *Spain* to ſtand greatly in need of *Englands* Friendſhip: Whereas the foremention'd Truce with *France* was prolonged but for one Year further, and yet did it hardly endure ſo long, as we ſhall ſhew by and by. However now both the Kings ſeem'd in good earneſt to endeavour a final Peace, [c] and ſent their Commiſſioners for that purpoſe to *Avignon*, to conclude and perfect the Agreement on theſe Conditions, "That King *Edward* ſhould "wholly lay aſide his Title and Claim to the Crown of *France*, and King *John* ſhould "entirely yield up to him all the Dutchy of *Guienne* with the Dependencies, and "whatever was at any time before taken therefrom by his Progenitors, and that King "*Edward* and his Heirs, Kings of *England*, ſhould freely hold and poſſeſs the ſame, "without acknowledging, owing, or paying any Homage therefore to any *French* King, "from that day unto the Worlds end. But the Concluſion of this Matter was ſo long put off and delay'd by the Pope, and ſuch demurrs, and other Artifices, uſual in the Court of *Rome*, laid in the way; that the Duke of *Lancaſter* with the reſt of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, being wearied by thoſe tedious tergiverſations, returned back to their Maſter, without bringing the ſaid Agreement to any happy Concluſion. But [d] ſome ſay this Treaty was hindred by an occaſion given by the *Engliſh*, who took the Caſtle of *Guiſnes* by Treachery, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently: However King *Edward* hereupon prepared for War, reſolving to take the Field early next Year, as ſoon as the Truce ſhould be expired.

[b] *Stow p.* 251.

[c] *Fabian p.* 228. *& Odor. Rainald. ad hunc ann.* §. 37.

[d] *Odor. Rainald. ad hunc ann. Mezeray, &c.*

But upon the firſt of *April*, before the laſt Truce was renewed for another Year, the Lord *Guy* [e] *de Neſle*, Marſhal of *France*, went in Hoſtile Manner with a great number of Men of Arms, ſpoiling and ravaging about in *Xaintogne*, and near St. *Jean D' Angely*, but was at laſt met with by Sr. *Walter Bentley*, who together with *Edmund Rous* a *Norfolk*-Man, and Captain of the Caſtle of St. *Jean D' Angely*, making in all but 600 Men, encountred him Valiantly, and had ſuch Succeſs, that he ſlew and routed the whole Body of them, took Sr. *Guy de Neſle* himſelf, and Sr. *Arnold D' Endreghan*, together with the Lord *William de Neſle*, the Marſhals Brother, and ſix other Knights of Quality, and of Eſquires and Gentlemen 140 Priſoners. But yet [f] in the *September* following, the *Frenchmen* recover'd the Town and Caſtle of St. *Jean D' Angely*, after it had been in the *Engliſhmens* Poſſeſſion 5 Years, without one ſtroke given or taken: For the Garriſon being left low, and without Proviſion, was fain to yield up the Place on Equal Conditions, becauſe they had not wherewithall to live on.

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 153. *Mezeray ad hunc annum, & Stow p.* 251. *ubi tamen* 23. April, *& Fox Acts & Mon. p.* 507.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 153.

IV. While thus matters were held in ſuſpence between *England* and *France*, and hot War [g] raged between *Caſimire* King of *Poland*, and the *Lithuanians*, and *Tartars* on one hand, and the *Chriſtian* States of *Venice* and *Genoa* tore out one anothers Bowels on the other; and the King of *Armenia's* Territories were ſnatch'd away from him piece-meal by the Infidels; the [h] Heathen Governour of *Damaſcus*, with a de-

[g] *Vid. Odor. Rainald. ad hunc ann.* §. 22. *&c.*

[h] *Ibidem* §. 25.

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sign to render the *Christians* under him odious, and so to fill his Coffers with their substance, perpetrated a most cruel and *Nero*-like Action this Year. For having himself caused the said City to be secretly fired in two several places, he presently hurried away the *Christians* to the Rack, as the only Authors thereof. Some of these, being rendred impatient by the exquisiteness of the torments, confessed themselves guilty: Whereupon immediately he condemns them all to die, except such as would embrace *Mahometanisme*. Most of them by large gifts appeas'd the Tyrants fury, others unhappily renounced the *Christian* Faith: But there remain'd two and twenty, who refusing to do either, were condemned to be Crucified. However, first the Tyrant commanded them to be brought before their Friends, Parents, and Children, that so he might shake their Constancy: But the Divine Grace did so powerfully assist them at that time, that the Father, who was to die, despis'd the Prayers and Tears of his own Son, who entreated him to live, and the Faithfull Son upbraided his Apostate Father of wicked Inconstancy, to forsake the True Religion for fear of Corporal punishment, and call'd him his worst Enemy, in that by tempting him with the transitory joys of this Life, he endeavour'd to deprive him of the Rewards of Eternity. Being therefore all hung upon the Cross for three days, they were beheld both by *Christians* and *Saracens* to die a notable Example of Religious Constancy. But the Tyrant had but a short Triumph for this his exploit: For soon after the Innocence of the *Christians*, as to the burning of the City, being made manifest, by the *Soldan's* Command he was put to Death after this Manner. A Great-broad Anvil of Iron being ready prepared as red-hot as possible, the Malefactor was brought near, stark-naked from his Privy-parts upwards; then two strong Men took and twisted a Towel below his Ribs, and above his Hips round his Belly, pulling and twisting, till by degrees they had rendred him thereabout little more than a span round: At which time the Executioner cutting him off with a sword at one Blow just above the Towel, this Body was immediately set upon the glowing Anvil; So that the Blood and Life together was held in, till the Anvil growing colder, the Body fell off being seised by Death. With such signal severity can it please God to Revenge the Blood of his Saints, even by the hands of the Blasphemers of his Name.

[i] *Favine's Theatre* L' Honneur *l.*3. *c.*2. *p.* 346.
[k] *Mezeray ad hunc annum.*

V. This Year [i] on the 8 day of *September*, or the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, King *John* of *France*, that in Magnificence he might not come behind King *Edward* of *England*, who had lately instituted the *Order of the Garter*, did also [k] institute, or rather renew, the almost obsolete *Order of the Star* at a most Royal Assembly, which he held at his Palace of St. *Ouyn*, near *Paris*. The Knights Companions at this time were but Eighteen, (others being to be added at the following Chapters) whose Names were these:

[i] *Favine's Theatre* L' Honneur *l.*3. *c.*2. *p.* 346.

1 [i] JOHN *de Valois* King of *France*, the Sovereign.
2 Monsieur *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*, his only Brother.
3 *Charles* of *France*, Dauphin of *Vienna*. } King *John's* Sons.
4 *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*.
5 *John* Duke of *Berry*,
6 *Philip* Duke of *Touraine*.
7 *Charles* King of *Navarre*.
8 *Peter*, Duke of *Bourbon*. } Brethren.
9 *James* of *Bourbon*, Count *de la Marche*.
10 *Charles de la Cerda* of *Spain*, Earl of *Angoulesme*.
11 *Arnold D' Endreghan*. } Marshals of *France*.
12 *John de Clermont*.
13 *Geoffry* Count *Charny*, Great Chamberlain of *France*.
14 *Charles*, Earl of *Tancarville*.
15 *Walter de Brenne*, Duke of *Athens*, Master of the Horse.
16 *John* of *Artois*, Earl of *Eu*. } Sons to Sr. *Robert* of *Artois*.
17 *Charles* of *Artois*, Count *Longeville*.
18 *John* Viscount *de Melun*.

These Knights Brethren bore for their Cognisance a Bright Star on the Crest of their Helmets, and about their Necks pendant, the same being embroider'd on their Mantles before. Altho their first Institution happen'd in the Month of *October*, yet the time of holding their Chapters, was [m] the Day of the Three Kings of *Colen*, from the first Original; and therefore the Star which directed those Kings, was chosen for the

[m] 6 Jan. *i.e.* Epiphany.

the Emblem of the Order. However this Inſtitution was not founded under the Aſpect of any good Star: For *Charles* V. Son to this King *John*, when he ſaw the Order brought into Contempt by the Multitude of Companions, left it wholly to the Captain of the Ordinary Watch at *Paris*, and to the Archers of his Guard. But I refer the Curious to *Favine*, where they may find a more full and exact Account of theſe Matters.

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VI. At the Solemnity of the Inſtitution of this Order of Knighthood, among others, was preſent Sr. *Matthew Bouginghem*, whom King *John* had made Captain of the ſtrong Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, near *Calais*: And he now in his abſence had committed it to the Care of Sr. *William Beauconroy*. But however the *Engliſh* of *Calais*, who neglected no opportunity, [n] made themſelves Maſters of this important place, during the foreſaid Solemnity, having by Money corrupted the Faith of Sr. *William Beauconroy*, the Vice-Captain, who, as the *French* Authors relate, being ſhortly after taken at *Amiens*, was torn in pieces with Wild-Horſes. Upon this ſurprize of the Caſtle of *Guiſnes* in time of Truce, King *John* expoſtulated by his Ambaſſadors with King *Edward*, that it was an apparent breach on his ſide, but he, who knew the Importance of the Place, is ſaid to have anſwer'd pleaſantly, "That buying and ſelling was Lawfull in time of Truce, "and that King *Philip* his Father, who atttempted to purchaſe *Calais* in that Manner, "thô he was taken tardy, had taught his Captains that way of Merchandiſe. But there is another manner of the taking of this Place reported, which becauſe of its intreague, as well as probability, I ſhall add hereunto, thô it be ſomething prolix in the Relation.

[n] *Froiſ. c.* 153. *Mezeray ad hunc annum, Fabian p.* 229.

Guiſnes is about [o] five Miles from *Calais*, almoſt equally between *Hames* and *Fiennes*, the Town thereof being of no great ſtrength, for it was only encompaſſed with a large and deep Trench, without any Walls or Bullwarks: But the Caſtle was well fortified with ſtrong and maſſy Baſtions, having alſo an High and Mighty Tower of the old ſort of Fortification, but of great ſtrength, called in *Engliſh* the *Keep*. This [p] Fortreſs was a grievous check and Eyeſore to the *Engliſh* of *Calais*, becauſe being ſet as a ſtop to thoſe, who went into the higher Country to *France*-ward, it mightily ſecured thoſe parts from the foragers of *Calais*. At this time the *French* were very buſie, either in repairing it, or adding new Fortifications unto it, whereat the *Caliſians* were preſently alarum'd, and buſied their thoughts with Deſigns, how to hinder this Work, which was ſo directly intended to their perpetual hindrance. Now there was a Priſoner in *Guiſnes*, an *Engliſh* Archer, named *John Lancaſter*, who being taken ſome while before, and not having wherewithall to pay his Ranſom, was now let looſe, on condition to work for ſuch a time with the *Frenchmen* in the Garriſon. This fellow chanced to fall into familiarity with a wanton young Laundreſs, a Strumpet, of whom he learn'd, that beyond the Principal Ditch there ran a Wall of two foot broad, extending from the Rampires to the brim of the Ditch, under water; ſo that being cover'd it was not eaſily diſcernable: But yet neither was it ſo deep drown'd; but that a Man walking thereon might paſs ſecurely, being only up to the Knees, and that being made for the uſe of Fiſhers, it was diſcontinued in the midſt for the ſpace of two foot only. Now the Archer being directed by the Wench, took ſpecial notice of this Place, and afterwards found an opportunity to take the heighth of the Caſtle-Wall by a Line. Which things being thus prepared, he adventur'd one Morning early to ſlide down from the Wall, and paſſing forthwith over the Water by that hidden ledge of Brick, abſconding in the Mariſh-grounds till the Evening, at Night he went into the *Engliſh* Pale, and drew near *Calais*. Here he waited till clear day (for it was not Lawfull for any to enter otherwiſe) and then went into the Town, where falling in Communication with ſome of his old Acquaintance, and others, who were willing to venture hard in hopes of Prey, and to purchaſe to their Country a place of that Moment, he inſtructed them all, how to paſs the Ditch, and ſcale, and win the Caſtle with eaſe. Whereupon Thirty ſtout fellows conſpired together, and having made Ladders according to the Length appointed them by the Archer, and put on black Armour, for fear of reflecting any Light, they all went forward together by the Guiding of the ſaid *John Lancaſter*, and paſſing the Ditch ſafely, and climing the Walls ſucceſsfully, they ſurprized the Watchmen, cut their throats, and tumbled them down over the Wall: Then going ſoftly into the Great Hall, they ſlew many of the chief Officers, whom they found unarmed, playing at Cheſs and Hazard. After this they brake into the ſeveral Chambers and Turrets, upon the Knights and Ladies, that lay there aſleep, whom they only ſeiſed, and bound, and ſo preſently became Maſters of all that was within. Hereupon having lock'd up all their Priſoners bound and unarmed in a ſtrong Room, they went and releaſed the *Engliſh* Priſoners, that had been taken the Year before, and made

[o] Captain *George Ferrers* Hiſt. of Queen *Mary apud Grafton p.* 1357, *&c.*

[p] *Stow p.* 252. *Matth. Villani l.* 3. *c.* 23. *& Froiſ. c.* 153.

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made them Keepers over thoſe, who kept them before. Thus at laſt the whole Caſtle was reduced into their power, thoſe in the Town knowing nothing of what had happen'd all this while. In the Morning the *Engliſh* commanded the Workmen, who came to work without the Caſtle, to leave off their Work; who thereupon perceiving the Caſtle to be won, fled away, carrying the News with them wherever they went. Theſe new Lords however were ſo Civil, as immediately to give the Ladies within the Caſtle leave to depart whither they pleaſed on Horſeback, together with their Apparel, Writings, and Muniments, where they ought to hold their Fees.

That ſame Day there came from *Calais* to their Aſſiſtance, as many as they ſent for, by whoſe Aid they were now able to keep the Caſtle againſt Competent Forces. About Three of the Clock the ſame Day there came thither two Knights from the Lord *Walter de Brenne* Duke of *Athens* and (in Right [q] of his Wife *Jane*, Daughter to *Ralph* late Earl of *Eu* and *Guiſnes*) Earl of *Guiſnes*, who demanding a Truce, deſired to know of thoſe within the Caſtle, who they were, to whom they belonged; and by whoſe Authority they kept the Caſtle ſo taken in the time of Truce? To theſe Demands they within anſwer'd, That being thus intruded they would not declare to any Man their Deſign, till they had tried a longer Poſſeſſion. The Earl of *Guiſnes* being thus ſham'd off, ſent on St. *Maurice's* Day, being the 22d of *September*, Meſſengers into *England*, complaining how in prejudice of the Truce the ſaid Caſtle was unjuſtly taken, and therefore by right of mutual Faith and Honour ought to be reſtored unto the true Owner. King *Edward* anſwer'd, "That what was done was neither with his "Knowledge nor Conſent: Wherefore he would ſend his Command, that none of his "Subjects preſume any longer to detain the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, but immediately on "ſight of his Letters to reſtore it entirely to the Lord thereof. The Meſſengers being return'd with this Anſwer to the Earl of *Guiſnes*, he preſently went to the Caſtle, demanding of thoſe within, as at other times, in whoſe Name, and by whoſe Authority they held that Place. They ſtill affirming, that they held it in the Name and Behalf of *John Lancaſter*; the Earl required to know, if the ſaid *John* were the King of *Englands* Liegeman, and would obey him or no. Then *John* anſwer'd himſelf, "That as for his part he knew not what Meſſengers had been in *England*, nor what "Miſchief might be brew'd for him; wherefore while he was ſecure, he reſolved to "keep himſelf ſo, maugre all their ſubtle Devices. At that the Earl offer'd unto the ſaid *John Lancaſter* 40000 Crowns, or other Poſſeſſions in Exchange, and an Indemnity from the King of *France* for ever. To which he received this Anſwer, "That "before the Taking of that Caſtle they were all good Subjects of *England*, but now "by this their Offence againſt the Truce, and other their Demerits, no better than baniſhed Men, and excluded from the Peace of their Lord King *Edward*: Wherefore "the Place, which now they held, they would willingly ſell or exchange, but to none "ſooner, than to their Natural Lord the King of *England*, to whom they would rather "ſell that Caſtle, thereby to obtain a Pardon: But if he ſhould refuſe to buy it, then "they would ſell it to the *French* King or to Him, that would offer moſt for it. The Earl being thus mocked went away, and the King of *England* ſoon after bought it indeed, giving unto *John Lancaſter* and his Fellow-Adventurers a Competent Summ, which they demanded, and alſo their Pardon for Refuſing to obey his Letters ſo wiſely to his Advantage. For it was a place always much deſired by King *Edward*, as the beſt Neighbour to *Calais*, if in his hands, and the worſt if not.

[q] *L. 2. c. 10. §. 7. p. 454.*

VII. Hereupon King *John* charging him with Breaking the Truce, he replied as we intimated before, "That there was no one Article in the Truce, which prohibiteth "Trafficking together, or the Entercourſe of Buying and Selling. Theſe are the two Accounts of the Taking of this ſtrong Fortreſs, either of which the Reader may prefer at his Diſcretion; tho indeed the *French* Writers do moſtly agree, that it was ſold by a *Frenchman*, the Captain thereof, who afterwards received the Reward of his Treaſon.

[r] *Stow p. 253.*

However when King *John* and his Council ſaw, [r] that by no means they could prevail to have it reſtored, they adviſed to build another like unto it, for a Bridle to that, and a Defence of the Country thereabouts, and accordingly they ſent the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, ſomewhile ſince redeemed out of *England*, with Authority to build and fortifie, as preſently we ſhall declare.

Now as you travel from *Guiſnes* to *Calais*, there was then to be ſeen on your Left hand, almoſt within Shot of the Town of *Guiſnes*, a Monaſtery called *la Baſtie*, of good ſtrong Building, but decayed with Age, wherein was a Church, certain Nuns reſiding there at that time; upon which Account the *Engliſh* had hitherto ſpared it in Devotion. This

place

place might eaſily be made Defenſible, for it had very high Walls like a Caſtle, and a large and ſtrong Steeple for a Tower; and lying in a Mariſh Ground, might with ſmall Labour be environ'd with a Ditch of great Depth and Breadth. Wherefore about [t] *Whitſuntide* Sr. *Geoffry Charny* aforeſaid came with 20000 Men, and began to lay Siege to *Guiſnes*, at the ſame time turning the Nuns away, and making a Caſtle of the Church, and fencing the Walls with a Ditch and Rampire. For at that time of the Year, the Waters being very low, his Men were at liberty to work more freely in the Mariſh. Now the *Engliſh* in *Guiſnes* being thus beſieged, were not able to go abroad, but in their Boats, becauſe the Ditches were full of Water, and the Mariſh unpaſſable, and all the uſual Avenues ſtopt up by the *French*: Neither were the *Caliſians* as yet able to Victual them for the ſame Reaſons; and eſpecially becauſe of the Siege, and the ſtrong Army at *la Baſtie*. Yet often the Beſieged would appear before the Town with their Arrows and Warlike Engines, playing upon the Beſiegers; but they did no great Execution, the Aim being uncertain at that diſtance, and the Reach for the moſt part too ſhort. However one Day by ſecret Appointment, the *Caliſians* being joyn'd with thoſe of *Oye*, *Marque* and *Hames* on the one hand, and thoſe of the Garriſon of *Guiſnes* on the other, ſet all together at one time upon their Enemies unawares with much Bravery, and took ſome, ſlew many and chaſed more; ſo that the Siege being wholly raiſed, they all together ſet upon *la Baſtie*, burnt it up, diſmantled it of its Walls, and levell'd all to the Ground. And thus was *Guiſnes* ſecured to the *Engliſh*; thô the *French* made huge Clamours thereupon, how the Truce was firſt broken by the *Engliſh*.

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[t] Penteco'te *hoc anno* 27 Maii *contigit*, *Paſcha* 8 April. Lit. Dom. AG.

VIII. This ſame *Whitſuntide* King *Edward* kept in great Splendor at *Weſtminſter*, being accompanied with the Chief of his Nobility, and thoſe of *France* and *Scotland*, that were Priſoners: During which [t] Solemnity the Lord *Edmund*, younger Brother to *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, was Knighted by the King, together with 300 more young Gentlemen. At which time [u] alſo the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who had been Priſoner in *England* above four Years, by means of Queen *Philippa*, whoſe Kinſman he was, obtained leave to go into *France* to procure his Ranſom, his two Sons Sr. *John* and Sr. *Guy* remaining ſtill behind, as Hoſtages for the Payment; he being by Oath obliged not to bear Arms againſt *England*, till he had paid the Money. Thô one [x] ſays, that having obtain'd Leave upon Security given, to divert himſelf in the Iſland of *Jarſey*, when by walking about frequently, he had ſufficiently obſerved the Weakneſs of the Country, he came ſome Months afterwards ſuddenly upon them with 300 Men of Arms, and put all he found to the Sword, like a perfidious and Diſloyal Knight, and ſo took poſſeſſion of the Place himſelf.

[t] *Catal. Nobil. by Tho. Mills p. 649.*

[u] *Knighton p. 2607. n. 27. & Mezeray p. 39. Tom. 3. par. 2.*

[x] *Knighton p. 2607.*

IX. The Lord *Guy de Neſle* Marſhal of *France*, being now at Liberty again, to repair the Loſs he ſuffer'd in *April*, raiſes a conſiderable Army in *Bretagne*, where about the Middle of *Auguſt* (*viz.* on the 15 Day) 1352, [y] he was again valiantly encountred by Sr. *Walter Bentley*, Sr. *Robert Knolles*, and other *Engliſh* Captains near *Mauron* between *Rennes* and *Ploermel*: Where after a long and doubtfull Fight, the *Engliſh* being but 300 Men of Arms, and 600 Archers, the *Frenchmen*, thô above Four times their Number, were utterly diſcomfited, ſlain and taken. For there fell *Guy* of *Neſle* himſelf; who was Lord of *Oyſemont* and Marſhal of *France*, together with the Lord of St. *Quintin*, the Lord of *Briquebec*, the Lord of *Courtenay*, the Chaſtellain of *Beauvais*, the Lord of *Rugemont*, the Lord of *Montauban*, the Lord *de l' Aunay*, the Lord of *Mont de Bayeux*, the Lord *de L' Aigle*, the Lord *de Villebon*, the Lord *de la Marche*, the Lord *de le Chaſtelet*, Thirteen Lords in all, beſides an 140 Knights, and of Batchelours 500, whoſe Coat Armours were brought away: But the Common-Souldiers were not numbred. There were alſo taken Priſoners the Lord of *Bruſebeque*, Son of the Lord *Bertram*, Sr. *Triſtram de Morlaix*, the Lord of *Maleſtroit*, the Viſcount of *Cominges*, Sr. *Geoffry de Gray*, Sr. *William de la Val*, Sr. *Charles Darcheville*, Sr. *John de Brou*, and other Lords and Knights Batchelours, to the number of 130. This Army of the *French* and *Bretons*, under the Conduct of the ſaid Marſhal, had been ſo order'd by him, that having a ſteep Mountain behind at their Backs, they might be enforced to ſtand to it reſolutely by deſpairing to fly. One [z] ſays, that no leſs than 45 Knights of the Star were ſlain in this Battle; but the Number of thoſe Knights, who were created the laſt Year being but 18, 'tis hardly credible, that already the Order ſhould be ſo mightily overſtockt; wherefore we paſs this by as an Errour. However there were many Valiant and Noble Leaders on the *French* Part, and their Array was ſo dreadfull, that it diſmayed the Hearts of ſeveral *Engliſhmen*, ſo that they began to flee: But the Couragious Sr. *Walter Bentley*, Lieutenant of *Bretagne* at that time for the King of *England*, would

[y] *Froiſ. c. 153. Gagu'n p. 143. Walſingh. hiſt. p. 161. Fabian p. 229. Stow p. 253.*

[z] *Stow ibid.*

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would not flinch a Foot, but oppos'd good Conduct and indefatigable Reſolution to the fury of his Enemies, till after a bloody Fight (wherein hardly one of the *Engliſh* eſcaped unhurt, and Sr. *Walter* himſelf was grievouſly, thô not mortally wounded) by the Grace of God he obtain'd a famous Victory. After which in a Court Martial he condemned thirty Archers to be hang'd, becauſe they forſook him and fled in the Heat of Battle, to the hazard of all his Company. This was a conſiderable Blow to *France*, and a Loſs not in many Years to be repaired; althô in the room of *Guy de Neſle* there ſucceeded the Lord of *Beaujeu*, a moſt Worthy Captain, in the Office of Marſhal of *France*.

[a] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 160. ex Record.*

X. As for the Affairs of *Gaſcogne*, King *Edward* at this time [a] conſtituted the Lord *Ralph* Earl of *Stafford* his Lieutenant, and Captain General in thoſe parts, with ſpecial Commiſſion to Treat with any perſons of what Nation ſoever, upon terms of yielding aid to the King, and receiving mutual aſſiſtance from him. In which ſervice of the Lieutenancy of *Aquitain*, he was now retained by Indenture, bearing Date 3^tio *Martii* 1352 to continue with an 100 Men of Arms, and an 100 Archers on Horſeback, all of his own proper Retinue, till *Michaelmas* next enſuing. And from that time forwards to have an additional Number of 100 Men at Arms, and 200 Archers on Horſeback, provided at the Kings Charge, during his ſtay in thoſe parts: The King likewiſe indenting further with him, to ſend by way of ſupply (under the Conduct of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, or one of the Earls, either of *Northampton*, *Arundel*, *Warwick*, or *Huntington*) 300 Men of Arms more, and 700 Archers. At which time the ſaid Earl of *Stafford* conſtituted Sr. *James Pipe*, then Seneſchal of *Aquitain*, Governour of *Blaye*, ſcituate in the Enemies Quarters on the other ſide the *Garonne*. But the mean while in reſpect of this his neceſſitated Abſence from *England*, he obtained of the King a ſpecial Precept to the Judges of the Kings Bench, that they ſhould not in any of their Seſſions, within the County of *Eſſex*, intermeddle with his Liberties. And while he was preparing for this Expedition, he had an Aſſignation of the Town of *Hackney*, in the County of *Middleſex*, for the quartering of his Men and Horſes: Sixty Men with Lances being among others, impreſſed for that ſervice out of his Lordſhips of *Newport* and *Netherwent*, in the Marches of *Wales*. And being in the beginning of *May*, almoſt [b] ready to take his journey into *Gaſcogne*, a Writ bearing Date 14 of *May*, was iſſued to *Thomas Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, Admiral towards the *Weſt*, to arreſt all Ships of 50 Tuns and upwards, for this Earl's paſſage thither, and to bring them to *Sandwich* by the [c] *Quindene* of *Trinity*, or the 17 of *June* following. Being arrived ſafe in *Gaſcogne*, he preſently after encountred a Great Body of *Frenchmen*, who came forth of their ſtrong hold to meet him, of whom he had an entire Victory, ſlaying the greater part of them, and taking Priſoner that moſt valiant Gentleman [d] Sr. ------*Gaudee* (who afterwards being naturalized made his ſeat in *Suffolk*) and ſeven Knights of the Star; if this latter is not a miſtake of kin to the former.

[b] *Aſhmole p. 690. ex Rot. Franc. 26. Ed 3. m. 11. Mali 14. Lit. Dom. A. G.*

[c] *Paſcha 8. April. Feſt. Trin. 3 Junii.*

[d] *Stow p. 253.*

About this time there [e] died in the parts of *Gaſcogne*, on the *Tueſday* next after the Feaſt of St. *Michael* the Archangel, Sr. *Thomas Wale*, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, being a Perſon of great Worth and Vertue: So that of all the Stalls of the firſt Founders, his firſt became void; into which ſucceeded *Reginald* Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*. Sr. *Thomas Wale* bare for his Arms *Argent* a Croſs *Sable*, and Sr. *Reginald Cobham*, *Gules*, Three Mullets *Sable* on a Cheveron *Or*.

[e] *Aſhmole p. 700. & Stow ibid. & Sr Tho. de la More.*

XI. King [f] *Edward*, underſtanding at this time, that the *Britiſh* Seas were infeſted with Pirates, order'd ſeven Men of War to be fitted out, with certain Pinnaces to attend them: Of which Fleet Sr. *Thomas Cook*, and Sr. *Richard Tottleſham* were Admirals, who ſcoured the Seas about the Coaſts of *Picardy* and *Normandy*, and at laſt return'd with ſafety and Honour.

[f] *Stow p. 253.*

This Year [g] *William* of *Bavaria*, Son to *Lewis*, the late Emperour of *Germany*, and in his Mothers Right Earl of *Hainalt*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, came into *England*, and Married by the Kings leave the Lady *Mathilda*, Eldeſt Daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Relict of *Ralph*, Eldeſt Son of *Ralph* Earl of *Stafford*, who dying three Years before, left her a Fair young Widow. This *William* was Duke of *Bavaria*, and Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and lately upon his Mother, the Lady *Margaret*, her Death, Earl of *Hainalt*, &c. But about ſix Years after (upon what occaſion is not known) [h] he fell diſtracted, and ſlew a Knight with a blow of his Fiſt: Whereupon he was ſhut up under a good Guard in hopes of Recovery, his Brother *Albert* managing the Government in his ſtead, till about 19 Years after he died in that ſad Condition, leaving no Iſſue by his Wife, who continued in a manner a Widow, during that long time of his Diſtraction.

[g] *Knighton p. 2603. n. 20.*

[h] *Time's* ſtore-houſe *p. 721.*

XII. This

XII. This mean while *Henry* the Great Duke of *Lancaſter*, Father to the ſaid Lady *Mathilda*, when he ſaw the Truce taken between the two Realms the laſt Year, being deſirous to beſtow what time was his own to the Honour of God, and the propagation of Religion, [l] obtained the Kings Licence to take a journey into *Pruſſia*, there to fight againſt the Infidels. In which Licence the King granted, that in caſe he ſhould depart this Life before his Return, his Executors ſhould retain all his Caſtles, Lands, and Manors in their Hands, till his Debts were diſcharged. Together with this Noble Prince went at the ſame time [k] *William* Lord *Ros* of *Hamlake*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, but the ſaid Lord *Ros* died this Year before his Return, in the 26 Year of his Age without Iſſue, leaving *Thomas* his Brother, Heir to his Great Inheritance, then but 14 Years of Age. The Duke of *Lancaſter* paſſing thus towards the Holy Land with a gallant attendance of Valiant Knights and Gentlemen, was [l] ſuddenly in *High-Germany*, together with ſeveral of his Company, arreſted, and obliged to lay down 300 *Scutes* of Gold for his Liberty: Which affront we ſhall ſhortly find how ill he reſented. But however for the preſent he proceeded on his journey, being honourably attended and convey'd from Country to Country, by the ſpecial Command of thoſe *Chriſtian* Princes, thrô whoſe Dominions he paſſed. But before he came into *Pruſſia*, he heard, that a Truce for ſeveral Years had been already taken by the *Chriſtians* and *Pagans*; whereat being much diſpleaſed he returned back again the ſame way.

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[l] *Dudg.* 1 *Vol p.* 786. *ex Pat.* 25. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 6.
[k] *Monaſt. Angl.* 1 *Vol. p.* 728. *b. n.* 20. *& Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 550.
[l] *Knighton p.* 2603. *n.* 10.

In his return, [m] being then at *Cologne*, a certain *German* Knight informed him, how the Duke of *Brunſwick* was He, who had cauſed him to be ſo arreſted, intending in favour of the King of *France*, to have him ſecured, and ſent back unto the ſaid King. Wherefore now he declared openly in the Cathedral of *Cologne*, in preſence of the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, and many other Nobles, "how baſely *Otho* Duke of *Brunſwick* had "cauſed him to be arreſted with deſign to hinder his Pious Pilgrimage, thô he had ne- "ver given him any the leaſt occaſion of Offence, as he knew, having no acquaintance "with him, or knowledge of his Perſon. And he affirmed, that it did not become a "Gentleman of Quality to deal ſo rudely with a Knight Stranger, who had never of- "fended him; and that in caſe he had a mind to meddle, he ſhould find him ready "to perform the part of a Souldier at any time. Now when the Duke of *Lancaſter* was ſafely return'd into *England* (as he did before *Aſcenſion-day* this Year) theſe his Words were related in Order to the ſaid Duke of *Brunſwick*, who thereupon preſently ſent a Challenge to the Duke of *Lancaſter* in this form.

[m] *Knighton* p. 2603. n. 30. *&c. Dudg.* 1 *Vol.* p. 786. b. *&c. Froiſ.* c. 153. *Stow* p. 253. *Fabian* p. 230. *Grafton* p. 292. *Walſingh. Hiſt.* p. 162. n. 14.

"*Otho*, by the Grace of God Duke of *Brunſwick*, Lord of *Thuringen*, and Son to "the Great Duke of *Brunſwick*, unto the Excellent Prince and Noble Duke of *Lan-* "*caſter*. Know You, that the Words, which You ſpake perſonally with your own "proper Mouth, in the Chief Church of *Cologne*, by Name St. *Peters*, on the *Friday* "next after *Eaſter* laſt paſt, before the Noble Prince, the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, and ma- "ny other Worſhipfull Knights and Eſquires, in the preſence of the Citizens of the ſaid "City, unadviſedly, raſhly, and ſhamefully, were falſe, and by no means true. Which "things We will maintain by our own Body againſt your Body, as a true and Loyal "Lord is bound and obliged to demonſtrate againſt a raſh, and falſe, and wicked Man. "And this We will perform between the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, and St. *Omers*, or where "elſe the King of *France*, our Lord, ſhall aſſign a place: For thither ſhall be brought "a ſafe Conduct from the ſaid King; leſt We ſhould prolong the Matter. Dated, *&c.*

This Challenge being brought into *England* to the Duke, unſealed, [n] leſt he might expoſe himſelf to ſcorn by giving too much Credit to ſuch unauthentick Letters, he preſently ſent back unto *Otho* two Knights, to learn the truth of the Matter, and to demand thereupon his Letters Patents, ſealed with his Seal of Arms. Upon the return of theſe Knights, with his Letters ſealed, he obtained leave of the King, his Maſter, and wrote back, that by ſuch a day he would not fail to meet him, and by the Grace of God to maintain his Words in his own proper Perſon, as Truth and Honour required. Accordingly having with much adoe obtained a ſafe Conduct from *France*, he furniſhed himſelf after his Quality, and went ſtrait over to *Calais* with 50 Knights in his Company, and a gallant Retinue. At *Guiſnes* the Lord *John Clermont*, Marſhal of *France*, met him with a Noble Attendance of Men of Arms, in the [o] *Quindene* before *Chriſtmas*, and gave him an Honourable Reception, conducting him with much reſpect, as far as *Heſdin*. Where the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, Count *de la Marche*, met him alſo with another Honourable Train of Gentlemen, and conducted him to *Paris*, with extream Civility. At his approach to *Paris*, he was thirdly, met by a very conſiderable Body of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of *France*, who came by King *Johns* ſpecial Command to do him Honour. There was then the greateſt Number of Stran-

[n] Stow *ibid.*
[o] 11 Decemb.

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gers, that e'r was known at *Paris*, to behold this Combat of two such Mighty Princes, all who in their several Capacities, gave due Honour to the Duke of *Lancaster*; and King *John* himself immediately upon his Arrival sent for him to his Palace, where he gave him a Princely Reception. But above all, his Kinsman [p] *Charles* the young King of *Navarre*, shew'd him a very high Regard, and Menaged his Affairs with great diligence and application. Before the day of Battle there was much agitation to reconcile these two great Enemies; but all overtures were ineffectual; the *English* Duke maintaining the Truth and Reason of his Words, and the *Almain* utterly denying the whole Accusation. Wherefore on the day appointed, the Lists were ranged out in a Field, called [q] *le Pré aux Clercs*, the two Combatants were brought into the place, and the King of *France* with his Prime Nobility, and an Infinite Number of People were present as spectators. All things being ready, the two Knights, having (as the Custom of Duellists in those Days was) taken their several Oaths on the [r] *Corporall*, that their cause was just, and that they had no Charms about them, and so began to address themselves to the Combat. The Duke of *Brunswick* bore in his shield [s] *Gules*, Two Lions Passant, Guardant *Or*; and the Duke of *Lancaster*, *Gules* Three Lions Passant, Guardant *Or* (being the Arms of *England*) with a Three-pointed Labell of *France*.

Now 'tis said, that till now You could hardly find a more fierce or comely Man at Arms, than the Duke of *Brunswick*, nor one that promised better: But presently, as soon as he had taken his Oath, his countenance changed and grew pale, as Death; whereby most People thought his quarrel was not so good, as he pretended. He took his Horse with a sad and ill-boading Countenance, and as many spectators avouched, had none of his former briskness and vigour remaining, insomuch that he bare himself very awkwardly in handling his Arms, and twice or thrice let fall his shield in receiving it. But the Noble Duke of *Lancaster* sat ready Mounted with his Spear upright, and his shield on his Arm, in a decent and couragious manner, with a sedate and resolute Countenance, expecting to cope with his Adversary, like a Knight, who had Truth and Honour on his side; so that all Men applauded his steady and gallant Behaviour. Wherefore the Duke of *Brunswick* by advice of his Friends, submitted his quarrel to the judgement of the King of *France*, and proffer'd to withdraw his Challenge. But the Duke of *Lancaster* absolutely refused to forsake the Combat, saying, "How that "before he had entred the Lists, perhaps he might have been perswaded to an agreement, "but now that he was already Mounted and prepared before the King and his Nobles, "and such an extraordinary Confluence of People, to defend the Justice of his Cause, "it would be an high Reflection both on himself, and the *English* Nation, if now he "should depart the Lists without performing, what Truth and Equity did require: Where- "fore he said, he would not leave the Field for any Treaty or Composition whatsoever "without Battle; so as to derive the least umbrage of a suspicion upon his Honour, "Blood, and Quality; whereby either Himself, the King his Master, or his Country "might suffer the least flaw in their Reputation: Otherwise he would receive what E- "vent or Fortune the Grace of God would allot him. Upon this the Duke of *Brunswick*, as a Man Conquered, utterly renounced the Quarrel, and refus'd the Combat, without any reservation of his Honour, wholly submitting himself to the award and disposal of the King of *France*, to the great Glory of the Duke of *Lancaster*. The Duke of *Brunswick* was generally more acceptable to the King and Court of *France*, as who was much their Friend; but however the Duke of *Lancaster* was not without his Intereests among so many Honourable Persons, who respected him, thô an Enemy, for his many Heroick Vertues and High Birth. Among these his Counsellours and Abetters, who stuck close to him at this time, were the foremention'd *Charles* King of *Navarre* his Kinsman, and *Giles* his Fathers Brother, the Earl of *Ponthieu*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the Earl of *Tancarville*, the Earl of *Saltzbourg*, the Lord *John Clermont* Marshal of *France*, the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Navarre*, the Lord *Lewis* Earl of *Harcourt*, the Lord *John de Chastillon*, and the Lord *Walter* his Son, with many more. These Persons so wrought with the Duke of *Lancaster*, that upon Duke *Otho's* absolute renunciation of the Quarrel, he was content to go last out of the Field: After which the King at a great Feast, by the help of his Nobles, partakers on both sides, reconciled these two Dukes, and took up the Quarrel between them for ever. The next day he led the Duke of *Lancaster* about his Palace, shewing him many notable and Rich Jewels, of all which he offer'd him the choice: But he for his part desired only one Thorn out of the Crown of our Saviour, which he brought away, and afterwards gave, as a Relick to his Collegiate Church of our Lady, founded by himself, near the Castle of *Leicester*. The third Day after, he took leave of the *French* King and Court, and return'd home into *England* unto the King, who

[p] This Duke *Henry* was Son to *Henry de Torto-Collo*, who was second Son to *Edmund* (second Brother to K. *Edw.* I) and of *Blanche* the Relict of *Henry de Champagne* King of *Navarre*; from whom also this *Charles* King of *Navarre* was descended. *Tho. Mills* Catal. Nobility *p.* 319.

[q] Fabian *ad hunc an. p.* 230. Grafton *p.* 292. Mezeray *p.* 51.

[r] Corporall, *Gallicè* Corporail, *Latin. Corporale, idem quod Dominicale*, i.e. *pulvinar Sacrosanctum*; *Syndon, vel linteum, quo corpus Dominicum tegitur.*

[s] True Use of Armory *Bibl. Cottonianâ* p. 58 vid. *Tho. Mills* Catal. Nobility p. 342. He came of *Maud*, Eldest Daughter of K. *Henry* II of *Engl.* and *Henry Leo* D. of *Saxony*, whose V Son, *William* of *Winchester* was Progenitor to the Dukes of *Brunswick*. Hence this Dukes Arms so like *England*.

who was then at St. *Albans*, where he kept his *Chriſtmas* at that time, and received him with great Grace and Favour. AN. DOM. 1352.

XIII. This pious Heroe, who at laſt by his Religious and Noble Carriage obtained to be called the [t] Good Duke of *Lancaſter*, out of his devout Reſpect to the Canons of his Collegiate Church at *Leiceſter*, permitted [u] them this Year to encloſe their Woods, and ſtored them with Deer out of his own Parks; and likewiſe interceded perſonally with the Pope, for Appropriating the Churches of *Humberſton* and *Hungerton* to the ſaid Abbey. About which time [x] he received ſpecial Command from the King, to keep a ſtrict Guard upon the Sea-coaſts of *Lancaſhire*, and to arm all thoſe 40 Lanciers, which were then raiſed in his Territories of *Monmouth*, *Groſmont*, *Whitcaſtle*, *Kedewy*, *Karwathelan* and *Iskennin* for the publick Service. For there came into [y] *England* a prevailing Rumour, that the *French* King had provided an Army and Navy to invade the Land; wherefore now, beſides the Maritime Parts of *Lancaſhire* aforemention'd, the King committed all the Sea-Coaſts of *Dorſet*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire* and *Hantſhire* unto this powerfull Duke to ſecure, and to reſiſt the Enemy. At the ſame time among others, *Thomas* [z] *Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, was one of the Commiſſioners aſſign'd by the King for the Arraying all ſorts of Men able for the War, as well Knights and Eſquires, as Others within the Counties of *Warwick*, *Leiceſter* and *Worceſter*. As alſo [a] *Thomas* Lord *Muſgrave*, and *Thomas* Lord *Lucy*, were Commiſſioners for the like purpoſe in the County of *Weſtmorland*, Sr. *John* [b] *Kirketon* of *Kirketon* in *Holland* in *Lincolnſhire*, and Sr. *John* [c] *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, two noble Barons of the Realm, being conſtituted Commiſſioners of Array in the ſaid County; as others were in other places for the Defence of the Realm againſt the *French*, then threatning an Invaſion: Though this Threat, like a great many more of theirs came to nothing.

The Earl of *Warwick* [d] aforeſaid recover'd about this time the Dominion of *Gowerland* in *Wales*, from *John* Lord *Moubray*, whoſe Title thereto accrued by the Lady *Aliva* his Mother, Daughter and Heireſs to *William* Lord *Braoſe*: Which Lordſhip King *John* in the Fourth Year of his Reign had wrongfully given to *William de Braoſe*, whilſt *Henry* Son of *Waleran Newburgh* Earl of *Warwick* (Anceſtor to this *Thomas Beauchamp* now Earl) was in his Minority: But till now it could not be recover'd for the Right Owner, thô [e] *Roger* (Predeceſſor to the ſaid *Waleran*, who lived in the Days of King *Stephen*, was reputed to have been the Conquerour of *Gowerland*: On which Account his Poſterity had enjoyed it, untill the ſaid Fourth Year of King *John*.

XIV. This Year [f] Pope *Clement* VI, after he had ſat in the Pontifical Chair ten Years and ſeven Months, wanting a Day, departed this Life in his Palace at *Avignon* on the 6th of *December*, being as was thought poiſoned. In whoſe ſtead upon the 18 of the ſaid Month was choſen *Stephen Albert*, a *Limouſin* by Birth, Prieſt-Cardinal *Titulo* SS. *Joannis & Pauli*, and then Biſhop of *Oſtia*; he took upon him the Name of *Innocent*, being the VI of that Name, and was Crowned with the Papal Mitre on the 30 Day of the ſame Month, the day after which he wrote his Letters *Encyclical* bearing Date 11 *Kal. Januarii An° Pontif.* I. But of his partiality towards his own Nation of *France* our Hiſtorians do not unjuſtly complain.

This very Month there departed out of this World the Hopefull Young Prince, *John Plantagenet* Earl of *Kent*, Son to *Edmund* of *Woodſtock*, King *Edwards* Uncle, who had lately taken to Wife the young Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, but died now without Iſſue as we have ſaid. So that his Siſter *Joan*, commonly called *the Fair Maid of Kent*, being at that time [g] 24 Years old, and the Wife of the Lord *Thomas Holland*, was found his next Heir; and in her Right the ſaid Sr. *Thomas* became Earl of *Kent*.

It is remembred, [h] that two Fiſhmongers were this Year beheaded at the *Standard* in *Cheap-Side London*, thô their Offence is not recorded: Wherefore I only mention it to ſhew, how more mild and humane, thô withall ſeldome, the Executions were under this Prince's Government, in compariſon of thoſe Butcherly Diſmembrings uſed during the Reign of King *Philip* of *Valois*, his Adverſary.

[t] *Tho. Mills Catal. Honor. p.* 324.
[u] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 787. & *Knighton p.* 2606.
[x] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 787.
[y] *Aſhmole p.* 682, *&c.*
[z] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 232.
[a] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 153.
[b] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 168.
[c] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 83.
[d] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 232.
[e] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 69.
[f] *Odor. Rainal. ad ann.* 1352. §. 24, 25. *&c. Knighton p.* 2605 *n.* 30. & *Walſing. Hiſt. p.* 161. & *Froiſ. c.* 153, *&c.*
[g] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 94. & *Sandford p.* 215. *ex Inquiſitione captâ* 13 Febr. 27 *Ed.* 3.
[h] *Stow's Survey of* London *p.* 279.

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CHAPTER the Twelfth.

The CONTENTS.

I. *A hard Winter, Storms, Drought and Dearth.* II. *A Riot in* Cheſter: *The* Black-Prince's *Munificence.* III. *King* Edward *founds a College at* Weſtminſter. IV. *A Treaty with* Scotland. V. *A Treaty and Truce with* France. VI. *A Parliament, with the Names of the Lords ſummon'd thereto, &c.* VII. *Another Parliament, wherein* Roger Mortimer *and* Richard Fitz-Alan *were fully reſtored.* VIII. *A Treaty at* Avignon, *which begets a ſhort Truce.* IX. *The Foundation of* Trinity Hall *in* Cambridge. X. *A Quarrel between the Town and Univerſity of* Oxford. XI. *Two Fryers burnt at* Avignon: *A Third recants at* Paris.

I. THIS Year [a] began with a terrible, long, hard and cold Winter, which endured with extream Rigour from the 6 of *December* till the 12 of *March*, and was ſucceeded by a furious Hurricane or Tempeſt of Wind, the like whereof had not been ſeen in *England*: For it tore up the Coverings and Leads of Churches, overthrew Mills, and Walls and Trees to the ground, and did exceeding much Miſchief in ſundry places. Beſides which there happen'd an unuſual Drought, [b] ſo that from *March* to *July* little or no Moiſture fell upon the Earth: Wherefore all manner of Seeds being corrupted, there enſued a great Dearth of Corn, and other Grain and Fruits. Inſomuch that *England*, which was always before ſufficient for it ſelf, was now fain to ſeek Aſſiſtance from other Countries. Which thing being known to *William* of *Bavaria* Earl of *Hainalt*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, and Son in Law to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, out of his hearty Love to the *Engliſh* Nation, he ſent ſeveral Ships laden with fine Wheat to *London*, to the great refreſhment of the People. And ſoon [c] after were brought great Quantities of Corn from *Ireland*, which being diſtributed to ſeveral Port-Towns and Mercate-places of the Land, was a timely Aſſwagement of the Dearth, and a kind Relief to the poor People eſpecially. And then alſo by ſome means or other, [d] there was a general Scarcity of Minerals, as Iron, Lead, Braſs, and many other Commodities.

[a] *Knighton* p. 2607. *n.* 10. & *Walſingh. Hiſt.* p. 161. & *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 224.

[b] *M.S. ibidem.*

[c] *Stow* p. 254.

[d] *Walſing. ibid.*

II. About this time [e] the *Cheſhire*-men had committed ſome great Inſolence or Riot againſt the Servants of the Prince of *Wales* (on what Occaſion I have not found) which were Officers under the Prince, as he was Duke of *Cheſter*. Wherefore the King being extreamly incenſed againſt them, and reſolving to make them ſubmit to Law or to the Sword, ſends forth Sr. *Richard Willoughby* and Sr. *William Shareſhull*, his Juſtices Itinerant to ſit in *Eyre* at *Cheſter*. At the ſame time ordering ſufficient Forces under the Leading of his Son the Prince, attended with *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Stafford*, to go thither to prevent any Violence or Inſurrection of the People. But when the *Cheſhire* men knew in their Conſciences, that they were in fault, and ſaw plainly, there was as little Contending in Battle as in Law, againſt ſuch Force and ſuch Right, they compounded with the Prince of *Wales* their Lord, for 5060 Marks, to be paid within four Years thence to come, and gave him ſuch Security as the Prince himſelf deſired, on Condition, that the Juſtices ſhould no longer continue their Circuit of *Eyre* upon them. However becauſe they would not according to their Duty ſubmit to, but capitulate with their Prince, when they thought themſelves quit and wholly free, the Juſtices came and ſat again upon the Inquiſition of *Traillebaſton*, and leavied vaſt Summs of Money, and ſeiſed many Lands and Tenements into the Hands of the Prince, and raiſed Fines without number. After which the Prince paſſing upon his return thrô the Abby of [f] *Vale-Royal*, and ſeeing there a wonderfull Structure of the Fabrick of a Church, which the good King *Edward* his Great Grandfather had begun, of his meer Princely Good-will gave toward the Promotion of the ſaid pious Work 500 Marks, which Summ was eſteemed a Tenth of his whole Perquiſits in *Cheſhire*.

[e] *Knighton* p. 2606. *n.* 12. & *Dugd.* 1. *Vol.* p. 161.

[f] *Vid. Sr. Rich. Baker in Ed.* 1. *titulo*, Works of Piety done in his Time. *Unde corrigo* Deaulencros *in* Vale Royal.

III. About which time the King [g] his Father alſo converted the Chappel of St. *Stephen* at *Weſtminſter* (founded by his Royal Progenitors) into a College, conſiſting of 38 Perſons to ſerve God, namely one Dean, *Twelve* Secular Canons, Vicars and other

[g] *Stow's Chron.* p. 254. & *Survey of* London p. 523.

ther Miniſters accordingly, and endowed it with Revenues to the Summ of 500 *l. per Annum* for ever. For the uſe of this Chappel, thô out of the Palace Court, ſome diſtance *Weſtward*, in a little Sanctuary, he alſo raiſed a mighty ſtrong *Bellfry* or Steeple of Stone and Timber, covered with Lead, and placed therein three Great Bells, which afterward were uſually rung at Coronations, Triumphs, Funerals of Princes, or their Obits. Of which Bells Men fabled, that their Ringing ſowred all the Drink in the Town; and it is ſaid, that about the Biggeſt of the Three, there were written theſe *Rhymes:*

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King Edward *made me*
Thirty Thouſand and Three;
Take me down and weigh me,
And more ſhall ye find me.

However when theſe Bells were taken down, as they have been long ſince, they were found all Three hardly to weigh Twenty Thouſand Pound.

IV. We ſpake [h] before, how the King of *Scotland* had liberty to return home from his Captivity in order to diſcourſe with his Lords about his Ranſom; and that being not able to come to any Concluſion, he rendred himſelf a Priſoner again: Now it is to be conſider'd, that the *Scots* were not at all backward to redeem their King; but that the Demands of King *Edward* were ſuch as their free Souls could never brook, for he would have them do Homage unto him, as King *David* himſelf had ſworn to do, and as the Kings of *Scotland* before-time were accuſtomed to do. But the *Scots* anſwered all with one Heart and Voice, "How as for their King they were willing and "ready to redeem his Perſon at any Rate: Except only by ſubmitting themſelves un- "to the King of *England*; for that they would never do. Whereupon King *David* for that time, as we obſerved, returned his Body back again to Priſon in the Tower of *London*. But now this Year again by King *Edwards* leave, he reſolved to try them once more in Perſon, and having given a like Security, went as before to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, where he was met by ſuch *Scotch* Lords as were thereto appointed, in order to treat of a Final Peace between the two Realms; and alſo of his Redemption. But here as the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners held ſtill to their old Obſtinacy, ſo that King *David* was fain to upbraid them thereof, and check them ſomething roughly, "That bearing "a Mind too high for the preſent Condition of Affairs, they were too unreaſonably ſtiff; "when both for his Sake, and that of their bleeding Country, they ought rather to "bend and ſhew a little Complyance for the preſent; the Debate grew hereupon ſo high, that the *Scots* threatned to renounce both Him and his Authority, unleſs he would wholly fall off from the Thoughts of paying any Submiſſion to *England*, and forbear to liſten any longer to their Counſel. And they further added, "That they "would neither redeem him, nor any way promote his Redemption, unleſs he would firſt "engage to pardon them all ſorts of Quarrels, and Grievances, and all Offences by "them done or committed, ſince the time that he was taken at *Durham*: Otherwiſe "they threatned to ſet up another King over them. King *Edward* and his Council, upon this Backwardneſs of the *Scots* to cloſe with them, reſolved, that the Lords of the *North* ſhould enter *Scotland*, under the Leading of the Earl of *Northampton*, and that all thoſe, who claim'd any Lands or Inheritance in *Scotland*, ſhould accompany the ſaid Earl, together with King *David* into that Kingdom, by Force to reduce the *Scots* to a more reaſonable Submiſſion.

[h] *Lib. 2. c. 10. §. 8. p. 455. vid. Knighton p. 2606. à n. 20. ad n. 30. collat. cum p. 2603. n. 10, &c.*

Accordingly [i] the Earl of *Northampton* with King *David* in his Company, and a formidable Power of Men of Arms and Archers, entred the Marches of *Scotland*, where he obliged the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Loughmaban*, and ſeveral other Places of Strength to yield unto him, and took, and ſlew, and diſſipated all the cloſe Ambuſhes of the ſubtle *Scots*, who not being able to check him in plain Field, attempted by theſe Fineneſſes to gain ſome notable Advantage of him: But this Lord was too expert a Captain, to be trepan'd by thoſe uſual and well-known Stratagems. Whereupon they were now again compell'd to endeavour an Accommodation, and at laſt obtained an Hearing in order to a Treaty; at which time they declared, "How they were moſt wil- "ling to redeem their King, but not on that Condition, as thereby to fling both Him "and Them, and all their Poſterity into a far worſe Captivity, by Subjecting their Na- "tive Country to be held by Homage of *England*. Wherefore they heartily deſired "the King of *England* and his Council to conſider of it, and to propoſe unto them "ſuch Conditions as they might accept, and not demand of them things ſo inconſiſtent "and impoſſible, and which appeared unto them far worſe than Death. This Requeſt being

[i] *Stow p. 254. &c.*

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being but reasonable was back'd with a Truce; and thus Matters rested for a while in those Parts.

V. Now [k] Pope *Innocent* the VI, being newly settled in the Pontifical Chair, when he saw Matters tending towards a Rupture between the two Realms of *England* and *France*, interposed his Endeavours to make up the Breach, and sent [l] *Guy* Bishop of *Porto*, and Cardinal of *Bologna*, in his Name to promote the Treaty of a Final Peace, in Order to which he empower'd him by his Papal Letters, the Tenour whereof followeth.

[k] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum. §.15. & Stow p. 254.*

[l] Innoc. VI. *Tom. 1. Epist. Secret. p. 22. Et an. 1. Epist. Curial. l. 2. Epist. 29, 30, 31.*

"INNOCENT, the Servant of the Servants of God, to his Venerable Brother, "*Guy* Bishop of *Porto*, *&c.* Among other things, which by the Office of our Apostolick Service are incumbent on Us, this We especially desire, that between our Most "Dear Sons in *Christ*, the Illustrious Kings, *John* of *France*, and *Edward* of *England*, "the Fewel of Dissention being withdrawn, Peace and Concord may be reformed, "Tranquillity may flourish, the happiness of Quiet may abound, and a Pacifick State "may continue. Considering therefore, that You, who as an earnest Well-Wisher to "the Premises, have at our Good Pleasure gone to the Parts of *France*, and there Personally tarry, do zealously interpose Your Diligence to the Reformation of the said "Peace and Concord; desiring also, that (if by his Grace, who is the Author of Health "and Peace, Your Intention being as to the Premises conformable to ours, may obtain a desired effect) those things, which shall be done, may be firmly Ratified; "We grant unto your Brotherhood (of whom in this and other things We have full "Confidence in the Lord) by the Apostolical Authority, by Vertue of these Presents, "full and free Power, of Confirming, approving, and Ratifying, by the Authority aforesaid, the Treaties and Conventions of the said Peace and Concord between the "said Kings, and also the Princes, Lords, Great Men, Aiders and Followers of them "and their Adherents; nevertheless, after that the said Treaties and Conventions shall "by Gods assistance be finished, and by the said Kings, and others aforesaid, freely "received and approved, of receiving from them and every of them, Covenants, "Oaths, and Submissions, for the entire observation of the said Treaties and Conventions; and of restraining the Contradictions by Ecclesiastical Censure, without any Appeal; notwithstanding, if to them, or any of them, either together, or severally, "it hath been granted by the Apostolick See, that they should not be interdicted, "suspended, or excommunicated by Apostolick Letters, making full and express mention, and Word by Word of such a Grant. Dated at *Villeneufe*, of the Diœcese of *Avignon* III Id. *Maii*, *An°. Pontif.* 1mo. Besides this Cardinal, Pope *Innocent* [m] sent several other Prelates to both the Kings, in Order to bring this Peace to its Perfection. So that at [n] last it was agreed, "That the King of *England* should resign, acquit, and renounce all the Right he had, or claimed to the Crown of *France*, "transferring it entirely to the *French* King and his Heirs; in Consideration whereof, "He the said King of *England* should receive, and enjoy the whole Dukedom of *Aquitain*, with the City of *Calais*, and the whole Counties of *Artois*, and of *Guisnes*, for Himself and his Successors, Kings of *England*, without ever doing any Homage, or making any acknowledgement for the same to the Kings of *France*, or "without holding them in any subordinate Manner, otherwise, than he held the Crown "of *England* it self, namely of God alone. To these Conditions, thus agreed on, King *Edward* yielded his Consent, and for a firm Conclusion of the Premises, Ambassadors were sent as well from him, as from the *French* King, to the Court of *Rome* then at *Avignon*: A Truce being taken the mean while to be kept in *England*, *France*, *Gascogne*, and *Bretagne*, till *Easter* next ensuing, during which time it was hoped, a full and final Peace would be established. But we shall defer the Prosecution of that Matter to its proper Place, and speak of what happen'd at home before the Truce was in any forwardness.

[m] *M. S. in Bibl.* Vatican. *sign.* N. *p.* 2040. *apud Odor. Rainald. ibid.*

[n] *Stow ibid. M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 229.

VI. On the 15 of *July*, King *Edward* sent forth his Writs of Summons to his Lords, to meet him in Parliament at *Westminster*, on the * *Monday* after the Feast of St. *Matthew*, or the 23^d of *September* following, these being the Names of those to whom the Writs were directed.

[o] *M.S. Rot. Parl. p.* 70. *& Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 83.

* Lit. Dom. F.

Edward Prince of *Wales*.	*William Clinton* Earl of *Huntington*.
Henry Duke of *Lancaster*.	*Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*.
William Bohun Earl of *Northampton*.	*Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*.
Humphry Bohun Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*.	*John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*.
Hugh Courtney Earl of *Devonshire*.	*Gilbert Umphraville* Earl of *Angos*.

Robert

Robert Hufford Earl of *Suffolk*.
William Montague Earl of *Salisbury*.
Ralph Stafford Earl of *Stafford*.
John Lord *Mowbray*.
Henry Lord *Piercy*.
Ralph Lord *Neville*.
Richard Lord *Talbot*.
Robert Lord *Morley*.
Walter Lord *Manny*.
William Lord *Huntingfield*.
Thomas Lord *Berkley*.
Thomas Lord *Lucy*.
Peter Lord *Morley* the *Fifth*.
Reginald Lord *Cobham*.
Reginald Lord *Grey*.
John Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*.
Roger Lord *Chandos*.
John Lord *Charleton*.
William Lord *Zouch* of *Harringworth*.
John Lord *Bardolph*.
William Lord *Deincourt*.
John Lord *Tibetot*.
John Lord *Fitz-Walter*.
Walter Lord *Fauconbridge*.
William Lord *Greystock*.
William Lord *Dacres*.
Thomas Lord *Musgrave*.
Thomas Lord *Bradestan*.
John Lord *Grey* of *Rotherfield*.
John Lord *Grey of Codonore*.
John Lord *Darcy* of *Knayth*.
Roger Lord *Mortimer* of *Wigmore*.
Robert Lord *Colvile*.
Bartholomew Lord *Burwash* Senior.
Guy Lord *Brian*.
Nicolas Lord *Seimour*.
Geoffry Lord *Say*.
Michael Lord *Poynz*.
John Lord *Beauchamp* of *Somerset*.
John Lord *Beauchamp* of *Warwickshire*.
William Lord *Ferrers*.
John Lord *Lisle* of *Rugemont*.
Nicolas Lord *Cantilupe*.
John Lord *Furnival*.
Nicolas Lord *Burnel*.
Edward Lord *Montague*.
Thomas Lord *Ughtred*.
Robert Lord *Scales*.
Henry Lord *Scroop*.
John Lord *Cobham*.
Thomas Lord *Braose*.
James Lord *Audley*.
Thomas Lord *Holland*.
Bartholomew Lord *Burwash* Junior, Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*.

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On the [P] *Monday* aforesaid the Parliament being met, Proclamation was made in *Westminster*-Hall, that the Three-Estates warned thereto, might take their ease from *Wednesday* until *Friday* then ensuing. On which *Friday* Sr. *William Shareshull* the Lord Chief Justice, shew'd, that the Assembly was called, for that the Staple should be removed from beyond the Seas, and appointed within the Realm. But for that we shall refer the Reader to the *Statute of the Staple*, in the *Statute-Book*, because it agreeth exactly with the Record, containing 28 Chapters. The *Seventh* day of *October*, Sr. *Bartholomew Burwash* the Kings Chamberlain, in the Presence of the King, Lords, and Commons, sheweth how the King had attempted and pursued War against the *French*, without Charging of the Commons. And to end the same he had made great means to the Pope, but that since he could not obtain any good end of the War, he now required the Commons to grant him the Subsidy of Wooll, who thereupon by whole assent, granted him the same for Three Years.

[P] *Sr. Rob. Cotton's* Abridgement *p.* 81. *&c.*

The Print against Provisors, that sue to the Court of *Rome*, c. 1. agreeth with the Record; the Print that all Suggestions shall be put into Pardons c. 2. agreeth with the Record: The Print, that Justices of the Peace should look after Victuallers c. 3. agreeth with the Record. But the Statute of Wines in the Print c. 5, 6, 7, and 8. is not in the Roll, nor in the Printed Calendar of Parliaments.

The Commons Petitions are as followeth, *viz.* "That the King would revoke the "Office of *Alnage*, and take three pence of every Cloth. *Let the Commons talk with* "*the Chancellour and Treasurer, to the end good Recompence be made for the said Alnage.* "That the Subsidies and other Aids granted, may be employed only in the Wars. *It* "*pleaseth the King.* That the Coin may be reduced into old Sterling. *It was an-*"*swer'd the last Parliament.* That the Staple may be appointed at *Worcester, Not-*"*tingham, Hull*, St. *Botolphs, Stamford, Lyn, Ipswich*, and *Canterbury*. *One shall be at* "Canterbury, *and that only in Honour of St.* Thomas. That the Lords and Commons "may by *Easter* following, appoint out three Sorts of Woolls, which shall then "Commence. *The King will be advised.* That the outragious Fines taken by Sr. "*John Molins*, and such other Commissioners may be remedied. *Upon Complaint Re-*"*dress shall be had.*

It is Enacted, that all the Articles of the Staple shall be proclaimed throughout the Realm, and confirmed at the next Parliament.

VII. Thus this Year ended, and on the 15 of *March* following King *Edward* sent forth

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forth his Writs of Summons to his Barons, to meet him in Parliament on the *Monday* after St. *Mark* the Evangeliſt, or the 28 of *April*.

On the [q] *Monday* aforeſaid, the Lord Chief Juſtice Sr. *William Shareſhull* in the Painted Chamber made open Proclamation before the King, Lords and Commons, that the Parliament was called for three Cauſes; *Firſt*, For the Eſtabliſhing the Staple within the Realm, and for Confirmation of the Ordinances made at the laſt Great Council: *Secondly*, How they might treat of a Peace with *France*; for that by War the King ſaw his Subjects greatly waſted; and *Thirdly*, For Receiving of Petitions, and redreſs of Enormities, all which without a Parliament could not be effectually ended. Here *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmore*, being Grandchild to the old *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, who had been executed for Treaſon [r] twenty three Years before, had ſuch favour, as [s] upon his Petition, to obtain a Reverſal of the Judgment given againſt his Grandfather aforeſaid, as erroneous and utterly void; for that he the ſaid Earl was put to Death againſt Law, having never been called to open Anſwer before his Peers: Whereupon this ſaid *Roger* from thence forward bare the Title of Earl of *March*, and had again Reſtitution of the Caſtles and Lordſhips of *Blenleveny* and *Bulkedinas*, whereof his Grandfather died ſeiſed; as alſo all his other Lands, which upon that Forfeiture coming to the Crown, had been beſtowed on *William* Lord *Montagu* and Others. But the Charter of his Reſtitution [t] bears a later Date, *viz.* on the 19 of *Novemb. Anno Regni* 29. 1355.

[q] *M.S. Rot. Par. 28 Ed 3. m. 1. p. 379. Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 85.*

[r] *Vid. l. 1. c. 3 §. 6. p. 46. ad p. 54. An. 4. Ed 3.*

[s] *M.S. ibid. & Sr. Rob. Cotton ibid. Aſhmole p. 692. & Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 147.*

[t] *Tho. Mills Catal. Hon. p. 576.*

In [u] like manner *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel* upon his humble Petition, wherein he remonſtrated, that *Edmund* Earl of *Arundel* his Father had been unjuſtly put to Death, was thereupon, as Heir unto him, fully reſtored: And becauſe the Death of his Father had been occaſion'd by the means of *Roger Mortimer* Grandfather to the foreſaid *Roger* Earl of *March*, to prevent all further Heart-burnings between the two Families, it was now [x] by Indenture made betwixt this Earl *Richard*, and the ſaid Earl *Roger* agreed, that *Edmund* Son and Heir to the ſaid *Richard*, ſhould take to Wife *Alice* the Daughter of the ſaid *Roger*, and that ſhe ſhould have Three Thouſand Marks for her Portion, *viz.* one Thouſand at the Sealing of that Agreement, upon their Marriage at her Seventh Year of Age one Thouſand more, and at her accompliſhing the Age of Thirteen, the remaining Thouſand.

[u] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 317. M.S. Rot. Par. p. 80. §. 13. &c. Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 86, &c.*

[x] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 317. ex Clauſ. 28 Ed. 3. in dorſo m. 10.*

Now before this, as we have already obſerved, the King in Council reſolved to withdraw the Mart or Staple of Woolls from the Towns of *Flanders*, becauſe that People, thô they received much Advantage thereby, had not kept true Touch with him; and accordingly he commanded the ſame to be kept at [y] *Weſtminſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Briſtow*, *Canterbury*, *Hull* and other Places: In purſuance of which wholſom Device it was [z] now Enacted, that all the Ordinances made in the laſt Great Council aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, touching the *Staple*, be confirmed to continue for ever. It is Enacted, that the Juſtices of the Peace ſhall be of the Beſt in every County, that upon the Diſplacing of any of them, others be placed at the Nomination of the Knights of the ſame County; that they ſit four times at leaſt every Year: That none be diſplaced without the Kings Special Commandment, or Teſtimony of their Fellows. It is Enacted, that no Purveyor, being arreſted for any Miſdemeanour ſhall have any Privy-Seal, to cauſe ſuch as arreſted him to come before the Council to anſwer the King, but have his Remedy at the Common Law.

[y] *Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p. 948. Statute-Book p. 102.*

[z] *M.S. Rot. Par. p. 80. n. 16. Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 86. ibid. &c.*

The Commons Petitions with the Kings Anſwers thereto, were theſe; That the Surpluſage of the Fines of the Statute of Labourers may be entirely diſtributed among the Poor of the whole County, and not to poor Towns only. *It ſhall be parted among the poor Towns only.* That the Writ of *Eſtreat* may lie in every Action, where the Party ſhall recover Dammages of *Eſtreats* after the Writ purchaſed. *The old Law ſhall be continued.* That Remedy may be had in ſuch Caſes, where the King receiveth the Profits of the Wards Lands, as well of *Soccage*, as otherwiſe, where no part of the ſame is holden of him. *The Law heretofore uſed ſhall continue.* That it may be order'd, whether the Tenants of ſuch as hold by Barony, and are ſummoned to Parliament, ſhall contribute to the payment of Knights Fees coming to the Parliament. *As heretofore, ſo the ſame ſhall be.* That preſent Pay be made of all Purveyances, being under twenty Shillings, and of greater within one Quarter of a Year, and that Purveyance be made without Malice. *It is good to make Payment accordingly to the firſt Point, and to redreſs the ſecond.* That all Sheriffs be charged to make preſent Payment for all Purveyances for *Calais*. *The Demand is reaſonable.* That any one attainted upon a Writ of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, may bring his Attaint, [a] hanging his Suit againſt the other. *The Lords will not alter the Order of the Law.* That the Lords, *Marchers* of *Wales*, do ſuffer

[a] *Ita M.S. & Sr. Rob. Cotton an potius having.*

fer no Diſtreſſes to be made on any *Engliſh* Man coming into *Wales*, for any other Mans Debts, if he be no Debter, Treſpaſſer, or Surety. *As heretofore, ſo the Law ſhall be.* That no Inqueſt upon Conſpiracy, Confederacy, Maintenance, or ſuch like be returned, but by the Sheriff, of the moſt lawfull Men, and nigheſt in that part of the Country, where ſuch Acts are laid; that all Evidences therein be given openly at the Bar, and that no Man ſpeak with the Jury after they depart therefrom. This laſt Petition was Enacted. That the King [b] will appoint a Time when the Coin ſhall be made Finer. *With Opportunity the King meaneth the ſame.* That the King have the Forfeitures of his Widows Dowagers; but not of ſuch as hold joyntly with their Husbands. *The old Law ſhall ſtand.* That the Writ of Appeal brought [d] *hanging* another may abate the other. *The Common Law therein uſed ſhall continue.* That Weights and Meaſures may henceforth be made in the Town of *London*, ſo as all Counties do conform themſelves according thereto. *There is a STANDARD in the Treaſury, where every Man readily may have the ſame.* That the Writs of the Chancery may be at reaſonable Prices, and that the Clerks of the Crown, and others for Commiſſion and ſuch like, do content themſelves with the Kings Allowance. *As heretofore the ſame ſhall be.* That Fines for Writs may be reaſonably made in every of the Kings Courts. *The Chancellour ſhall do as heretofore.* The Commons beyond the *Trent* require, that the Juſtices of the one Bench or of the other, may yearly come twice amongſt them, for taking Cogniſance of Fines and Letters of Attourney of the Unable. *The King will be adviſed.* That Labourers may take Corn for their Wages. *The Statute made ſhall be obſerved.* That the Staple may always continue in *England*. The ſame ſhall ſo continue till the next Parliament, and not be alter'd without the Aſſent of the Parliament. The Merchants Strangers require, that the Ordinances of the Staple may be executed ſpeedily. *The King willeth the ſame.*

It is Enacted, that that Statute made, that all Merchants, coming into this Realm with their Merchandiſes, might ſell the ſame to any Perſon whatſoever, and of the ſame to make Exchange, or to buy Wares, paying the Cuſtoms therefore, is confirmed to continue. That the Cuſtomers do diſpatch all ſuch Merchants coming in with their Wares; and that thoſe Merchants for the Prices of their Wares may be credited upon their Letters and Oaths. It is Enacted, that ſome One of the Kings Council may be appointed to be Governour to ſuch Merchants Strangers. *The Chancellor or Treaſurer ſhall ſupply the ſame, when he may attend, if not, ſome Learned Juſtices ſhall be appointed therefore.* The Printed Statutes of this Year [e] concerning ſhewing of Woolls, Ch. XIV. And concerning, that none be Outlawed or put to Death without due Proceſs of Law, Ch. III. And that touching Errours and Miſpriſions in the City of *London*, Ch. X. And that touching the Confirmation of all Statutes not repealed, Ch. I. And that how the *Eſcheators* ſhall anſwer the Profits of the Lands of the Kings Tenants, Ch. IV. And that which prohibits Exporting of Iron, Ch. V. And that for the Election of Coroners, Ch. VI. And that which concerns the Continuance of Sheriffs, C. VII. And that touching Attaint given without reſpect to quantity of Dammages, Ch. VIII. And that which contains ſundry Ordinances of the Staple, Ch. XIII. And that concerning the Bounds of the Staple, Ch. XV. And that touching Sheriffs, who uſe to take Inqueſts for the inditing of any, Ch. IX. All [f] theſe Printed Statutes agree exactly with the Record.

After all theſe things, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh ſenior* being then Lord Chamberlain, and [g] one of thoſe who had been at the Treaty of *Calais* the laſt Year, declared to the whole Houſe, that there was a Treaty of Peace between the King and the *French*, and a good hope of a final Accord; whereto in the Kings Name he demanded of the Commons, whether they would agree. To which Demand they anſwer'd, how therein they wholly ſubmitted themſelves to the Order of the King and his Nobles: Whereupon Dr. *Michael Northborough*, Keeper of the Kings Privy Seal, and about [h] this time Elect Biſhop of *London*, commanded Dr. *John Swinley* the Notary, to prepare a Publique Inſtrument thereof.

VIII. And having thus diſpatch'd the Tranſactions of this Parliament, it is high time to ſee what was effected, as to the Treaty then in hand between the two Crowns of

[b] Now for the better Underſtanding of this Petition, it is to be noted; that about four Years before this [c] *William Edindon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*, had cauſed Groats and Half-Groats to be Coined to the People's great Diſadvantage; for they wanted ſomething of the juſt Sterling Weight: Which occaſion'd the Price of all things to be very much enhanced; whereupon at the Commons Complaint now in Parliament, the King promiſed to redreſs the Grievance the firſt Opportunity. Yet however many times after thoſe Days the like Practice hath been uſed; inſomuch that now 5 *s.* ſcarcely contain ſo much ſilver as 5 Groats had 300 or 400 Years ago: So that 'tis no wonder, if things be ſold at treble the Price which they held at that time. For hereby alſo it comes to paſs, that the Prince and Nobility cannot poſſibly maintain their Eſtates with their Ancient Rents and Revenues; becauſe thô they bring them in the old Tale and Number, yet they fall far ſhort in the due Weight and Quantity of Metal.

[c] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 948. *vid. Godwins Catal. Biſh. p.* 234.

[d] *Ita Sr. Rob. Cotton*, having *in M.S.*

[e] *Statute-Book p.*108. *ad an.* 28. *Ed.*3.

[f] *M.S.Rot.Par. an.*28. *Ed.*3. *n.* 20,22,26,28, 31,32,39 41, 43,46,47,*&c.* *& Sr. Rob.Cottons Abridgm. p.*86,87,88.

[g] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*35. *a.*

[h] *Godw.Catal. Biſh.p.*197. *ubi* Northbrook *malè pro* Northburgh, *ut Pat.* 29 *Ed.*3.

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England and *France*: According to an Article of the last Years Truce, Ambassadors were to appear from both the Kings at *Avignon* in *January* then next ensuing, in order to hold a serious Treaty for a firm and final Peace. On King [i] *Edwards* Behalf there went Dr. *William Bateman* Bishop of *Norwich*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Guy Brian* and other Nobles, who coming with an Equipage of 200 Horse, whereof 32 were cover'd with Harness, toward *Avignon*, were met on *Christmas*-Eve by the Archbishop of *Roüen*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord *Geoffry Charny* and Others, who were sent Ambassadors from the *French* King, all who being thus joyned, were received with great Honour by several Cardinals, Bishops, Nobles, Citizens and Others, to the number of 2000 Horse, who met them within two Miles of *Avignon*, and brought them into the New-town, called *Villeneufe*, to the Pope's Palace, but the Pomp of the Cavalcade was so great, that from three of the Clock till Night they had scarce time to pass the Bridge.

[i] *Knighton p. 2607. n. 50. &c. Stow p. 254. b. Froiss. c. 154. fol. 76. Walsing. hist. p. 161. n. 33*

The Noble Duke of *Lancaster* at his Entrance saluted all the People, and rode forth to the Pope's Palace: Where alighting from his horse without the Gate, he made his Approach to his Holiness with all due Reverence, which he was perfectly instructed how to perform by his Court-like and Princely Demeanour. After some brief Discourse, as the Time would permit, he went thence for that time, and took along with him his Holinesses Blessing to his Lodgings, which had been prepared for him beforehand. All the time of his Residence there, which was more than six Weeks, he kept such Hospitality, that he was admired by the whole Court, having laid in an Hundred Tuns of the best *Bourdeaux* Wine before his Coming, and behaving himself during his Stay so obligingly to all Persons, especially to the Pope and his Cardinals, that they said of him, "*how he had not his Fellow in the World.* But as to the Business, about which all these Great Personages came thither, that being openly declared in the Consistory before the Pope and his Cardinals; the *English* Ambassadors requested to have those Covenants now confirmed, which had before been concluded upon between them at *Calais*. To whom the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Earl of *Armagnac*, retracting what they had themselves agreed to, and sealed, and confirmed with their Oaths, in the Presence of *Guy* Cardinal of *Bologna*, replied now, "That gladly they would have Peace if they "might; but as to the Disposal of *Aquitain* and the forefaid Counties, neither, said "they, can the *French* King himself, nor any other whatsoever by any means alienate "them from the Crown of *France*: Nor yet could they or any of them give their con-"sent, that they should be dismembred from the entire Body of that Kingdom, since "both the King himself, and they also had been sworn to maintain them with all their "Power. But yet if the King of *England* would cease to bear the Arms of *France*, "they were content, that the Dominion and Profits of the said Dutchy and Counties "should remain with King *Edward*, in like manner as his Ancestors had held *Aqui-"tain*, that is to say, provided always the Regality of the Crown of *France* should be "reserved, in Witness whereof Homage should be made as of old, to the Kings of "*France* for those Places. To these new and unexpected Demands the Duke of *Lancaster* replied; "That as for the Oath, wherewith they pretended to be so strictly "bound, never to alienate those Places from the Crown of *France*, they might soon "for the sake of Peace be by his Holiness absolved therefrom: For, having so fair a "Pretence to the whole, the King of *England* was resolved to have at least these Paris "absolutely to himself, to be restored unto him without any Limitation; otherwise, "that those Arms of *France*, which by the Advice and Consent of his Liegemen of "*Flanders*, he had undertaken to bear, he would never relinquish for the fear or plea-"sure of any Man living. And that the King of *England* would never do Homage to "a Person, over whom by Hereditary Right from his Mother, he claimed Superiori-"ty. But yet if they could conceive of any more equal and rational way of Agree-"ment, and resolve to be more consistent with themselves, and more observant "of their own Concessions than now they seemed to be, King *Edward*, as a Lover of "Peace, will be ready to embrace what was reasonable. At this the Lords of *France* in a Huff replied, "That if so, they were both ready and able to defend their Coun-"try against the *English* for ever. And so they offer'd to rise up, but thrô the urgent Importunities of the Pope and his Cardinals this bitterness was soon corrected, and at last they agreed so far, [k] as that another short Truce was taken to endure till the Feast of St. *John Baptist* following; the Pope in the mean time to endeavour what in him lay to promote the Peace; and for that end by his Messengers to both the Kings, to require them again to send their Ambassadors to conclude on some other Conditions, that

[k] *Froiss. ibid.*

that might be more acceptable to either Party. And so they brake up for that time on both sides, and the Duke of *Lancaster* (having with [l] much adoe escaped the snares laid by the *French* to entrap him) returned with safety and Honour into *England*, together with the Rest of his Company, except only Dr. *William Bateman* Bishop of *Norwich*, who [m] died at *Avignon* on *Twelfth-Day*, and was there Honourably buried.

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And that the perfecting of a Peace at this time was hindred by the *French* is witnessed by an [n] Ancient *Anonymous* M. S in the *Vatican*-Library at *Rome*, which accuses the *French* King of all, saying, "In this Popes (*Innocent's*) time the Lord *Guy* Cardinal "of *Bologna*, by the Consent of the Pope, and of his own Proper Motion went into "*France* at his own expences, to Treat of a Peace with the said King (of *France*) and "*Edward* King of *England*: For which Treaty, the Duke of *Bourbon* with other Ambassadors, on behalf of the King of *France*; and the Duke of *Lancaster*, with other "Ambassadors on behalf of the King of *England* came to *Avignon*, in the time of *In*"*nocent* VI, in the first Year of his Coronation, to finish and compleat those things, "which had been ordained by the said Lord Cardinal concerning the said Peace be"tween the said Kings to be had: But finally they could not agree, and the said "Dukes with their Ambassadors went away in discord from the Court to their several "Countries. And this was done thrô default of the King of *France*, as was common"ly said, He then denying those things, which had been Treated, Engrossed, and "Sealed by them, and sworn to, in the Hands and Presence of the said Lord Cardinal "by the Will and Consent of the said King of *France* and his Council. To which [o] *Odoricus Rainaldus* adds these Words, "What dreadfull slaughters King *John* brought "upon himself thereby, with a like event, as his Father *Philip* had revoked the "Peace made with the *English* Commissioners, from whence we said the *English* War "brake forth, whereby *France* was embroil'd for so many Years, will appear hereafter.

[l] *Knighton p.* 2608. *n.*30.
[m] *Godw. Catal. Bps p.*426.
[n] *M.S. in Bibl.* Vatican. *sign. n.* 2040. *vid. Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1353. §. 15. *vid. M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.*229, *&c.*
[o] *Loco supra citato.*

IX. Since we spake a little above of the Death of Dr. *William Bateman*, it is fit that we take our leave something more solemnly of so Worthy a Person, of whom many commendable things are to be said, thô only to excite Vertue in a Degenerate Age by the example of others, whose Liberality have embalmed their Names to late Posterity: He was [p] born at *Norwich*, bred at *Cambridge*, and being Dr. of the Civil Law, and Arch-Deacon of *Norwich*, was at last elected Bishop by the General Consent of the Convent. He was the first Founder of *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, appointing it, as it remains to this day, a perpetual Seminary of Learned Civilians, and giving certain Lands toward the Maintenance thereof. He founded also the Hall of the Annunciation of our Lady in the said University, and gave one of the Publick Chests. And provoking others to follow his good Example, he perswaded one *Edward Gonwell*, alias *Gonvill*, to found another Hall in the same *English Athens*, which afterwards was much augmented at the Cost and Charges of one *John Caius*, a Learned Physician, and is now after both their Names, called *Gonvill* and *Key's* College. Dr. *Bateman* was succeeded in the See of *Norwich* by [q] *Richard Piercy*, younger Brother to *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, which *Henry* was never Earl of *Northumberland* (thô *Godwin* by mistake calls him so, and gives unto this *Richard* the Name of *Thomas*, as *Stow* also doth) but Father to the first Earl of that Name.

[p] *Godw. Catal. Bps p.*426.
[q] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 275.

X. About this time [r] there fell a Cruel Dissention in the Famous University of *Oxford*, between the Scholars and the Townsmen: The occasion whereof was this. On the Tenth [s] of *February*, [t] which in the Year 135$\frac{4}{5}$ happen'd on a *Tuesday*, and the Feast of St. *Scholastica* the Virgin, *Walter Sprinhouse*, and *Roger Chesterfield*, with other Scholars, went to a Tavern called *Swindlestock*, or *Swinstock*, at the Sign of the Mermaid, in the Street named *Quatervois*; and there finding fault with the Wine, called for *John Croydon* the Vintner, and demanded better Wine. Here Words being multiply'd, and the Vintner not at all complying, the Scholars went so far as to strike the Pot and Wine and all about his Head. Upon this Affront he ran down, made his complaint to his servants and family, and afterward to his Neighbours; so that in short a great part of the Town conspired the Destruction of the Scholars, and rang the Town Bell at St. *Martins*. Whereupon the University Bell of St. *Maries* was rung also, and so the Scholars and Townsmen being armed with Bows, and other Weapons, had a scuffle, till the Evening parted them, and as yet no great harm was done. But the next day the Countrymen near *Oxford*, to the Number of about 2000, came in to the Assistance of the Townsmen with a Black-Banner born before them. Whereupon the Scholars fled to their Colleges, but the enraged Multitude breaking in upon them, slew many, whom they flung in their Bog-houses, and then rent and tare their Books and Writings to pieces, and carried away the College-Plate, and what else they pleased.

[r] *Stow p.*255; *Walsing. Hypod. p.*122. *& hist. p.*161. *& Fox p.*361. *& Holinshead p.*948.
[s] *Anton. Wood's Antiqu.* Oxon. [t] *L.*1. *p.*174. *ad annum* 1354. *ex Reg.* Synwell *dicto fol.* 67,68,69, *&c.* Dom. Lit. D. *ad an.* 135$\frac{4}{5}$.

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There were the Names of more than 28 Universsity men slain and wounded that day, given in to the Bishop of *Lincoln* a few days after; besides those, who being secretly buried, were not heard of any more. For this Riot the King * seised on the Liberties of the City, the greater part whereof were granted to the Universsity, which they enjoy to this Day. However, for that time the Universsity was in a manner dissolved, all Scholars, but those of *Merton* College, going to their Friends and Relations, where they continued for a Year or two after. The mean [u] while the Bishop of *Lincoln* inhibited all Priests to celebrate Divine Service in presence of any Layman within the City of *Oxford*, and the King sending his Justices thither to take knowledge of this disorderly Riot, there were divers both of the Townsmen and Scholars endited, and certain of the Burgesses, as *Richard Forester*, and *Robert Lardiner*, and the Mayor himself *John Bereford*, were committed to Prison: And the High-Sheriff, named *Richard Williamscote*, because he did not according to his Duty in helping the Universsity and the Vicechancellour, was removed, and *John Laundels* put in his Place. The [x] former Mayor and Bailiffs being now clapt up in the Tower, at the [y] Kings Command another Mayor was chosen, whose Name was *John de St. Frideswide*, and two new Bailiffs, *William Somerford*, and *Hugh Teftele*, alias *Eisley*, who were to hold for the remainder of the Year. The next day after their Names were carried to the King, and Attourneys sent to beg in their behalf his Majesties Pardon, for the foresaid Sedition. About which time certain Advocates for the Universsity were also at Court solliciting an end of these Matters. Whereupon both Parties being cited up to *London*, sent thither their several Advocates. The Universsity wholly resign'd, both her self and Privileges into the Kings hands: Then also the Townsmen produced their Resignation, and rendred up all their Privileges and Liberties, their Persons and Goods moveable and immoveable, and their Gilds whatsoever, as well general as special, and all their Rights they entirely submitted to the Kings disposal, and this they did (as they confess in the form of their Surrender) "*because if they should be proceeded against by* "*any other way of Law, and solemnly, the examination of their cause would tend to their* "*greater Confusion and Punishment, &c.* These Surrenders were made on the *Wednesday* next after the Feast of St. *Dunstan* the Bishop, before *John* Archbishop of *York*, Chancellour, and *William* Bishop of *Winchester*, Treasurer, and the Justices, and others of the Kings Council, in the Council Chamber by the Exchequer at *Westminster*. At which time both Parties humbly petition'd, that the Kings Majesty would accept of their Resignations: But the King commanded them to be deliver'd into the hands of *David Wollere*, Master of the Rolls of Chancery, to be kept until such time, as upon due deliberation, he might declare, whether they were to be accepted or rejected. The third day after the King accepted the Universities Resignation, and pardon'd them of all that the Scholars had done, either in the said tumult, or before; as his Letters, bearing [z] date 20 of *May*, and still remaining among the Archives of that Universsity, under the Kings Seal, bear witness. As to the Townsmen, who were now also involved in the Censures of the Church, upon the Intercession of several Nobles, and the Heads of the Universsity it self, this Order was at last taken with them. On * St. *Kenelmes* day, being a *Friday*, and the 17 day of *July*, [a] in the following Year, Master *Humphry Charleton*, Professor of Divinity, and *John Charleton* the younger, Dr. of the Laws, and *Thomas Neville*, Master of Arts, on the behalf of the Universsity of *Oxford*; and *John* of St. *Frideswide*, Mayor, *John Bedford*, and *John Norton*, Bailiffs of the said Town of *Oxford*, on behalf of the Commonalty of the same Town, came before the Kings Council, into the Council-Chamber near the Exchequer, where the Allegations on both sides being heard, upon request made, that it would please his Majesties Council, according to the Submissions by both Parties made unto the King, and to his Council, to take order in the Matter in Controversie betwixt them, concerning the late tumult and business, which had chanced in the said Town, by the disorder of the Commonalty of the same, in breaking down and burning of Houses, in taking and bearing away the Books, and other Goods of the said Masters and Scholars, and in committing other Transgressions. The Council having consideration of the Premises, to avoid the Decay, that might ensue to the said Town, made this end betwixt the Parties, "That the Commonalty of the said Town (*John Bereford*, "being in the Kings Prison, and *Robert Lardiner* only excepted) should be bound to "pay unto the said Masters and Scholars, damnified in the said Tumult and Business, "for amends and reformation of Injuries and Losses sustained (Death and Maim ex- "cepted) two hundred and fifty pounds, beside the Goods taken and born away, to "be restored again, and this Money to be paid to the said Chancellour, Masters, and "Scho-

u *Holinsh. Engl. Chron. p.949. & Anton. Wood's Antiqu. Oxon. l.1. p.174. & 176.*

x *Anton. Wood's Antiqu. Oxon. l.1. p.176, &c.*

y *In Minor. Rubr. Libr. Civ. Oxon. C. fol. 27.*

z *Pat. 29. Ed. 3. p.2. m.26.*

* D. Lit. Dom. *ad an.* 1355.

a *Ex Record. Turr. Antiqu. Oxon. p.176. Clauf. 29. Ed. 3. m.23. & Holinsh. p.950. & Antiqu. Oxon. l.1. p.180.*

"Scholars, by the Feaſt of St. *James*, or elſe ſufficient ſureties put in for the payment "thereof, at certain terms, as the Parties ſhould agree upon: And in reſpect thereof, "*John Bereford*, and *John Norton*, ſhall be releaſed out of Priſon at the Bail of the "ſaid Mayor, of *Robert Minks*, and *John Dimock*, till the next Seſſions of Goal-"Delivery, on Condition that the ſaid Sums of Money be paid, or ſurety put in for "the payment thereof, as before is ſaid, or elſe the Bodies of the ſaid *John Bedford*, "and *John Norton*, ſhall be returned to the ſaid Priſon within three days after the "Feaſt of St. *Peter ad Vincula*, there to remain in manner as before they did. It was alſo ordain'd by the Kings Council, with the Aſſent of the ſaid *Humphry*, *Lewis*, and *John Charleton*, that all, and every manner of Perſons of the ſaid Town of *Oxford*, and the ſuburbs of the ſame, indited and arraigned of the Felonies and tranſgreſſions aformention'd, that ſhould yield themſelves to the Kings Priſon to be tried by Law, and alſo all others, that were at that time preſent in Priſon, which the ſaid *Humphry* and *John Charleton* ſhould name (*John de Bereford*, and *Robert Lardiner* excepted) may be let to Bail, upon ſufficient Sureties, who ſhould undertake for them, body for body, to appear at the next Seſſions of Goal-Delivery, there to be tried, according to order of Law. And further it was order'd, that all ſuch Goods and Chattels, as were taken and carried away from the ſaid Maſters and Scholars in the ſaid tumult and buſineſs, by the Men of the ſaid Town and Suburbs, in whoſe hands, and in what places ſoever, within the ſaid Town and Suburbs, by Inquiſition, Information, or other means, they ſhould or might be found, ſhould be deliver'd unto the Chancellour and Proctors of the ſaid Univerſity, to be by them reſtored unto thoſe Perſons, to whom they belonged.

This was the effect of the final Order taken at the day and place aforeſaid, before the Reverend Fathers, *John* Archbiſhop of *York*, Primate and Chancellour of *England*, *William* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord Treaſurer, *Thomas Brembre* Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and *David Wollere* Maſter of the Rolls, *Henry Inglesby* Clerk of the Council, and other of the Kings Council there preſent.

XI. This Year [b] about *Whitſuntide* two Fryers Minors, named *John* of *Caſtillon*, and *Francis* at *Arquata*, being accounted guilty of Hereſie, were ſeiſed by Order of the Pope, and brought from *Carcaſſone* to *Avignon*, where they were both burnt alive. Of whom thus *Henry Rebdorf* in his Annals. "Being brought to *Avignon*, and by the "Popes Command examin'd, they read their Confeſſion in a certain long Paper, con-"taining many Articles about the Premiſes. Nay they publiquely affirmed, that Pope "*John* the XXII, and all his Succeſſors, and even Pope *Innocent* himſelf, who affirmed "the contrary to their Aſſertion, were, and had been Hereticks, and Reprobates, and "had no Title to any Dignity or Benefice Eccleſiaſtical. For which the ſaid *Minors* "being degraded of their Prieſthood, were in preſence of the Pope deliver'd over to "the ſecular Power, and burnt within the Octaves of *Pentecoſt*: And as they went to "the Stake they cried out with a loud voice, *Glory be to God on high.* And it was "publiquely ſaid, that many of the ſaid Order had been deliver'd over to the ſecular "Power, and burnt in *Gaſcogne*, and in *Italy* for the foreſaid Articles, whom the two "Friers aforeſaid affirmed to be true Martyrs. And it was moreover ſaid, how there "were very many Learned Perſons of the ſaid Order, who defended the Queſtion a-"bout Property, and the Poverty of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles: [Which alſo theſe two "had done.]

[b] *Odor. Rainal. Continuat. ad Baron. ad hunc annum* §. 31. *M.S. Bibl.* Vatican. *ſign. n.* 3765. *in* Innocent. VI. *& Geſta* Innoc. VI. *apud* Boſqu. *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 161. *n.* 47.

But it is alſo to be remembred, for the Honour of the Univerſity of *Paris*, which we find upon undoubted Authority, [c] that this Year a certain *Auguſtin* Frier, named *Guido*, for defending the Condignity of Mans Merit with God, which is a Matter now generally owned in the Church of *Rome*, was by Order of the Chancellour, and the Theological Faculty at *Paris*, to make his publique Recantation in this Form, "I ſaid againſt a "Batchelour of the Order of the *Friers-Preachers* in conference with him, that a Man doth "merit Everlaſting Life of Condignity, that is to ſay, that in caſe it were not given, there "ſhould be injury done unto him: I wrote likewiſe, that God ſhould do him injury, and "approved it. This I now revoke as falſe, Heretical, and Blaſphemous.

[c] Biſhop *Uſher's* Anſw. to a *Jeſuits* Challenge *p.* 428. *ex* Guid. *Revocat. Error. fact.* Pariſiis *An°.* 1354. *Tom.* 14. *Bibl. Patrum Edit.* Colon. *p.* 347.

CHAP.

An. Dom. 1355. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXIX. *Franciæ* XVI.

CHAPTER the Thirteenth.

The CONTENTS.

I. *The King of* Navarre *murders the Conſtable of* France, *and invites the Duke of* Lancaſter *to his Aſſiſtance. The Duke ſets forth in order thereto; but hearing, how the Kings of* France *and* Navarre *were agreed, returns home again.* II. *The manner how that Reconcilement was made.* III. *The War breaks out again between* England and France: *Prince* Edward *goes over into* Gaſcogne, *with his Exploits there: The Lord* John Liſle ſlain. IV. *Two Letters of Sr.* John Wingfield's, *ſetting forth the Particulars of the Prince's Expedition.* V. *King* Edward *goes into* France, *obtains a Truce, and returns into* England. VI. Barwick *taken by the* Scots. VII. *A Parliament at* Weſtminſter. VIII. *A Parliament at* Paris. IX. *The Birth of Prince* Thomas *of* Woodſtock: *The City of* Nantes *in* Bretagne *taken and recover'd: A ſtrange Malady of* Averſion from Company: *The Death of* Peter *Lord* Mauley *the* Fifth *of that Name.*

I. WHen we ſpake of the Combat, that was to have been perform'd between the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Brunſwick*, we mention'd among other things, how extraordinary kind his young Kinſman, *Charles* King of *Navarre* was then unto him. Now the Occaſion of this Prince's Coming to *Paris* at that time was to marry the Lady *Jane*, one of the Daughters of King *John de Valois*: But ſurely, whatever Alliance or Affinity he had or might ſeek to have with *France*, he became an Occaſion of many great Calamities to that Kingdom. For[a] as he was the moſt winning and obliging in his Addreſs of any Man living, being adorn'd with Vigour, Beauty, Eloquence, Courage, Affability, and Liberality beyond all Men; ſo he made the worſt uſe of theſe natural Excellencies, and rendred them pernicious by his Ambitious Temper, and the ſecret Delight he had in all kind of Miſchief. From the time of his Marriage he never ceaſed to purſue his Pretenſions to the Countries of *Brie* and *Champagne*, but eſpecially to that of *Angouleſme*. But *Charles de la Cerda* of *Spain*, Conſtable of *France*, to whom the King had given the latter, diſſwaded him from proffering any Equivalent by way of ſatisfaction in that Point. Whereupon the *Navarrois* retires diſcontented into his Earldom of *Eureux* in *Normandy*, and [b] there underſtanding, that the Conſtable was then in his Caſtle in the Town *de L' Aigle*, he enterpriſed a deſign as bold as execrable: For on the Sixth of *January*, taking unto him certain armed Knights, he cauſed them to ſcale the Caſtle early about break of Day, and there by them the Conſtable was murder'd in his Bed. This done he avowed the Fact, by juſtifying himſelf in his Letters to King *John* and his Council; and in the mean time, thô being the Kings Son-in-Law, he endeavour'd to reconcile himſelf to his Favour, yet either to ſecure himſelf againſt the worſt, or by making himſelf formidable to extort a Pardon, he was very buſie in making Muſters, in fortifying his Caſtles, and inviting ſeveral Neighbour Princes to a League againſt *France*. And althô a Treaty of Reconcilement had been begun, and to all ſeeming appearance eſtabliſhed by that time between the *French* King and him, as we ſhall ſhew by and by, yet when he heard how the Duke of *Lancaſter* was, as we ſhew'd in the preceding Year, at the Court of *Avignon*, [c] he alſo made ſhift to get thither, where ſecretly he [d] confer'd with his Couſin the Duke of *Lancaſter*, at which time he complain'd to the ſaid Duke of ſeveral Dammages done unto him by the *French* King, and gave him his Oath; that he would moſt willingly enter into League with the King of *England*, and for Aſſurance of the ſame would endeavour, when the Truce was once ended, to joyn him at *Jerſey* with all the Power he ſhould be able to raiſe. And in the beginning of this Year he [e] ſent among Others his Uncle *Giles* of *Champagne* to the Duke of *Lancaſter* with Letters, heartily beſeeching him to come into *Normandy* with all ſpeed to his Aid and Defence, and to receive his Oath of Fidelity to ſerve King *Edward* againſt all Men. The Duke accordingly with the Kings leave [f] gather'd a great Navy together, which was rigged and made ready at *Rutherhive*, *alias*

[a] *Mezeray, ad ann.* 1353.

[b] *Gaguin, Froiſ. c.* 154. *Mezeray & Paul. Æmyl. p.* 184. *& Du Cheſne p.* 673.

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 154. *fol.* 76. *a.*

[d] *M.S. Rot Par. p.* 85. *n.* 6. *Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 90

[e] *Stow p.* 255.

[f] *Holinſhead p.* 949.

liàs Radriffe, being furniſhed with Proviſion of Victuals for one Quarter of a Year, and the whole Fleet conſiſting of fourty Sail, had all their chief Streamers beaten with the Arms of the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was appointed with a great Power of choſen Men of Arms and Archers, Lord Admiral of the Navy: But few or none of his Men knew whither he was bound. The Tenth of *July* he ſailed to *Greenwich*, between which and *Sandwich* he was held till the 15 of *Auguſt*, the Wind for the moſt part all that while continuing at *Weſt* and *South-weſt*, which was contrary to his intended Courſe. At length with much Difficulty he came to *Winchelſea*, and thence to the Iſle of *Wight*. And it was generally concluded, that he deſign'd for *Normandy* to ſupport the King of *Navarre* in his Quarrel againſt the *French* King: But hearing now certain News of that Kings Reconciliation with *France*, he returned home again to the King his Maſter.

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II. Now to ſet forth the Inconſtancy of this *Navarrois* Prince, we ſhall here remember (what we promiſed a little before) the manner of his firſt Reconcilement, which was this. When King *John* ſaw by his Levying of Men and otherwiſe, that Deſpair of Pardon might drive him to deſperate Courſes, prejudicial to Him and his Realm, eſpecially in this doubtfull Juncture, he thought to diſſemble the Matter, and by Flattery to bring him within his Power: But [g] this jealous Prince could by no means be allured to come to *Paris*, till he had made moſt ſecure and advantageous Conditions for himſelf; "As that King *John* ſhould render him Lands equivalent to *Brie* and *Cham-*"*pagne*, and an Independency of his Earldom of *Eureux* from all Others but the King on-"ly; alſo he demanded a full and abſolute Pardon for all thoſe who had an hand in "the Conſtable's Murther; and beſides all this, a good round Summ of Mony, and ſe-"veral other Lands and Advantages; and moreover, the Lord *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, "the Kings Second Son, in Hoſtage for his Security. All which King *John* was fain to grant him, being thereto perſwaded as well by the *Navarrois* his Friends, as by the Neceſſity of his own Affairs. Whereupon in *March* following he came to *Paris*, and appeared before the Parliament, where King *John* ſat on high in the Tribunal Seat, attended with his Peers, the Cardinal of *Bologna* the Pope's Legate, and divers other Prelates. The Criminal having asked pardon in a formal and ſtudied Harangue, compoſed of Complaints and Excuſes, the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, [h] Brother to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and Conſtable for that time, was order'd to Arreſt him only for Form, which he did by ſetting his Hands upon the King of *Navarre's* Hands, and cauſing him to go backwards out of the Preſence, and to tarry in a Chamber adjoining till further Order was taken. The mean while the two Queens Dowagers of *France*, *Jane* the Relict of *Charles* the Fair, and *Blanch* the Relict of *Philip* of *Valois*, and German-Siſter to the King of *Navarre*, on their Knees beg'd his Pardon of King *John*. Which being granted, the Conſtable and Marſhals introduced him again; where after a grave Remonſtrance from the Legate, the *French* King declared him abſolved. But this Haughty Young Prince gather'd nothing but Rancour from that pompous Indignity, which afterwards he ſhewed to the great miſchief and Danger of the Realm of *France*. For ſoon after this Reconciliation he ſtole away to *Avignon*, as we intimated before, where he began to conſpire againſt his Native Country, and althô King *John* upon Apprehenſions of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, had again now by his Son *Charles* appeaſed his turbulent Mind; yet within a while we ſhall ſee him again fly out into wonderfull Extravagances, partly of his own unquiet ambitious Nature, and partly being irritated by the rough Dealing of his Father-in-Law. For the Year following King *John*, being too far provoked with his Inſolencies, came ſuddenly upon him, as he was at dinner in the Caſtle of *Rouën*, with 200 Men of Arms in his Company, and ſeiſed him on the Fifth of *April*, and committed him to Priſon; but immediatly cauſed the Heads of Four of his Great Lords to be ſtruck off in a Field by the Caſtle.

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 154. *f.*75. *&c. Mezeray p.*40. *ad an.* 1354.

[h] *Paul. Æmyl. p.*184.

[i] *Du Cheſne p.*675.

III. Till this time, thô not without much ado, many hazards of Relapſing, conſtant Care of the Pope, and other well-diſpoſed Perſonages, the unſtable Truce, firſt taken at *Calais* between *England* and *France*, made a hard ſhift to hold indifferently well for the ſpace of near upon Eight Years. But now the evil *Genius* of *France*, which hath heretofore been obſerved to extract the Original of its own Troubles from within it ſelf, began to work upon Prince *Philip*, Brother to King *Charles* of *Navarre*, to rouſe the *Engliſh* Arms againſt his own Blood of *France*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter: But as yet the King of *Navarre* was not ſeiſed; nor was his firſt Reconciliation as yet known to King *Edward*, as will preſently appear, when we ſhall come to ſpeak of his Expedition into *France*.

Now [k] a little after *Whitſuntide*, to wit about the end of *May*, or the beginning of

[k] *Knighton p.* 2608. *n.*40. *Stow p.*256.

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of *June*, the Truce being to expire the 24 of the ſaid Month, both Kings began to put themſelves in a Poſture; and King *Edward*, reſolving not to be behind-hand with his Enemies, prepared to ſend over the Prince of *Wales* into *Gaſcogne*, attended with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Oxford*, *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, and 800 Men of Arms, with 2400 Archers; himſelf intending the while to wait the *French* Kings Motions, and ſhortly after to joyn the King of *Navarre* about the Iſle of *Jerſey*. Wherefore King *Edward* [1] conſtituted his Son the Prince, his Lieutenant in the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and other Places in *France*, whither he ſhould happen to march, as well for the Reformation of the State of that Dukedom, and other Places in *France*, as for the Recovery of his Lands and Right poſſeſt by the Rebels. And by another Commiſſion of the ſame Date, he gave him Power to make Alliances with all Perſons, of what Nation, Dignity or Condition ſoever, to retain Men, and pay them Wages and Rewards. A third Commiſſion gave him Power (in the Kings Stead and Name) to receive *Homage* and *Fidelity* from the Nobility and Others within the ſaid Dukedom and Realm of *France*.

[1] 10 Julii *Rot. Vaſc.* 29. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 6. *vid. Aſhmoles Garter p.* 671, &c.

For the Prince's Paſſage thither the King aſſigned *Richard de Cortenhale*, and *Robert Bauldron* Serjeants at Arms to arreſt, array, and equip all the Ships and Veſſels of 20 Tun and upward, in all Ports and Places from the River of *Thames* unto *Lynn*, as well within Liberties as without, to furniſh them with Men and other Neceſſaries, and to bring them to *Southampton* by St. *Barnaby's* Day at the furtheſt; as alſo to preſs Mariners for the Voyage at the Kings Wages; and further he had given Commiſſion to *John Beauchamp* Admiral of the Sea *Weſtward*, and to *Thomas Hogſhaw* Lieutenant, to carry the Prince over; with Power to hear and determin all Crimes and Treſpaſſes committed on Board, and to puniſh Delinquents according to *Maritime* Law, and to do all other things appertaining to their Places. Before their Setting forth * there was ſeen a Prodigy in the Air, which was conſtrued to portend Victory to the *Engliſh*: For there appeared two great Banners in the Firmament, the one *Gules*, the other *Azure*, which were evidently obſerved in many Parts of the Kingdom, and ſeem'd as it were in manner of Combating, to ruſh violently againſt each other: But in the end the Banner *Gules* overcame that which was *Azure*, and ſeem'd to lay it proſtrate on the Ground. Soon [m] after the Prince of *Wales* ſailing proſperouſly from *Seton*-Haven in *Devonſhire*, landed in the Port of *Garonne*, where he was honourably welcom'd by the Lords and Prelates of *Gaſcogne*, who together with the People of that Country received him with great joy, and proffer'd, as unto the Son of their Liege Lord, themſelves and all they had, and even to live and die with him, on Condition that he would tarry in thoſe Parts for their Defence. King *John* had before this diſpoſed his Armies in ſeveral Places about the Havens in *Normandy*, and in other Parts, to impeach the Landing of King *Edward*, and of the Prince his Son. But theſe *Frenchmen* lay ſo long thereabouts, that together with their Auxiliaries hired from foreign Parts, they waſted their own Country as bad, as if they had been Enemies themſelves, and idly conſum'd out of the *French* Kings Coffers ſo many thouſand Crowns; that afterwards he was ſo thinly attended, that upon King *Edwards* Arrival, he was not able to encounter him, but fled before him, burning his own Towns, and deſtroying all manner of Proviſion, that the *Engliſh* might find neither Meat nor Harbour. For thô King *Edward*, and his Son intended an early Campagne this Year, yet they were both hindred by ill Weather for above fourty Days: All which time the *French* ſtood ready to receive them; but being with this long ſtay wearied out, and their Proviſion waſted; when the *Engliſh* came to land they found no Enemy to oppoſe them; and firſt let us ſpeak of the Prince of *Wales*, and of his Actions in this Expedition.

* *Knighton p.* 2608. *n.* 57.

[m] *Stow ibid.*

EDWARD the *Black-Prince* [n] being thus happily arrived in *Gaſcogne*, as we ſhew'd before, declared [o] to the Chief Captains and Lords of the Country, the Reaſons of his coming thither, and fell immediately to adviſe with them, how to proceed for the beſt Advantage in his Affairs. After which having well refreſhed his Souldiers, and ſufficiently augmented his ſmall Forces, on the * Fifth of *October*, being a *Monday*, he marched out of *Bourdeaux* in this Order. In the Vanguard was the Earl of *Warwick* his Conſtable, the Lord *Reginald Cobham* his Marſhal, the Lord *Roger Clifford* Son in Law to the Earl of *Warwick*, the young Lord *John Beauchamp* of *Somerſetſhire*, the Lord *Richard Stafford*, Brother to the Earl of *Stafford*, and Sr. *John Wingfield*, an intimate Friend of his, of the Lord *Cobhams* Retinue, and ſeven ſtout Barons of *Gaſcogne* with 3000 Armed Men: In the Main-Battail marched the Valiant Young Prince himſelf, being now in the 25th Year of his Age, with a double Enſign; with him were the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Bartholomew Burgherſh*, or *Burwaſh*, whoſe Father was then

[n] *Froiſ. c.* 155.

[o] *Holinſh. p.* 951. & *M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantabr. c. 230.

* Lit. Dom. D.

then newly dead; the Lord *John Liſle*, the Lord *John Willoughby* of *Eresby*, the Lord *Roger de la Warre*, the Lord *Maurice Berkley*, the Lord *John Bourchier*, the Lord *John Roſe* the Elder, of *Bourdeaux*, the Lord *John Greilly*, Captal *de la Buche*, the Lord of *Chaumont*, and the Lord of *Monferrand*, the Four latter being of *Gaſcogne*, and in this Battail were 7000 Men of Arms. The Reer, which contained 4000 Men of Arms, was led by the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Salisbury*, with whom was the Lord of *Nemours*, who conducted the Carriages. The whole Army conſiſted of better than 60000 Men one with another, and being furniſhed with ſuch a General, and ſuch Valiant and Expert Leaders, might well be counted very formidable: Wherefore the Earl of *Armagnac*, who was Lieutenant to the *French* King in *Languedoc*, *Gaſton Phœbus*, Earl of *Foix*, *James* of *Bourbon*, who was Lord of *Ponthieu*, and Conſtable of *France*, and the Lord *John Clermont* Marſhal of *France*, thô they had among them far [p] greater Numbers than the Prince, and were more Powerfull in the Field (if their Courage would have permitted a Tryal) durſt not, either for Fear, or (as *Mezeray* ſoftens it) for jealouſie of one another, ſo much as once offer to ſtop his Victorious Progreſs. Wherefore in little more than two Months time, the Prince overran all the Country at his pleaſure as far as *Beziers* and *Narbonne*, burning the very ſuburbs of *Narbonne* (or rather, as will appear by and by, the city it ſelf) and taking and deſtroying very many ſtrong Towns and Caſtles; all which are particularly and truly enumerated by Sr. *Thomas de la More*; thô the Names of the Places are there moſt corruptly written; for which reaſon, as well as for the dryneſs and prolixity thereof, we forbear to add the particulars here. In this [q] Expedition on occaſion of a Fire, that happen'd one Night in a Town where he lodged, he took a Reſolution, which he kept while he lived, never to lie a Night in any Town in an Enemies Country in time of War. Being come to the ſtrong City of *Carcaſſone*, the Citizens offer'd him 25000 ſouſes of Gold, on Condition he would ſpare their Town from Fire; but the Prince anſwer'd, "That he came not thither for Gold, but to take Cities and Towns with their Inha-"bitants, to ſuccour and cheriſh his Friends, and to offend his Enemies. In this Expedition at ſeveral times the Prince Knighted all theſe Gentlemen, *Jenkin Barefort*, *Giles Stratton*, *Rowland Davis*, *Ralph Baſſet*, the Sons of the Lord of *Albret*, *Theodorick Dale*, Porter of the Prince's Chamber, and many others. In lieu of all whom he loſt only one, but him a moſt Valiant and Noble Knight of the Order of the Garter, named the Lord *John Liſle*, who on the [r] 14 of *October* received a Mortal wound with a ſtone from a Wall, of which he died the next day, to the infinite regret of the Prince, and all, who knew his Worth and Gallantry, leaving behind him his Son and Heir *Robert*, then 22 Years of Age.

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[p] *Froiſs. c.* 155. & *Mezeray p.* 42.

[q] *Stow p.* 255, *&c.*

[r] *Aſhmole's Garter p.* 673. & *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 739.

IV. But becauſe a more particular account of this Expedition cannot better be expected, than from the Mouthes of thoſe, who were actually concern'd therein (beſides the former Reference to Sr. *Thomas de la More*) I ſhall take leave to ſubjoyn the Words of Sr. *John Wingfield*, a Valiant Knight, whoſe [s] two Letters on this ſubject are moſt Worthy to be inſerted, that thereby the Reader may, as by a Touchſtone, try the Truth of Authors, who write of the ſame Matter.

[s] *Holinſhead Engl. Chron. p.* 952. *ex* Rob. Avesbury, *&c. Aſhmole p.* 672.

A Copy of Sr. JOHN WINGFIELD's *Letter to a certain Noble Lord, then in* England.

"My Lord, as touching News in theſe parts, may it pleaſe you to underſtand, that all "the Earls, Barons, Bannerets, Knights, and Eſquires, were in Health at the writing here-"of, and my Lord (*the Prince*) hath not loſt either Knight or Eſquire in this Expedi-"tion, except the Lord *John Liſle*, who was ſlain after a ſtrange manner, with a Quarrel "the third day after we were entred into our Enemies Country: He died the 15 of "*October*. And pleaſe you to underſtand, that my *Lord* hath rode thrô the Country of "*Armagnac*, and hath taken many encloſed Towns, and burnt and deſtroy'd them, ex-"cept ſuch, as He fortified for himſelf. After this He marched into the Vicountie of "*Rovergne*, where He took a good Town called *Plaiſance*, the Chief Place in that "Country, which He burnt and deſtroy'd with the Country round about the ſame. "This done He went into the Country of *Eſtarrac*, wherein He took many Towns, and "waſted and ravaged all the Country. Then He entred the County of *Cominges*, and "took many Towns there, which He cauſed to be deſtroy'd and burnt, together with "all the Country round about. He alſo took the Town of St. *Bertrand*, the Chief in "that Country, being as large in compaſs as the City of *Norwich* [in *England*.] After "that He entred the County of [t] *Lille*, and took the greater part of the cloſed Towns "therein, cauſing ſeveral of them to be burnt and deſtroy'd as he paſſed. Then going "into the Lordſhip of *Tholouſe*, We paſſed the River of *Garonne*, and another, a League

[t] *L'Iſle en Dodon.*

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"above *Tholouſe*, which is very great. For our Enemies had burnt all the Bridges, "as well on the one ſide of *Tholouſe*, as the other; except thoſe within *Tholouſe*, for "the River runneth thrô the Town. And within this Town at the ſame time were "the Conſtable of *France*, the Marſhal *Clermont*, and the Earl of *Armagnac*, with a "great Power of Souldiers. *Tholouſe* is a City of a large extent, ſtrong, fair, and well-"walled. And there was none in our Hoſt, who perfectly knew the Ford of the Ri-"ver; but yet by the Grace and Goodneſs of God we found it. So then we marched "thrô the Seigniory of *Tholouſe*, and took many good Towns encloſed, before we "came to *Carcaſſone*, which We alſo took, a Town greater, ſtronger, and fairer than "*York*. But as well this, as all other Towns in the Country (which We took) were "burnt, plunder'd and deſtroy'd. Now after We had marched by many journeys thrô "the Country of *Carcaſſone*, We came into the Seigniory of *Narbonne*, which Town "held out againſt Us; but it was won by force, and the ſame Town is little leſs than "the City of *London*; being ſcituate upon the [u] *Greekiſh* Sea, which is not above two "Leagues therefrom; And there is there an Haven, or Landing-place, from whence the "[x] River goeth up to *Narbonne*. Aud *Narbonne* is but 11 Leagues diſtant from *Monpellier*, "18 from *Aigues-Mortes*, and 30 from *Avignon*.

[u] *i.e.* the *Mediterranean* in hoc loco.

[x] *Aude*, Latinè *Atax*.

"And may it pleaſe You to underſtand, that our Holy Father ſent Meſſengers to my "Lord, who being not paſt 7 Leagues from him, ſent a Serjeant at Arms, who was "Serjeant Attendant at the Door of our Holy Fathers Chamber, with Letters to my "Lord, requiring of him a ſafe Conduct, to come and declare to his Highneſs their "Meſſage from our Holy Father, which was to treat of an Accommodation between "my Lord and his Adverſary of *France*. But the Serjeant was two days in the Army, "before my Lord would vouchſafe to ſee him, or receive his Letters. The reaſon "whereof was, becauſe He was informed, that the Power of *France* was come forth of "*Tholouſe* toward *Carcaſſone*; wherefore my Lord was obliged to turn back again upon "them preſently, as He did. But the Third day, when We expected to have met "them, they underſtanding of our approach, retired before day, and gat them to the "Mountains, marching haſtily toward *Tholouſe*. But the Country People, who had been "their Guides to lead them that way, were taken by Us, as they ſhould have paſſed "the Water. At which time becauſe the Serjeant at Arms was in my Cuſtody, I cau-"ſed him to examine the Guides, that were ſo taken, and becauſe one of the Guides "ſo taken, had been the Conſtables Guide, and his Countryman, He might well ſee "and know the Countenance of the *French* upon this his Examination: And I told "the Serjeant, that he might the better declare to the Pope, and all thoſe at *Avignon*, "what he had now heard or ſeen. But as to the Anſwer, which my Lord return'd to "them, who had been ſent to treat with him, You would be hugely pleaſed, if You "knew all the Matter: For He would not ſuffer them by any means to approach his "Perſon any nearer; but He ſent them word by their Serjeant, *that if they came to "treat of any Matter, they ſhould ſend to the King his Father*. For my Lord himſelf would "not do any thing therein, but by command from my Lord, his Father.

"But of my Lords turning back to meet his Enemies, of his repaſſing the River *Ga-"ronne*, and of his taking Caſtles and Towns in this Expedition, and of other things "done againſt his Enemies in purſuit of them, they were all Deeds Right Worthy and "Honourable to be told, as Sr. *Richard Stafford*, aud Sr. *William Burton* can more plain-"ly declare, than I can write unto You: For it would be too tedious to commit ſo much "to writing.

"Now my Lord rode abroad over the Country eight whole Weeks, whereof He reſt-"ed not above 11 days, in all thoſe places, whither he came. And know for certain, "that ſince this War firſt Commenced againſt the *French* King, he never received ſuch "Loſs and Miſchief, as he has in this laſt Expedition. For the Countries and good "Towns which were laid waſte at this time, ſupply'd the *French* King every Year to-"wards the Maintenance of his War, with more, than half his Realm hath done beſide; "except the Change of his Money, which He maketh every Year, and the Profits and "Cuſtom, which he taketh of the *Poictevins*, as I can ſhew You by good Records, "which were found in divers Towns in the Collectors houſes. For *Carcaſſone* and *Li-"moux*, which is as great as *Carcaſſone*, and two other Towns in the Coaſts of *Car-"caſſone*, found to the *French* King yearly wages for a 1000 Men of Arms, and an "100000 old Crowns to maintain the War beſide. And know, that by the Records, "which We found, thoſe Towns of THOLOUSE which We have deſtroyed, toge-"ther with the Towns in the Country of CARCASSONE, and the Town of *Nar-"bonne*, with others in *Narbonnois*, did together with the Sums aforeſaid, find him every

"Year

"Year to the Aid of his War, 400000 Old Crowns into his Coffers; as the Burgeſ- AN. DOM.
"ſes of the great Towns, and other People of the Country, who are ſuppoſed well able 1355.
"to know, have told Us. Wherefore by Gods aſſiſtance, if my Lord had wherewith- An. Regni
"all to maintain this War, to the King his Fathers Profit, and to his own Honour, He *Angliæ*
"ſhould greatly enlarge the *Engliſh* Pale, and win many fair places: For our Enemies are XXIX.
"wonderfully aſtoniſhed. *Franciæ*

"At the writing hereof my Lord hath reſolved to ſend all the Earls, and all the Banne- XVI.
"rets to Quarter in certain places on the Marches, to be ready to make inroads upon the
"Enemy, and to annoy them.

"My Lord, at this preſent I have no other News to ſend, but You may by Your Let-
"ters command me, as Yours, to my Ability.

"My Right Honourable Lord, God grant You good Life, Joy, and Health, long to
"continue. Dated at *Bourdeaux*, the [y] *Tueſday* next before *Chriſtmas*.

[y] *i.e.* 22d *Decemb.* Lit. Dom. D.

This Letter may very well be ſuppoſed to have been ſent into *England* by Sr. *Richard Stafford*, and Sr. *William Burton* Knights, who returned thither at the end of the foreſaid Expedition; eſpecially if we compare what is mention'd of them both in the *preceding* Letter, with what is ſeen in the Title of the *Following*; which is dated a Month later.

The Tenour of a ſecond Letter written by Sr. John Wingfield, *directed to Sr.* Richard Stafford *Knight, who had been in* Gaſcogne, *and there leaving his Family, was now returned into* England.

"Right Dear Sir, and truly Loving Friend! Touching News here after your Depar-
"ture, You may underſtand, that We have taken and forced to yield five Towns en-
"cloſed, *viz. Port St. Mary*, *Clerac*, *Tonneins*, *Bourg* [z] *Sur Mer*, *Chaſteau Sacrat*,
"and *Braſſac*, alſo ſeventeen Caſtles, *viz. Coiller*, *Buzet*, *Lemnac*, two Caſtles called
"*Bolognes*, which are near one another, *Montaut*, *Vireſche*, *Frechenet*, *Montendre*, *Ro-*
"*chechalais*, *Montpont*, *Montignac*, *Vauclare*, *Cenamont*, *Leyrac*, *Plaſſac*, *Montravel*.
"And pleaſe to know, that my Lord *John Chandos*, my Lord *James Audley*, and your
"Men, that are with them, and the *Gaſcogners*, that are in their Company, and my
"Lord [a] *John Botetourt* with his Company, and my Lord *Reginald Cobham* took the
"foreſaid Town of *Chaſtel Sacrat* by Aſſault, and the Baſtard of *Liſle*, who was Cap-
"tain of the ſaid Town, was ſlain in the Aſſault, being ſtricken thrô the Head with an
"Arrow. Now my Lord *Reginald* is returned back toward *Languedoc*, and my Lord
"*Botetourt* toward *Braſſac* with their Troops: But the Lords *John Chandos*, and *James*
"*Audley* remain ſtill with their Troops in *Chaſtel Sacrat*, and have plenty of Victuals
"of all ſorts to ſerve them, between this and Midſummer; except only freſh Fiſh and
"Cabages, as they have by Letters advertiſed Us: Wherefore You need not concern
"your ſelf about your Men: For there are in that Town more than three Hundred
"Spears, 300 Commons, and an 150 Archers. And they have rid before *Agen*, and
"burnt and deſtroy'd all their Mills, and fired or broken down all their Bridges, that
"lie over the *Garonne*, and have taken a Caſtle without the ſame Town, and have for-
"tified it. And Monſieur *John D' Armagnac*, and the Seneſchal of *Agenois*, who
"were then in the Town of *Agen*, would not once put forth their Heads, nor any of
"their People, and yet have they been twice before that Town. And Monſieur *Bouci-*
"*quault*, and Monſieur *Arnold D' Endreghan*, and *Grimſton Campbell* with 300 Spears,
"and 300 Souldiers of *Lombardy* came, and entred the Town of *Moiſſac*, which is in
"*Quercy*, where now they are; that place being but a Mile from *Chaſtel Sacrat*, and
"but a League from *Braſſac*, and You may well ſuppoſe there will be good company to
"give each other a taſte of their Valour. And further pleaſe to know, that my Lord
"*Bartholomew* (*Burwaſh*) is at *Cognac* with ſixſcore Men of Arms of my Lords Houſe,
"and ſixſcore Archers, and the *Captal de Buche*, the Lord *Monferrand*, and the Lord
"of [b] *Crotony*, who have with them 300 Spears, ſixſcore Archers, and 200 other Soul-
"diers, beſides thoſe in *Taillebourg*, in *Tonnay*, and *Rochefoucaut*; ſo that all toge-
"ther they may well amount to 600 Spears, and at the Writing hereof they were un-
"dertaking a journey towards *Anjou* and *Poictou*. And the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Oxford*,
"and *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Mucidan*, Monſieur *Ellis de Pamiers*, and other *Gaſ-*
"*cogners*, which are more than 500 Spears effective, 200 Souldiers, and 300 Archers,
"were at the Writing hereof, gone forth againſt the parts of *Noſtre Dame de Roche-*
"*made*, and have been abroad now theſe 12 days, nor are yet return'd at the ſending of
"theſe Preſents. My Lord *John Chandos*, my Lord *James Audley*, and my Lord *John*
"*Botetourt* with their Troops, are ſet forth upon a journey on their ſide. And my
"Lord *Reginald Cobham*, and thoſe of his Retinue, with the *Gaſcogners* of his Compa-

[z] *Ita lego, pro* St. Pierre, *vid. Maps.*

[a] John *hic lego pro* Baldwin *ex Dug. Bar. 2 Vol. p.* 46.

[b] An *Partenay?*

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"ny, are also upon a journey on their side. The Earl of *Warwick* hath been at *Tonneins*, and at *Clerac*, which Towns he took, and at the writing hereof was gone towards *Marmand* to destroy their Vines, and what else he can of theirs. My Lord (the Prince) is now at *Libourne*, and Monsieur *de Pamiers* at *Fronsac*, which is but a quarter of a League from *Libourne*, and Monsieur *Bernard de la Bret* is there with him: And my Lord looks for News, which he should have, and according to what He hears, He will behave himself; for as it seems, He stands strictly upon his Honour.

"At the Writing hereof the Earl of *Armagnac* was at *Avignon*, and the King of *Aragon* is there also: But of other Discourses, which you know have been in divers places, I cannot now certifie you.

"Right Dear Sir, I can recommend nothing to you more earnestly, than that you remember to send News your self to my Lord the Prince, as soon as by any means you can; and so the Lord grant you a long and a good Life. Dated at *Libourne* 21 *January* 135½.

V. Now before this, while the Prince of *Wales* was yet about his Expedition in *Gascogne*, the King his Father, according to an Agreement made between the Duke of *Lancaster* and the King of *Navarre* (of which we spake before) prepared with a great Navy and Army of Men to meet the said King about the Island of *Jersey*; and now all things being ready, he took his Course [c] from the Water of *Thames*; but in his passage thitherward he was so strongly encountred by contrary Winds, that he was in great danger driven back, till he arrived at *Portsmouth*. Here he lay with his whole Fleet, till he heard certain News, how the King of *Navarre* had changed his former Resolution, and was reconciled to the *French* King again. For when King *John* [d] heard and knew, that Despair of obtaining a full Pardon for the Constables Death, had drove that Prince to combine with *England* against him; he sent unto him the Queen of *France* and Others to assure him in his Name of absolute Indemnity, and full Grace and Favour, and a quiet Possession of all the Lands in Controversie; whereupon soon after the Reconciliation was made for the present, of which King *Edward* at this time received Advice.

However the King was not disturbed at this Matter, but hearing also at the same time, [e] that his Adversary King *John* of *France* made himself strong towards *Calais*, and had with him a great Army in the field thereabouts, he entertain'd hopes of speedily obtaining a Decisive Battle with him now, and therefore addressed himself thitherward, and at *Calais* was joyned with some Additional Forces lead by two Valiant Lords, his Allies, who met him there, namely Sr. *Henry Eam* of *Flanders*, and Sr. *Frank van Hall*, and many other *Germains* and *Brabanders*, to the number of a 1000 Men of Arms: So that in all, the Kings Forces amounted to [f] 7000 Men of Arms, 2000 Archers on Horseback, besides Archers on Foot in great Number, with *Welchmen* and other choice Infantry: There being among the rest 25 Men of Arms, and 500 Archers on Horseback all in one Suit of Livery, at the Charges of the City of *London*. The King took with him in this Expedition two of his Sons, Prince *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, and Prince *John* of *Gaunt* Earl of *Richmond*, the former in the Seventeenth Year of his Age, and the other in the Fifteenth; together with *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, *William* Earl of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Stafford* and *March*, and the Lord *Walter Manny*, and many young Gentlemen, Sons to Barons of the Realm; of whom [g] he had upon the *Downs* Knighted 27, the Chief whereof were his own Sons *Lionel* and *John*, *Guy* and *Thomas* Sons to the Earl of *Warwick*, *Thomas* Son to the Earl of *Oxford*, and *John* Son to the Lord *Moubray*. On the 2d of *November*, or rather on *All-Saints* Day, which is the First (as we shall prove by and by) the King began his March from *Calais* towards St. *Omers* (whither he heard the King of *France* was come from *Amiens*) wasting all the Country as he went. As he was between *Guisnes* and *Ardres* there came to him [h] the Marshal *D' Endreghan*, the Lord *Bouciquault* and Others from King *John*; that [i] under pretence of Discoursing Him, they might take a full view of all his Forces: And accordingly they returned with such a Report of his Strength, that the *French* King was now determin'd not to hazard a Battle with him: But rather to pass on before, [k] breaking the Bridges behind him, and gathering up or destroying all sorts of Provision; that so the *English* might be forced for want thereof to return back for that time. Whereupon [l] as he design'd it came to pass, for King *Edward* was so streightned thereby, that he was obliged to return to *Calais*, his Army having drank nothing but Water for three Days; and all other Provisions being extream scarce. The *French* Writers, and *Froisard* [m] also himself (for I am resolved to dissemble

[c] *M.S. Rot. Par. p. 86. 29. Ed. 3. n. 7. & Sr. Rob. Cottons Abridgment p. 90.*

[d] *Knighton p. 2609. n. 10. ad n. 20.*

[e] *M.S. Rot. Par. & Sr. Rob. Cotton ibid. & Knighton p. 2608. n. 60. ad p. 2610. n. 60. & M.S. vet. Anglic. in Biblioth. C. C. C.* Cantabr. *c. 229.*

[f] *Stow p. 255. n. 40. confer cum Holinsh. Engl. Chron. p. 951.*

[g] *Knighton p. 2609.*

[h] *Froiss. c. 155.*

[i] *R. Avesbury & Holinsh. Eng. Chron. p. 951. a. n. 20.*

[k] *Knighton p. 2610. n. 60.*

[l] *R. Avesbury & Holinsh. Eng. Chron. p. 951. a. n. 30. Walsingh. hist. p. 263. M.S. vet. Ang. in Bib. C. C. C.* Cantabr. *c. 229.*

[m] *Froiss. c. 155. ibid. Mezeray ad hunc an. &c.*

semble nothing) say, that King *John* by these Messengers offer'd King *Edward* "to "fight him either Body to Body, or Power against Power, whensoever himself should "appoint; but that King *Edward* declin'd the Offer, and so went home again for *Eng-* "*land*. Surely I desire by no means to rob the *French* Nation of any real Flower of Honour; but neither do I think it the part of a just Historian to receive any thing without an exact Scrutiny, or to let Improbabilities and Indecorums to pass without the least Remark, thô never so well attested.

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It is evident both by the Challenge, which King *Edward* sent formerly to this Kings Father (as from sundry Authors of both Nations we [n] have shewn) and from the nature of that Princes Circumstances, as well as his ordinary Custom, that it was better for him in his own Opinion to make a quick Dispatch of the War; to which Opinion it must be allow'd, his Courage was no way wanting; so he could not have been brought over so often in Person without his own Will; and that it was ever his Aim to obtain a Battle, and that when offer'd, he never refused to accept it, and if he had, had been laugh'd at by all the World, since his only way was to win the Crown he claim'd, by Fighting. Nor was King *John* a better Man at Arms, or better furnished for the War, than his Father *Philip*, or King *Edward* (who was now in the Prime of his Manhood, being but 43 Years old) either of less Courage, or Art, or Strength, either of Person or People, than when he sent his Chartel of Defiance to King *Philip* of *Valois*: That he should need to decline the same at this time. And thô for this Assertion of theirs they bring no Record nor Authority, but the Word of one ancient Author, who might herein be misinformed: yet we shall add to these our Reasons a more Authentick Testimony from our Records of Parliament, which to establish my Opinion most expresly [o] witness, "That on *All-Souls* Day the King marched toward his Enemy, and profer'd him Bat- "tle, which his Enemy by all means refused: Wherefore having wasted and spoiled "the Country, seeing his own Army languish, he returned to *Calais*, where he made "Honourable Peace, and so came back into *England* to his Parliament: Which he had summon'd to sit at *Westminster* on the [p] Morrow after St. *Martin* the Bishop.

[n] *Vid. Lib.* 1. *c.* 17. §. 2. *p.* 188.

[o] *M.S. Rot. Par. p.* 86 *n.* 9. *& Sr. Rob. Cottons Abridgm. of the Recor. p.* 90. *n.* 9. *ad an.* 29. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 9.

[p] *i.e.* 12 Novemb.

Now *Froisard*, who happen'd by some Misinformation to give the first Authority to this Story, [q] doth yet witness with Others, that King *Edward* rode with a great Host, as far as *Hesdin*, where he brake up the Park, and burnt the Houses within and about it, thô he entred not either the Town or Castle: And then as our Writers agree, for want of Provisions he returned back to *Calais* on St. *Martins* Day, being the [r] *Eleventh* after his Setting forth, according to those who say, He set forth on the 2d of *November*, but the [s] *Twelfth* according to the Records, which affirm, how he marched forth of *Calais* on *All-Souls*, or *All-Saints* Day.

[q] *Froiss. c.* 155. *ibid.*

[r] These to be taken *inclusively*: For St. *Martin* the Bishops day is on the 12 of *November*, and St. *Martin* the Pope's on 13, but this not meant here.

That same Day being * a *Thursday*, and the 12 of *November*, the [t] Constable of *France*, and other *French* Gentlemen came indeed to the end of the Causey of *Calais* with Credential Letters, offering unto the King of *England*, in presence of the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Northampton*, and the Lord *Walter Manny*, to give him Battle on the *Tuesday* next following; in answer to which Challenge, the said Lords of *England* having full Power and Authority so to do, offer'd unto the Constable in the King their Masters Name, that he the said King of *England*, to avoid shedding of *Christian* Blood, would fight with the *French* King their Master, Body to Body; so to decide his Right, or if that Offer should not take place, then the two Kings to select Three or Four Knights apiece, such as should be the nearest in Blood unto them; and together with these to try the Matter: But when both these Offers were rejected, the *English* Lords offer'd to give Battle to the whole *French* Army, either the next Day being *Friday*, or on *Saturday* the Day after, whether they would; but the *Constable* and his Fellows continuing still in their first Demand, refused both those Days. Then at the last the *English* Lords said, how they accepted of *Tuesday*, the Day by them assign'd, on this Condition; "That if they did not bring the King of "*England* to a Battle on that Day, then they would engage to yield themselves Priso- "ners to the *French*; so that they would likewise undertake to yield themselves, if their "King kept not the promised Day.

* Lit. Dom. D.

[t] *R Avesbury & Holinsh. Eng. Chron. p.* 951. *n.* 40. *a.*

To this equal but unexpected Proposal, when the Constable of *France* having nothing ready to reply, had made some Demurr, at last upon pressing he flatly refused to make any such Bargain: So that the *English* Lords perceived plainly, how their Enemies meant not to afford them Battle, as at first they pretended, but only by Delays to seek Advantages, and to put their Master to Charges, thereby to make him weary of the War. However because of the Season of the Year the Commissioners on both Sides made shift to strike up a Temporary Truce [u] to endure till *Easter*, which done they parted asunder without any more medling for that time.

[u] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 787.

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King *Edward* ſtayed at *Calais* however till the *Tueſday* [u] following, at which time having paid the Lords Strangers their appointed Wages, becauſe he ſaw no appearance of having Battle given him, he embarqued for *England*, where the next day he happily arrived, and came to his Parliament then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*.

VI. This [x] Parliament firſt began to ſit on the Day of St. *Martin* the Biſhop, being the very Day on which the King return'd to *Calais* from purſuit of his Enemies; but upon the Account of the Kings Abſence, as well as for other Cauſes, had been Adjourned firſt from the ſaid 12 of *November* to the 23d, and after from thence to 25th, by which time the King was returned to his Parliament. But before we enter upon this Affair, it will not be amiſs to diſpatch other Matters out of the way, in order to clear ſome Paſſages which follow.

[u] 17 Novemb.
[x] *M.S.Rot.Par. p.85.§.1,4,5, 6, &c. Sr. Rob. Cotton p.90.&c.*

Beſides what we mention'd, and the approach of Winter, there was a further Reaſon why King *Edward* made ſo much haſte home into *England*; for while he was yet in *Artois*, he had News brought him, "How on the *Sixth* of *November* the *Scots* came "very early one Morning to *Barwick*, and having by Surprize taken the Town, thô with "the Death of only three or four *Engliſhmen*, whom they found upon the Watch, they "ſeiſed on all the Goods and Perſons therein, except thoſe, who had got into the Caſtle. But the Caſtle they could not take, the Bridge being drawn up: Thô notwithſtanding they held the Town as their own, till King *Edward* drove them away; as we ſhall ſhew in due place.

[y] *Hector Boet.l. 15.f.325.n.40. &c. Buchan.l.9. p.303. Holinſh. hiſt.Scotl.p.242 Knighton p. 2611.n.1.&c.*

Now before King *Edward* was come into *France*, King *John* had [y] ſent the Lord *Eugenie Garenciers* with a ſelect Number of *Frenchmen*, and 40000 Crowns in Gold into *Scotland*, to encourage that People to invade *England*, thereby to give a Diverſion to King *Edward* as ſoon as ever he ſhould have left his Kingdom. Whereupon *Patrick* Earl of *March*, and the Lord *William Douglas*, being accompanied with Fourty *French* Captains of Name, beſide the Lord of *Garenciers*, marched ſilently towards *Barwick*, and in a certain convenient Place not far off, the two Earls planted themſelves in a ſtrong Ambuſh. Then Sr. *William Ramſey* of the *Dalehouſe*, according to Order, with 400 Light-Horſe in his Company began to drive a great many Head of Cattle near the Town, to decoy the Garriſon into their Ambuſh. The Souldiers of the Town ſeeing ſuch a Booty, ſallied out under the Command of Sr. *Thomas Grey*, as was expected, and hardly purſued after the Cattle and their Drivers, till e'r they were aware they fell into the *Scotch* Ambuſh, where being ſuddenly ſurrounded, after a ſtout Reſiſtance they were all ſlain, except Sr. *Thomas Grey* their Captain, with his Son Sr. *John Dacres*, and a few more Eſquires and Gentlemen, whom they kept to Ranſom: Thô the *Scots* themſelves loſt in this Skirmiſh ſeveral Perſons of Quality, as Sr. *John Haliburton*, Sr. *James Turnbull* and Others. [z] *Hector* ſays, certain *Frenchmen* bought of the *Scots* the *Engliſh* Priſoners, and then preſently put them to the Sword, in revenge of their Friends and Parents ſlain by them at *Creſſy* and elſewhere: But this I'll not believe, the *French* being naturally a People of more Honour. Early the next Morning, the *Scots* encouraged with this Victory, approached the Town of *Barwick*, and when the Watch was in a manner overcome with Sleep, ſet their Ladders to the Walls, mounted and enter'd the Place. Thoſe few *Engliſh*, whom they found ready they fell upon and ſlew, thô not without loſs to themſelves; for by their Acknowledgment there fell on the *Scots* ſide Sr. *Thomas Vaux*, Sr. *Andrew Scot* of *Balvere*, Sr. *John Gourdon*, Sr. *William Sinclare*, Sr. *Thomas Preſton* and Sr. *Alexander Moubray*: And of the *Engliſh*, Sr. *Alexander Ogle* the Captain of the Town, Sr. *Everard Grey*, and Sr. *Thomas Piercy*, Brother as they ſay to the Earl of *Northumberland*; thô as yet that Title did not belong to that Name, and in the Genealogy of the Lord *Piercy*, there is no mention of a Brother of his ſo named in thoſe Days. But 'tis uſual with the *Scotch* Hiſtorians to create Men and Titles, and then to ſlay them, to advance, as they imagin the Honour of their Nation. I'll give but one Inſtance of *Hectors* Ignorance, or at leaſt indiligence, ſpeaking of the Battle of *Poictiers*, which happened a little after, he ſays, [a] "The "ſame time theſe things were done in *Scotland*, *Richard* the Son of *Edward* the Third, "Prince of *Wales*, He who afterwards as King of *England* ſucceeded in his Fathers "Place, having conquer'd *John* King of *France*, and bringing him into *England*, *&c.* We may well expect wonderfull intelligence from this Man, as to the Families of the *Engliſh* Nobility, who is ſo groſly ignorant of the Name of the Greateſt Prince, Son to the Greateſt King, that *England* ever produced: But to return.

[z] *Hector l.15.f. 325.n.62.*

[a] *Hector Boet. Scot.Hiſt.l.15.f. 327.l.27. &c.*

[b] *M.S.vet.Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab.c.229.*

Whatever the Manner was of Winning *Barwick*, the *Scots* are ſaid at this time [b] to have ſlain no more of the *Engliſh* but only thoſe who reſiſted. But when King *Edward* heard of the Loſs of the Town, he forthwith haſted into *England* to his Parliament,

ment, as we ſhew'd before, where for the ardent deſire he had to recover the Town and ſave the Caſtle, he tarried but three Days before he began to march for *Scotland*: and yet in that time the Parliament performed Matters worth our Notice: Of which now we ſhall ſpeak briefly. Only we muſt not forget, [c] that the Lord *William Greyſtock*, who had been conſtituted Captain of the Town of *Barwick*, but was abſent at the time of its Taking, did then much incurr the Diſpleaſure of the King therefore: But it being clearly proved, that his Abſence was occaſion'd by the Kings Command (for he attended the King perſonally into *France*, as he was order'd) at the requeſt of Queen *Philippa* he obtained his Pardon.

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[c] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 741. ex Rec. v. Stow p. 255. b.n. 46. &c.*

VII. At the Opening of this Parliament, [d] which was on the *Wedneſday*, being St. *Catharine's* Day, or the 25 of *November*, the Lord Chief Juſtice Sr. *William Shareſhull* declared in the Preſence of the King, Lords and Commons, how it was his Majeſties Pleaſure, that Sr. *Walter Manny* ſhould make Declaration to the whole Aſſembly of the Kings Affairs, as one that had the moſt Knowledge therein; whereupon the ſaid Lord [e] *Walter* began to declare, "How the King had treated of a Peace with the "*French*, and how for the Accompliſhment thereof he had ſent the Duke of *Lancaſter* "and Others, as his Ambaſſadors to the Court of *Rome* at *Avignon*, where by means "of the *Frenchmens* Obſtinacy, Matters could not be brought to any Iſſue. How that "during the ſaid Duke's Abode at [f] *Avignon* the King of *Navarre* had complained to "the ſame Duke of ſundry Dammages done to him by the *French* (King) and by "Oath affirmed, how he would moſt willingly enter into a League with the King; "and for Aſſurance of the ſame would with as great a Power as he could, enforce him-"ſelf to meet the King at *Jerſey*. How the King upon the return of the ſaid Duke, "and knowledge had of theſe Things, with a great Navy and Army haſtned himſelf "from the River of *Thames* towards *Jerſey*, but being put back by contrary Winds, "was driven with great hazard to *Portſmouth*, where he abode till News came, that "the ſaid King of *Navarre* had made his Peace with the *French* King. Whereupon "the King being advertiſed that the *French* (King) made himſelf ſtrong toward *Calais* "with a great Army; and thinking there to have ſome preſent Battle offer'd him, ad-"dreſſed himſelf thither, being accompanied with his own Forces, and alſo certain of his "Allies, whom he found there, *viz.* Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders*, Sr. *Frank van Hall* and "many other *Germans*.

[d] *M.S. Rot. Par. p. 85. n. 4. & Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 90. ibid.*

[e] William *in M.S. & Sr. Rob. Cotton malè, cùm in Recordo* W. *tantùm ſit ſcriptum; quare corrigendum ex Hiſt.*

[f] *M.S. & Sr. R. Cotton* Rome *malè ex Hiſtor. inſcitiâ, pro* Court of Rome, *&c.*

"How the King on *All-Souls* Day laſt paſt *marched towards his Enemy, and proffer'd "to give him Battle, which his Enemy by all means refuſed:* Whereby the King wa-"ſting and ſpoiling the Country, and ſeeing his own Army for Want to languiſh, re-"turned to *Calais*, where he made Honourable Peace; and now was returned into the "Realm to his Parliament.

After all which Sr. *William Shareſhull* required the Commons," to weigh and conſider the "Kings unweariedneſs and Conſtancy in labouring for their Defence; and that he was now "ready to repell the Inſolence of the *Scots*, who had taken the Town of *Barwick*, as News "had been brought to the King: And he willeth them alſo forthwith to adviſe, how "he might be the beſt enabled not only to make a full Victory over that People; but "alſo attain to his long-deferred Peace with *France* to his own Honour, and to their quiet "and advantage.

The *Friday* after, which was the 27 of *November*, the Lords and Commons, after a ſhort Conference had, granted unto his Majeſty for *Six* Years following the Subſidy of Wooll, namely [g] 50 *s.* of every Sack, that ſhould be exported during that time; ſo as all that while no other Aid or Impoſition be laid upon the Commons. By which ſole Grant [h] it was thought, how the King might diſpend more than a Thouſand Marks Sterling *per diem*, for ſix Years together; ſuch Vent of Woolls had the *Engliſh* Merchants in thoſe Days, there being then above an 100000 Sacks tranſported yearly.

[g] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c. 229. §. ult.*

[h] *Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p. 951. & Stow p. 255.*

Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers.

That the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Foreſt in all points ſhall be kept: That the Statute, that the Staples ſhall always be kept within the Realm, ſhall be obſerved: The Statute made for yearly removing of Sheriffs ſhall be obſerved: The Statute made for the Pourveyors ſhall be kept.

That whereas the Commons have granted to the King 40 *s.* of every Knights Fee in Aid to make his Son Knight, the Exchequer demandeth the ſame, as well of [i] *Meſne* Lords, as of the Tenants in *Demeſne*, againſt Reaſon: Wherefore they pray Remedy. *The Right uſe of the Exchequer is to be kept.* That no Mans Lands, being bought in the time of *Henry* III, which was before the Statute of *Prerogative*, may be ſeiſed into

[i] i.e. *Domini qui Vaſſallos ſeu Beneficiarios ſub ſuâ ditione habent, ſed tamen in ſuperioris Domini ſunt Clientelâ. V.* Cowell & Skinneri *Etymol. Ling. Angl. in Voc. Forenſ. ad hoc verbum* Meſne.

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into the Kings hands by Eſcheators. *Let this be more particularly declared unto the King.* That the Juſtices of the Peace may determine Weights and Meaſures. *The Statute made ſhall be obſerved.* Such Juſtices ſhall make no Deputies, neither ſhall the Sheriff, Coroner, or ſuch like, be from henceforth a Juſtice.

It is Enacted, That no Sheriff, Conſtable of any Caſtle, or Goal, be any Commiſſioner, where Men are to be impriſon'd.

That the Points of Confederacy may be declared, conſidering how the Judges judge raſhly thereof: *None ſhall be puniſhed for Confederacy, but where the Statute ſpeaketh expreſly, upon the point contained in the ſame ſtatute.* That the Juſtices of Goal-Delivery, on an Inditement of the Coroner coming before them, may award the Exigent. *The old Law ſhall ſtand.* That ſuch Perſons of the Far *North*-Countries, as upon Appeals *Foyn-Iſſue* on good or evil, may try the ſame by *Niſi Prius*; conſidering that the Jury will not appear in the Kings Bench. *The Old Law uſed ſhall be kept.* That Remedy may be had againſt ſuch, as to defraud their Creditors before Judgement, do convey away their Lands and Goods. *The Statute therefore made ſhall be obſerved.* That Writs of Attaints may be had of Verdicts given in the Exchequer, as of Verdicts given in other Courts. *The Old Law ſhall be obſerved.* Such as be Indited before the Juſtices of the Peace ſhall make Attourneys have the hearing of their Preſentments, and Anſwer thereunto. Enacted.

VIII. Thus ended this Parliament, and about the time of its ending, *viz.* at the going out of *November*, the [k] Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *France* began to ſit at *Paris:* Before whom the Chancellour of *France* recited in the Parliament-Chamber the State of the Wars, "deſiring them thereupon to take Advice, what convenient Aid "ought to be given to the King their Lord, toward the Maintenance of his Wars, "and the Defence of his Realms; and he added, that whereas the King underſtood, "how his Subjects were ſore aggrieved at the *Alteration of Money*, his Majeſty offer'd "now to make good and durable Money; ſo that they would grant him ſufficient Aid "to furniſh his Wars: To which the Three Eſtates reply'd with one Conſent; That is, the Clergy by the Mouth of the Archbiſhop of *Rheimes*, the Nobility by the Duke of *Athens*, and the Good Towns by the Mouth of *Stephen Marcel*, Provoſt of the Merchants at *Paris*; "That they were, according to their Duty, ready to live and "die with their King, and to ſpend both their Bodies and Goods in his Service, only "they required ſufficient time to deliberate and adviſe together, which the King granted them. And the mean while, *viz.* on the ſeventh of *December* He created his Eldeſt Son, the Lord *Charles*, who was *Dauphin* of *Vienna*, Duke of *Normandy*; for which he receiv'd his Homage the next day. Now the Eſtates, having ſeriouſly conſidered upon the Kings Requeſts, and the Neceſſity of his Affairs, conſented to find him for One Year at their own Coſts and Charges 30000 Fighting Men with all their Warlike Furniture, Proviſion and Apparel; but becauſe the Sum of Money, which at firſt they reckon'd ſufficient for that Exploit, together with the Gabel of Salt, were both by many queſtion'd to fall ſhort, they appointed to meet again on the Firſt day of *March* following, to enquire into the Matter, and to make up, what ſhould then appear deficient: The Progreſs of which Affair We ſhall refer to its proper place; leſt We ſhould be carried too far abroad, when We are called upon to ſtay at home.

[k] *Froiſ. c. 155. f. 76. Mezeray 2 Par. 3 Tom. p. 42.*

But being brought to the end of this Year, We ſhall now think of concluding this Chapter, when We have after our uſual Method inſerted two or three occurrences, which are moſt properly ranged in ſuch places, where they may appear without diſturbing the Order or Coherence of greater Matters.

IX. On the *ſixth* of *January*, or after the *Roman* way of reckoning [l] on the VII of the *Ides* of the ſaid Month, in the beginning of this Year 1355, King *Edward* received from the Hands of Heaven, a lively Young Prince for a New-years Gift; this being his *ſeventh* and youngeſt Son, was born at the Kings Palace at *Woodſtock* about ſeven Miles from *Oxford*: Whereupon he bore the ſirname of *Woodſtock*, being at the Font named *Thomas*, and became in time Earl of *Buckingham*, and Duke of *Glouceſter*, and was a Prince of High Stomach and Reſolution. King *Edward*, upon the Queens [m] Purification of this her *Seventh* Son, held in her Honour a Solemn Juſts and Tourneament at *Woodſtock*, where were preſent the greater Part of the Nobility of *England*.

[l] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 163. Knighton p. 1608. n. 33. Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 169. & Sandf. Geneal. p. 227.*

[m] *Stow p. 255. a*

It is ſaid, [n] that on *Shrove-Tueſday* this Year at Night, contrary to the Truce then in being, two and fifty *Engliſh* Men took the Caſtle of *Nantes* in *Bretagne* by *Scalado*: But the Lord *Guy* of *Rochefort*, the Captain thereof, who was at that time in the City,

[n] *Mezeray ad hunc ann. 2 Part. 3 Tom. p. 41. & Froiſ. c. 154. f. 76.*

City, was so well provided, that he retook it again that same Night, and cut them all to pieces without pity, because they had so falsly violated the Truce. AN. DOM. 1355.

This Summer [o] there raged a most strange and unaccountable Infirmity in *England*, which was attributed rather to the Malignity of Evil Spirits, than to any natural Cause: For People of a sudden grew mad, and went out of their Wits in most parts of the Realm, whether they were in Towns or in Fields; and so they ran about distracted to Woods and Groves to hide themselves, as Wild Beasts, avoiding the Company of Men: And some ran out of the Fields to the Towns, and out of Towns to the Fields, void of all Care or Conduct, and could hardly be laid hold on; and some wounded themselves with knives, and snapt, and bit at those, who endeavour'd to catch them. And many were carried into Churches, and there they lay bound, till they might obtain ease from God by Prayer. And in some Churches you might see ten, or a dozen, sometimes more, sometimes less, in this Condition; so that it was a great Pity to behold their case. But they soon recover'd by this means, and the Malady was not lasting. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXIX. *Franciæ* XVI.

[o] *Knighton p. 2609. n. 40. ad n. 54.*

This Year [p] *Peter* Lord *Mauley* V. of that Name, deceased upon the Festival of St. *German*, in the Sixty sixth Year of his Age, leaving behind him *Peter* his Son and Heir, then Twenty four Years old, called *Peter* VI. *de Malolacu* or *Mauley*, who follow'd his Valiant Fathers steps thrô all the hazardous Paths of Glory.

[p] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 735.*

CHAPTER the FOURTEENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *goes into* Scotland, *and recovers* Barwick: *King* Edward Bailiol *resigns his Right and Title to the Crown of* Scotland, *to King* Edward *of* England. II. *King* Edward *ravages about in* Scotland; *but losing a great part of his Navy, is obliged to return.* III. *He brings along with him the* Bailiol *into* England. IV. *A Parliament at* Paris, *with a Famous Tax therein ordained.* V. *A Sedition at* Arras *prudently suppress.* VI. *King* John seises *on the Person of the King of* Navarre, *puts him in Prison, and executes several of his Friends.* VII. *Prince* Philip, *Brother to the King of* Navarre, *obtains Assistance from* England, *and being afterwards reinforced by the Duke of* Lancaster, *makes hot War in* Normandy. VIII. *King* John *goes against him; but upon News of Prince* Edwards *Invasion in another part, goes back to oppose him.* IX. *The Duke of* Lancaster, *having settled Affairs in* Normandy, *goes into* Bretagne *to the Dutchess.* AN. DOM. 1356. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXX. *Franciæ* XVII.

I. THE Parliament at *Westminster*, of which we spake in the preceding Chapter, being ended about the Feast of St. *Andrew*, [a] King *Edward* immediately set forward for *Scotland*, and rested not, till he came to *Newcastle*, where he solemnized the Nativity of our Saviour: At which time He received Letters from his Valiant Son, the Prince of *Wales*, containing a full account of his late Exploits in *Gascogne*, as we have declared.

[a] *Knighton p. 2611. n. 10. & Holinsh. p. 951. b. n. 34.*

On the [b] 14 of *January* King *Edward*, having his Army encamped near the Town of *Barwick*, and his Navy ready in the Haven to assail the *Scots*, that were now therein, enter'd into the Castle himself with some of his Guard, that being still in the hands of his Subjects, designing to let down the Bridge, and fall in upon the Town that way, while the Army from without attempted the Walls: The Lord *Manny* also at the same time being busie in springing a Mine, thereby to get entrance by Craft, if Force should fail. Upon this the *Scots* within, being terrified with these dreadfull Preparations, and seeing it impossible to hold out against such Forces, and so various attacks; began to capitulate, desiring only to be secured of Life, Limb, and Liberty, and they would forthwith yield up the Town: Which Conditions the King accepted.

[b] *Holinsh. p. 954. M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c. 230.*

But the [c] *Scotch* Writers say, that when the *Scots* within the Town heard, how King *Edward* himself was coming to its Relief, they dismantled the Walls, set fire on the Town, and so fled away with all the Spoil they had gotten.

[c] *Hector Boeth. l. 15. fol. 325. n. 75. Buchan. l. 9 p. 304.*

However King [d] *Edward*, being now repossessed of the Place, leaves behind him sufficient Hands both for the Defence thereof, and to repair what was wanting in the For-

[d] *Holinsh. Engl. Chron. p. 955.*

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tifications, and himself in [e] three Great Battails, marches forth into *Scotland*, resolving [f] now to bring that Realm to terms of Agreement, or to reduce them so low, that He should never after stand in doubt of their Rebellion. While he was at *Roxborough*, *Edward Bailiol* King of *Scotland*, considering, [g] how God Almighty wrought graciously and miraculously for King *Edward*, and being also wearied with so long contending for little more, than the Empty name of a King, which of himself he was not able to maintain; reflecting likewise, that himself was now well gone in Years, and had no Child to leave the Kingdom to; upon these thoughts, he concluded it wholly vain to labour any longer, and therefore coming unto *Roxborough*, by his Charter of Resignation he submitted the Crown of *Scotland*, and all the Right, Title, and Interest, that ever he had, or might have, thereto, unto King *Edward* of *England* and his Heirs for ever, only out of this Grant [h] he reserved to himself an annual Pension of 2050 pounds to be paid unto him, during his Natural Life. And he earnestly beg'd, that he would now pursue his own quarrel to the utmost, and [i] not forget those manifold Injuries, which the *Scots* had done unto them both. This Solemn [k] Resignation King *Bailiol* confirmed by his Letters Patents, made and given under his Hand and Seal, and bearing Date 25 *Januarii An°. Domini* 1356, which he deliver'd with his own hands to King *Edward* of *England*, in sight of all the Lords both of *England* and *Scotland* there present. Thô King *Edward* bearing a particular Love for his *Third* Son born (but *Second* living) Prince *Lionel*, [l] according to some, accepted the Kingdom for him, he to hold it by Homage now of Him, and hereafter of his Elder Brother the BLACK-PRINCE and his Heirs. For so says *Knighton*, that King *Bailiol* resign'd all the Right, which He claim'd to the Crown of *Scotland*, to the Lord *Lionel*, Son to the King of *England*. Thô others say, that King *Edward* not only received the Realm of *Scotland* to his own behoof, but also soon after took upon him the Royalties thereof, being at *Scone* in Presence of all the Prelates, Lords, and other great Men of both Nations, [m] Crowned King of *Scotland*. But We dare not averr so much our selves, because We never find him to use the Title, or any other way to signifie such a Matter.

[e] *Knighton p. 2611.*
[f] *Buchan. l. 9. p. 304.*
[g] *M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantabr. c. 230.*
[h] *Speed p. 581.*
[i] *Buchan. l. 9. p. 304.*
[k] *Holinsh. Engl. Chron. p. 955.*
[l] *Knighton p. 2611. n. 22.*
[m] *M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c. 230.*

II. However while King *Edward* and the *Bailiol* tarried at *Roxborough*, Earl *Douglas*, and many [n] of the Chief Nobles of *Scotland* came to him, and treated with him, as if they design'd to submit to his Peace, and a Day was appointed for a full and final Agreement: In order to which the King allow'd them 8 days Respite. But the mean while these perfidious People convey'd the best of their Moveables beyond the *Scottish* Sea, and then *William Douglas* sent word to the King, "*That he would never submit himself* "*to his Peace, while he lived.* King *Edward* being thus again deluded, marched forth with his Army, divided into three Great Battails, burning and destroying the Country on each side round about him, as he passed, till he came to *Haddington*. But the *Scots* had removed out of the way all sorts of Provision, so that for 15 days together the *English* could get no Drink, but fresh Water, wherefore they were obliged to return. But the *Scots* were always ready, both on their flank and Reer, to cut off whosoever went forth from the main Host to forage. While King *Edward* tarried at *Haddington* waiting for his Navy, wherein the Provisions for his Army were; his Men of War were not idle, but ravaged about in the Country at their Pleasure, doing much mischief to the Enemy, but little good to themselves: For there was neither Spoil to be met with of any Worth, nor Victuals in any Quantity, and Drink, as We said before, none but Water: All that was good for any thing, being carried away, or consumed by the *Scots*.

[n] *Knighton p. 2611. n. 27. ad n. 50.*

The mean while the *Northern* Navy, under the Command of the Lord [o] *Robert Morley* their Admiral, suffer'd great Damage at Sea; for whether it was, because they had spoil'd a Church of our Lady, near *Haddington*, called *White-Kirk*, [p] as was said, or for any other cause, or by chance, there arose such a Tempest and Vehement *North-wind*, that many of their Vessels rushing together, and beating rudely against the Banks and Sands, were cast away with most of the Men and Provisions within them, and the whole Fleet received much Damage, being scatter'd so, that hardly three Ships came into one Haven together. For Displeasure whereof (say the *Scotch* Writers) King *Edward* fell to ravaging again, and abundantly powred out his Anger upon *Edinburgh*, *Haddington*, and other Towns of *Louthian*. Nor will I dissemble, that he is here also said to have made terrible havock of Holy Places, sparing it seems, neither Church, Abbey, nor any other Religious House; as if, says *Hector*, he was minded to make War against God and all his Saints. But for this I must beg *Hector's* pardon, if I do not so readily believe it, partly because his Credit is not very great, as We have frequently seen, and partly because *Buchanan* says no such thing, as also because that humour was contrary to King *Edwards* disposition, who as *Hector* says (thô falsly in one point) slew his

[o] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 26.*
[p] *Hector l. 15. fol. 326. n. 6. & Buchan. l. 9. p. 304. Holinsh. Engl. Chron. p. 955.*

his own Brother *John* of *Eltham* for the ſame ſacrilegious humour; and we have inſtanced more than once in this our Hiſtory, that he hath hanged ſeveral of his own Men, for ſetting fire to Churches, or Monaſteries; and laſtly (not to take Notice of *Hector's* ſuperſtitious humour) I believe it not, becauſe of that notable Succeſs, which followed his Arms this Year in *France*, and elſewhere, as we ſhall ſhew preſently.

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However this is certain, the King of *England* left at this time ſuch Marks of his Reſentments in thoſe parts, that becauſe this Deſolation happen'd about the Feaſt of the Purification of our Lady, and ſo many Towns and Villages were fired by the *Engliſh*, The *Scots* ever after [q] called it the *Burnt-Candlemas*.

[q] *Hector ibid. ſed ibi* bruit *malè pro* brunt, & brunt *pro* burnt.

III. When He had thus wreak'd himſelf upon *Scotland*, and had ſettled things, as then he could, in thoſe parts, he returned home with the Lord *Edward Bailiol* in his Company; not (as the *Scots* no leſs fooliſhly, then maliciouſly write) that he fear'd, leſt he ſhould make any New Stirs: For he had upon good grounds, after ſerious Conſideration, of his own accord, Reſign'd his Right unto him, and therefore 'twas not likely he ſhould repent the Fact; and if he ſhould, he had not the leaſt power in the World of doing any harm againſt King *Edward*, ſince it was only by means of his Force and Aſſiſtance, that he had not long ſince been cruſh'd to pieces; for the whole *Scotch* Nation hated him, thô againſt their Wills they had by the *Engliſh* Arms been forced to obey him. Wherefore 'twas not for any jealouſie, that King *Edward* now took him along with him into *England*, but rather for Friendſhip and Good-will, that ſo he might be removed, as he deſired, from being preſent among that ſtubborn People, whoſe vexatious Rebellions that he might avoid, he laid by his Right to a Crown, being willing to ſpend his latter days in ſome quiet and Honourable Retreat, which King *Edward* allow'd him all his Life, even ſeven Years after, at which time he died.

IV. Having thus diſpatch'd the Affairs of *Scotland*, 'tis time for us now to look toward other parts, eſpecially where the Trumpet ſeems to call us forth to War: Wherefore leaving *England* for a while, we ſhall ſearch a little after the Condition of *France*, where we ſhall find by a ſtrange kind of Fate, how readily that Realm inclines to accelerate its own Diſaſters.

On the firſt of *March* the Three Eſtates (according as they had ordain'd the laſt Seſſion) met again at *Paris* in Parliament, to conſider about the laſt Tax, and not only to make it ſufficient, but to ſettle a kind of *Fund* upon the Crown, toward the Maintenance of theſe hungry Wars. And [r] here finding, that the firſt Grant, together with the Gabell of Salt, would by no means ſuffice, they granted a New Subſidy; "that e- "very Perſon, as well of the Blood Royal, as others, whether of the Clergy or not, "Religieux, or Lay-Religieux, Houſholders or Curates of Churches, having Rents, or "Revenues, Offices, or Adminiſtration, Women, Widows, Children, Married, or not- "Married, having any thing of their own, either in their own hands, or in the keeping, "adminiſtration, or tuition of others, and all others of any Eſtate, Quality, or Privi- "lege whatſoever, that are according to the uſual valuation worth any thing: If it be "valued at an 100 *l.* Revenues or under, being for term of Life either in Heritage, or "pledge, or by means of any Office, or Penſion, during Life or at Pleaſure, that Perſon "ſhall pay to the Kings Aid and Subſidy, of every ſuch 4 *l.* Fourty Souſes; and of eve- "ry Ten Pound of Revenues and above, 20 Souſes: Labourers and others, living by "their Work and Labour, ſhall pay only 10 Souſes: Servants, Prentices, and others, "who living by their ſervice receive above an 100 ſhillings Wages *per annum*, ſhall pay "10 Souſes: The Moneys to be valued at the Rate of *Paris* in that Country, and at "the Rate of *Tournois*, as Money is current in thoſe parts. But if ſervants have by the "Year but an 100 ſhillings or under, then they ſhall pay nothing, unleſs they have "Goods after the Rate aforeſaid; for then they ſhall pay, as well as others. Alſo all "Beggars, Monks, and Cloyſterers, without Office or Adminiſtration, and all Children "being within ward, under the age of 15, if they have nothing in their hands, and alſo "all Nuns, having no Revenues above 40 *l.* ſhall pay nothing: Nor Married Women "neither, becauſe their Husbands pay for them: For they ſhall be valued as well after "what themſelves are worth, as what their Wives are Worth too. As for the Clergy, "and Men of the Church, as Prelates, Abbots, Priors, Canons, Vicars, and others; if "they be worth above an 100 *l.* Yearly Revenues, as aforeſaid, either in Spiritual or "Temporal Preferment, or Eſtate, or in both, to the Sum of 5000 *l.* they ſhall pay "4 *l.* for the firſt Hundred, and 40 *s.* for every other Hundred, till you come to the "Sum of 5000 *l.* aforeſaid: But they ſhall pay nothing, for what they may diſpend a- "bove 5000 *l.* nor for their Moveables. And the Value of their Benefices ſhall be "eſtimated after the Rate of their *Deſmes*, when they are payable without privilege

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 155. *fol.* 77.

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"or exception. And as for Noblemen, and those of the Good Towns, that may "spend above the Sum of 100 *l.* Revenues, they shall pay, till they come to the Sum "of 5000 *l.* for every Hundred Pounds 40 *s.* besides 4 *l.* for the first Hundred: And "those of the Good Towns in like manner, till they come to a 1000 *l.* of Revenues. "And as for the Moveables of Noblemen, that have not a 100 *l.* of Revenues, their "Moveables shall be esteemed, and reckoned to the Value of a 1000 *l.* and no further. "And others, that have not 400 *l.* of Revenues, their Goods shall be reckoned, till "you come to 4000 *l.* that is to say, an Hundred Pounds of Moveables, as 10 *l.* "of Revenues, and so on after that Rate. And if a Nobleman has only an 100 *l.* in "Revenues, and but a 1000 *l.* in Moveables, or if he have but 400 *l.* in Revenues, and "but 4000 in Moveables, or if it be part in One, and part in the Other; they must "be estimated together to the Sum of 1000 *l.* to Noblemen, and to 4000 *l.* to o-"thers, and not beyond. This is that Famous Tax, the most Remarkable in that Age; not so much for the Greatness thereof, as for its Universality, it being extended to the very Wages of Servants, Labourers, and other Mean Persons; and besides that, there was taxed 8 pence, or *French* deniers, in every Pound, of all Merchandise.

[s] *Mezeray p.*42 *ad an.* 1356. C. B. Dom. Lit. [t] *Froiss. c.* 155. *fol.*156. & *Paul. Æmyl. p.*285. *A.*

V. These excessive Subsidies were occasion of many Murmurs, and of some Insurrections, as at *Arras* especially: Where on the [t] *Fifth* of *March* being a *Saturday*, there arose a fierce and mortal Contention between the Commons and the Chief Burgesses of the Town: At which time the Commons slew Seventeen of the most Eminent of their Citizens; and on the *Monday* after they murder'd Four more, and proscribed most of those that were absent: For at that time they had the chief stroke in the Government of the Town. But on the *Wednesday* after *Easter*, or the 27 of *April*, the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan* Marshal of *France*, went thither politickly without any appearance of Men of War; but only as a Friendly Reconciler between the two Parties; and having order'd 200 Horse to follow him by degrees, when they were all come, he pick'd up more than an hundred of the principal Ringleaders in this Sedition, and the next day made Twenty of them shorter by the Head, laying the rest in Prison, till the Kings Pleasure might be known in that Behalf. Nor was this Town only reduced hereby, but other growing Seditions were nipt in the Bud, being aw'd with the severity of this opportune Execution.

[u] *Paschа* 24 April.

VI. This mean while fell out what we also hinted before, the surprize of the King of *Navarre's* Person, by his Father-in-Law King *John*: Which was occasioned and performed in this Manner. Since the late Reconciliation between the two Kings, King *John* was certainly informed, how King *Charles* of *Navarre* had covertly dealt with his Enemies, and had imagin'd and treated on divers things prejudicial to the Interest of Him and his Realm: And he heard, that the Lord *Lewis* Earl of *Harcourt* had spoken injurious and undutifull Words against his Person, and had in the Parliament assembled for the Kings Supplies, endeavour'd what in him lay to stop the Grant of that Subsidy. Wherefore being now resolved to bear these Indignities no longer, on *Tuesday* [x] being the fifth of *April*, and about the middle of *Lent*, he took horse early before day, and rode from *Vernevil* in Harness, with his Son *Lewis* Earl of *Anjou*, *Philip* Duke of *Orleans* his Brother, the Lord *John* of *Artois*, Earl of *Eu*, and the Lord *Charles* of *Artois* his Brother, Cousin-Germans to the King; together with the Earl of *Tancarville*, the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan* Marshal of *France*, and Others to the number of 200 Spears. With this Company King *John* came directly to the Castle of *Rouën* by the Postern, and would not pass thrô the Town: So coming suddainly into the Castle, he there found at Dinner with his Son, the Dauphin, in the Great Hall, *Charles* King of *Navarre*, *Lewis* Earl of *Harcourt*, with his two Brethren *John* and *William*, and the Lord *De la Preux Clere*, the Lord *Friquant* of *Friquant*, the Lord of *Tournebu*, the Lord *Graville*, the Lord *de Maubué*, and two Esquires *Oliver Doublet* and *John Vaubaton*, with Others: All whom he caused to be apprehended together, and clapt up severally into divers Chambers of the Castle. And then having sat down, and dined on what was not prepared for him, he took Horse again after Dinner, and rode forth into *the Field of Pardon*. But surely at this time it could not be properly so called, but rather by an *Antiphrasis*, or contrary way of Speaking: For immediatly hereupon were brought thither in two Carts the Lord *Lewis* Earl of *Harcourt*, the Lord *Graville*, the Lord *Maubué*, and *Oliver Doublet* Esquire, all whose Heads he caused then and there to be stricken off before him, without any manner of Form or Process: After which their Bodies were all brought to a Gallows and there hanged up in Chains, and their Heads set upon the common Gibbet of *Rouën*. However that same Day the King acquitted all the Rest from Prison, except only the foresaid *Charles* King of *Navarre*, the Lord *Friquant*, and *John Vaubaton* Esquire; all whom

[x] *Froiss. c.*156.

whom he ſent to *Paris*, and impriſon'd them firſt in the *Louvre*, and afterward in the *Chaſtelet*; but eſpecially over the King of *Navarre* he ſet ſeveral of his moſt aſſured Friends of his Privy Council to have a ſtrict regard unto him; and ſometimes he threatned him with Death it ſelf, and had him hurried about to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Gaillard* upon the *Seyne*, to the Caſtle of *Arleux* in *Cambreſis*, and other Places of great Strength, as a Perſon Unſacred, and not of Kingly Character. AN. DOM. 1356. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXX. *Franciæ* XVII.

VII. But this Violence of King *John's* was followed with Bloody Conſequences, for immediatly thereupon Prince *Philip* of *Navarre*, Brother to the impriſon'd King, and the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt* Brother to the late Earl, combined in a ſtrong League together to revenge the Outrages done againſt their Brethren. And firſt Prince *Philip* preſently ſeiſed into his hands ſeveral Caſtles in *Normandy* belonging to the King his Brother. And thô King *John* ſent unto him to deliver them back again, he was ſo far from complying with him therein, that he preſently took Shipping for *England*, where he obtain'd a preſent Supply under the Leading [y] of the Lord *Miles Stapleton* Knight of the Garter, with the promiſe of a ſpeedy Reinforcement to be headed by the Duke of *Lancaſter*. For [z] before that time King *Edward* had conſtituted this Mighty Prince, his Couſin *Henry Plantagenet*, his Lieutenant and Captain-General in the Dukedom of *Bretagne*, for the Defence of *John* of *Montford* the Duke thereof, who was ſtill under Age. And while the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter* was thus preparing to aſſiſt the Duke of *Bretagne*, and in his way thither, his Kinſman of *Navarre*, Prince *Philip*, and the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt* aforeſaid, had brought [a] ſome Troops of *Engliſh* and Others, the King of *France's* Enemies, into the Iſle of *Conſtantine* or *Coutantine* in *Normandy*, which they fortified and held againſt the *French* King. When a little after *Whitſuntide* in the Month of *June*, came over to their Aid the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Darby* (which one Perſon [b] *Mezeray* thrô Miſtake, accounts for two) and joyn'd with Prince *Philip* and the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt*, at [c] *Montebourg* in the ſaid Iſle of *Conſtantine* with 4000 Fighting Men. Theſe altogether rode to *Carentan*, to *Liſieux* and *Orbec*, and thence to the Caſtle of *Ponteau de Mer*, belonging to the King of *Navarre*, which had been beſieged for more than two Months, by the Lord [d] *Robert de Houſtetout* Maſter of the Croſsbows in *France*, and a great Number of *Frenchmen*. But when they heard of the Duke of *Lancaſter's* approach, they quitted the Siege in great haſte, leaving behind them all their Military Engines and Artillery, with many other Neceſſaries, which now the *Engliſh* took for their own Uſe. When the Duke of *Lancaſter* had victual'd the Place, and reinforced it with all things neceſſary, he marched thence to *Breteville* (belonging alſo to the King of *Navarre*) and at that time likewiſe beſieged by the *French*; and having here done as before, as well by Raiſing the Siege, as by ſupplying the Place; finding that the City and Caſtle of *Eureux*, which had lately been taken upon Compoſition by the *French*, was not worth his preſent Conſideration, becauſe at that time the City was burnt, and the Cathedral robbed as well by the *Navarrois*, who yielded them up, as by the *French* who gleaned after them; he neglected that Place for the preſent, and marched on the right hand to *Vernevil* a ſtrong City on the skirts of *Normandy*, and took the Town by Storm the firſt Day he came before it, and plunder'd and fired a great part thereof. After which he aſſaulted the Caſtle thrice, and took it the third Day, having with him a ſpecial Engine of Battery, wherewith he did Wonders in demoliſhing the Walls of Caſtles. But it being told him on the Morrow, that the *French* King was within five Leagues of him, he drew out his Army into the Field, and prepared for Battle, ſtaying thereabouts in expectation of him, till he heard how the King of *France* was turn'd off another way, being called to oppoſe the more violent Proceedings of *Edward*, the Young Prince of *Wales*.

[y] *Dudg. Bar. 2 Vol. p. 70. & Stow p. 259.*
[z] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 787.*
[a] *Froiſ. c. 156.*
[b] *Mezeray p. 43.*
[c] *Knighton p. 2611. n. 60. & Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 788.*
[d] *Froiſ. c. 156.*

VIII. Now it is to be premiſed, that King *John*, who had before this raiſed a Mighty Army, having heard tidings of the Duke of *Lancaſters* thus taking the Field, haſted after him, and followed him as far as *Conches*, which leads ſtraight to *Vernevil*, from whence [e] he ſent two Heralds of Arms unto him to let him know, "That he "obſerv'd, how he had for a long time been in his Country, and done great Spoil to "his People there, ſo that it ſeem'd he deſign'd not to refuſe Battle when offer'd; "and if ſo he ſhould ſoon be ſatisfied as to that Point. To which Meſſage the Duke of *Lancaſter* return'd Anſwer, "that he was come into thoſe Parts upon ſpecial Buſi- "neſs, which (Thanks be to God) he had already in ſome meaſure effected: And "that as then he was Marching to ſome other Parts, where alſo he had Buſineſs to do; "but that if the *French* King, or any of his Subjects ſhould offer to ſtand in his way, "he was ready to make his way by Force, reſolving to do nothing obſcurely: For "that

[e] *Knighton p. 2612. l. 18. & Dudg. 1 Vol. f. 788.*

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"that he would cauſe a Lanthern to be carried behind him, that the *French* King might "know which way he bent his Courſe. However the Duke drew out his Men, [f] orderly ranged for Battle into the Field, expecting the Arrival of the King of *France*, whom he heard as then to be no more than five Leagues off. But he receiving News at the ſame time of Prince *Edwards* Ravaging in the Parts of *Gaſcogne*, returned back thitherward to give Battle unto him; of which Matter we ſhall ſpeak more particularly, when we have quitted our hands of what remains concerning this Expedition of the Duke of *Lancaſters*.

[f] *Knighton ib. n.* 14.

Upon King *Johns* Return, the Duke of *Lancaſter* went back to *Laigle*, [g] thence to *Tully* and *Argentan*; and even to the Abby of St. *Fremund*, where he paſſed over a dangerous Water, the Bridge having been broken by the *French*, and 67 Men of Arms left there to keep the Paſſage of the Bridge: but againſt them ſtept forth 18 *Engliſh* Men of Arms, belonging to the Marſhals Battle, and ſlew and wounded them, ſo that none was able to eſcape away. From thence he marched to *Carentan*, and ſo to *Montebourg*, whence he had firſt ſet out, no Day paſſing, wherein he took not ſome ſtrong Hold with many Priſoners, as he marched back again.

[g] *Knighton ib.*

[h] *Froiſ. c.* 156. *fol.* 77. *b.*

Others [h] ſay, that King *John* follow'd him by way of Purſuit as far as two Leagues beyond *Laigle*; but then finding, that the Duke and his Men had taken ſuch Foreſts before him; that they might thereby eaſily entrap him into ſome Diſadvantage, the Paſſages were ſo dangerous to them who followed an Enemy therein, went back again to ſtop the furious Career of the Prince of *Wales*.

IX. However the Duke return'd, as we ſaid before, to *Montebourg* about the latter end of *September*, where he heard of the Prince's Victory at *Poictiers*; at which Battle he himſelf had deſign'd to have been preſent, but that he was informed all the Paſſages of the *Loire* were ſo well kept, that he could not by any means expect to get over. Having therefore ſent the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt* to St. *Saviour le Vicount*, he himſelf ſoon after *Michaelmas* went laden with Spoils, Honour and the Thanks of Prince *Philip* of *Navarre*, from *Montebourg* in *Normandy* to *Hennebond* in *Bretagne*, where for this time we will leave him with the Counteſs of *Montford*, adviſing which way to employ his Arms further.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF King Edward III^d.

BOOK THE THIRD.

CHAPTER the First.

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I. KING *John* in his Return from purſuing the Duke of *Lancaſter*, took the Caſtle and Town of *Tillieres* and *Bretevil*, which belonged to the King of *Navarre*, and having by ſupplying ſeveral Garriſons much diminiſhed his Forces, return'd back to *Paris*: Where [a] being freſhly alarum'd with the News of the Prince of *Wales* his Exploits in *Gaſcogne*, how he had invaded his Lands, and was now Marching into the Good Country of *Berry*, he ſaid aloud and ſware, "That he would ride forth and give him Battle, whereſoever "he ſhould find him. With this Reſolution he began to enforce his Summons, and immediately

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 157. *f.* 78.

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mediately sent an Especial Command to all his Nobles, and such as held of him by Homage or otherwise, straitly enjoyning them; "that all manner of Excuse laid a-"side, his Letters once seen, they should every Man on pain of his Displeasure, pre-"pare and meet him at the General Rendezvous in the Marches of *Blaisois* and *Tou-"raine*, to the intent to fight the *English*. And lest he should make any Delay in a matter of such Consequence, he forthwith rode from *Paris* to *Chartres* onward of his way, to have the surer Intelligence of the Prince's Actions: And there dayly flocked to him thither, and to the parts about *Blois* and *Tours* Men of War from every Province in and about the Kingdom of *France*, as from *Hainalt*, *Lorraine*, *La Franche Comté*, *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Bretagne*, *Vermandois*, *Berry*, *Burgundy*; and still as they came in, they were set forward, train'd and enrolled, having Quarters assign'd them about in the Country by the two Marshals, the Lord *John* of *Clermont*, and the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*. King *John* the mean while sent huge Quantities of Provision of all sorts, to all the Fortresses and Garrisons in *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Le Maine*, and *Touraine*, and elsewhere, where He thought the *English* might pass, designing thereby to foreclose the Avenues of the Country, and so to cut off all Provision from them, that neither they, nor their Horses might get any forage or subsistence. But for all that, as yet Prince *Edward* and his Forces found no Impeachment or want, but passed on at their ease thrô the plentifull Countries of *Auvergne*, *Quercy*, *Limousin*, *Perigort*, *Saintogne*, *la Marche*, and *Berry*, as now we shall shew.

[b] *Stow p.* 259.

II. EDWARD [b] Prince of *Wales*, sirnamed the *Black-Prince*, having employ'd the Winter-season in repairing and fortifying the City of *Bourdeaux*, and other Castles and Towns in *Gascogne*, and caused great Quantities of Gold and Silver to be coined according to a Commission from the King his Father, for the Wages of his Souldiers, began his March from *Bourdeaux* on the [c] sixth of *July* with an Army of [d] 12000 Men (as one says) whereof 3000 were Natural *English*: But most Writers agree, that his Forces amounted to little more at this time, than 8000, which was for certain the utmost number he had at the Battle of *Poictiers*; unless we should believe, that before he came thither, he lost one Third of his whole Army without any opposition, or remarkable Action at all. Wherefore we rather follow *Froisard*, who assigns the Number to be 2000 Men of Arms and 6000 Archers. With which gallant little Army of Chosen Men (having left the Lord [e] *Bernard de la Bret* his Lieutenant in *Gascoigne*, with sufficient Power for the Defence thereof against the Earl of *Armagnac*, who threatned to invade it) he rode thrô *Quercy* [f] and *Auvergne*, where he found plenty of all things, burning, plundering, and destroying all before him in Hostile manner.

[c] *Walsing. hist. p.* 163. & *M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. c.* 230.
[d] *Mezeray ad hunc annum.*
[e] *Stow p.* 259.
[f] *Froiss. c.* 157.

When he enter'd any Good Town, well replenished with all things, there he usually tarried two or three days to refresh his Men, and then upon departure the Residue was all destroy'd, the Heads of the Wine-Vessels stricken out, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Flesh, and all other Provision, but what they could bear away, consumed; lest the Enemy might be the better for them. This Course the *English* held, till they came to the strong City of *Bourges*, which is the Principal place in *Berry*. Here they made an attempt by giving a brisk Assault to One of the Gates: In the Action many proper Feats of Arms were done; but nothing of Advantage could be won here; the place was so well Defended by the Lord of *Conserans*, and the Lord *Hutin de Memers*, who were Captains of the City. Thence they wheel'd off to *Issoudun*, a Castle of great strength, to which they gave a very fierce Assault, and thither came the whole Army; but the Gentlemen within behaved themselves so well, that they sav'd the place, and wan Honour from the Prince, by the Opinion they created in him of their Courages. From hence they took their way to *Virzon*, a large Town defended by a good Castle; but the Town it self was not well fortified, and the Hands within too few to make good the Defences, so that it was taken by force: And here the Prince, finding great Plenty of Good Wines, and other Provision of all sorts, was pleased to tarry three days to refresh his People.

While he tarried here tidings came to him, that the *French* King was at *Chartres*, on the other side the *Loire*, with a great Assembly of Men of War about him, and that all the Towns and Passages upon the said River were forecloséd, and guarded strongly: So that he could not expect to pass over, to get into *Anjou*, *Vendosmois*, or *Le Maine*: Wherefore he was advised by his Council to pass thrô the parts of *Touraine*, and so to wheel off on the Left Hand into *Poictou*, and by that way to return thrô *Saintogne*, and so to *Bourdeaux*.

This Course the Prince resolved to follow, and having done as he pleas'd in the Town of

of *Virzon*, and taken the Caſtle by force, and ſlain moſt of them within, he proceeded ſomething on the left hand, and rode toward *Romorantin*, which lies almoſt equidiſtant between *Blois* and *Bourges*, ſending before him his two Marſhals, the Lord *John Chandos*, and the Lord *James Audley*, both Knights of the *Garter*, accompanied with Sr. *Robert Knolles*, and Sr. *Frank Van Hall*, together with their Men, to try out the ſtate of the Country, and to ſee there lay no Ambuſh. King *John* alſo at the ſame time ſent forth his ſpies to view the Condition of the *Engliſh*, and to learn of what force they were: Among whom [g] one *Griffith Micco*, Captain of 200 Horſe, came upon the *Engliſh* ſpies to his Coſt: For there 30 of his Men together with himſelf being taken, all the reſt were ſlain to a Man, not ſo much as one being left to carry back word, what was become of his Fellows.

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[g] *Stow p. 259.*

Now among others, whom the *French* King had ſent into thoſe parts to look to the Defence of the Country, there were [h] three great Barons appointed to keep the Frontiers, namely the Lord of *Craon*, the Lord of *Bouciquaut*, and the Hermit of *Chaumont*; who with 300 Spears had for ſome time rode about the Country, coaſting at a diſtance the *Engliſh* Hoſt, whom having now followed for ſix days together, they could yet never find any Advantage to ſet upon them, the Army rode ſo carefully, and in ſuch *cloſe Order*. At laſt perceiving the Prince to take the way of *Romorantin*, they began to fetch a wide compaſs about, and ſo getting before him planted themſelves in Ambuſh near to *Romorantin*, at the middle of a wonderfull ſtraight Paſſage, by which the *Engliſh* muſt needs go.

[h] *Froiſ. c. 157. & Stow ibid.*

That ſame Day by chance there went with the leave of the Marſhals before the Prince's Battail, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, Sr. *Walter Pavely*, Sr. *Nele Loring*, and Sr. *Sanchio Dambreticourt*, all Four Knights of the Garter, with the Lord *Roger de la Warre*, the young Lord *Edward Spencer* (then about [i] 20 Years of Age) the young Lord *Ralph Baſſet* of *Drayton* but [k] two Years older; together with the Lord of *Mucidan*, and the Lord *Petiton Coutras*, *Gaſcogners*, and Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*. Sr. *Richard* of *Punchardon* alſo was there, whom ſome ſuppoſe a *Gaſcogner*; but it is evident, that he was an *Engliſhman* born, and of *Devonſhire*, deriving his Name, as moſt Ancient Names had their Original, from *Punchardon* * a place in *Branton*-Hundred in that County. Theſe Ten Worthies having as we ſaid, obtained leave to ride with 200 Men of Arms before the Marſhals Battail, and to take a view of *Romorantin*, went accordingly in good Order, and rode thrô that difficult narrow Paſſage, where the *French* Ambuſh lay, without the leaſt knowledge or ſuſpicion thereof. They had but juſt got out of the Lane, when the *French* brake ſuddenly forth, and paſſed the Streight after them, and then being more at large, and freſhly ranged for Battle, they followed hard upon the *Engliſh* a good round Trot, and with great Ardor and Courage of mind made up to them. [l] When the Lords of *England* who were well forward, heard the Noiſe of Horſes from behind, and looked back and ſaw they were their Enemies, they faced about in good Order, and ſtood ſtill to receive them upon their Spears Points. The *French* came on very briskly with their Spears couched in their Reſts, and ran fiercely upon the *Engliſh*, who opening ſuddenly to the Right and Left, ſuffer'd them to paſs thrô; ſo that on both Sides not above five or ſix were overthrown at the firſt Meeting: But then the *Engliſh* joyn'd together again, and daſhed forth their Horſes after them, and began a moſt furious Combat. The Skirmiſh was hot, and well and long maintained on both Sides, many Knights and Eſquires on either part being reverſed to the Earth, and many mutually taken and reſcued with equal Bravery; ſaving that the *French* were more in Number being Three to Two: So that as yet it was doubtful, to which Side *Victory* would encline. But the Matter was now fully decided by the ſuddain Appearance of the *Engliſh* Marſhals Battail, which when the *Frenchmen* beheld to come ſcouring along by the Wood ſide, they immediately turned their Horſes, and fled every Man as faſt as he might toward *Romorantin*, the *Engliſh* after them without ſparing their Horſes in the leaſt. This was an hard caſe for the *French*, many of them being now overthrown, and ſlain or taken Priſoners: But about half of them (among whom were the Three Lords) namely thoſe that were beſt Horſed, made ſhift to gain the Caſtle; for the Town was taken by the *Engliſh* at their firſt Coming.

[i] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 395.*
[k] *Dugd. ibid. p. 380.*

* *Speeds Maps in* Devonſhire *l. 1. c. 10. p. 20.*

[l] *Froiſ. c. 157.*

The Prince [m] of *Wales* heard how his Van-Currors were engaged, and therefore marched more haſtily toward *Romorantin*; but being come thither he found the Town already won, and his Marſhals buſie in deviſing how to take the Caſtle. Preſently he commanded the Lord *John Chandos* to go and talk with thoſe of the Caſtle, to try what their Reſolution was in that juncture. Sr. *John* made a ſign at the Gate, that he had a mind to parly with ſome body within: Whereupon certain who ſaw him, de-

[m] *Froiſ. c. 158. fol. 78. b.*

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manded his Name, and who ſent him thither, and upon his Anſwer to both their Demands, they gave notice to the chief Lords of the Garriſon, who ſent the Lord *Bouciquault*, and the Hermit of *Chaumont* to the Barriers. Sr. *John* having ſaluted them very courteouſly after his manner, accoſted them thus: "Meſſieurs, I am ſent hither from "my Lord the Prince of *Wales*, who is wont to ſhew great Clemency to ſuch as ſub- "mit unto him, as now I queſtion not but he will do. For he ſaith, that if without "putting him to farther Trouble, you will deliver up this Fortreſs into his Hands, and "become his Priſoners, he will receive you to his Grace, and uſe you honourably, as "Companions in Arms. "Sir (replied the Lord *Bouciquault*) we do not intend to fling "our ſelves into that Condition: If we ſhould do ſo before we are neceſſitated thereto, "our Diſcretion might juſtly be called in queſtion: Wherefore aſſure your ſelf (Sir) "that we intend to defend our ſelves like Men. At this the Parley brake off, and the Prince reſolved to encamp therebout for that Night; but early next morning, every Man being Armed under his Proper Colours, they began to aſſault the Caſtle on all hands: The Archers being ranged along on the Dikes, ſhot their Arrows ſo wholly together, that the Enemy could hardly appear at their Defences; the mean while Others ſwam over the Ditch on Planks and empty Casks joyned together, with Mattocks and Pick-axes in their Hands, and began to dig and mine at the Walls; but the Beſieged caſt down upon them great ſtones, pots of quick Lime and other offenſive things, wherewith many were hurt, and a valiant Eſquire named *Raimond Derge du Lache*, belonging to the Lord *John Greilly*, Captal *de Buſche*, was ſlain. All that day this Aſſault continued without intermiſſion, but yet alſo without Succeſs; wherefore at Night the *Engliſh* withdrew to their Lodgings again in Diſpleaſure. The next morning by Sun-riſe, thoſe who were appointed to renew the Aſſault, were all ready at the ſound of the Marſhals Trumpets. This ſecond Attaque was carried on with all imaginable Application, becauſe the Prince Himſelf being there perſonally preſent, as a Spectator of every Mans Behaviour, gave great Encouragement to his People. While thus the Prince ſtood on foot near the Dike, there was ſlain hard by him an *Engliſh* Eſquire named *Jacob Bernard*, whereat the Prince was ſo diſpleaſed, that he took his [n] moſt Solemn Oath, and ſware by his Fathers Soul not to leave the Siege, till he had the Caſtle and all within at his Mercy. Then the Aſſault was renewed much hotter than ever, till at laſt the Prince ſaw there was no likelihood of Prevailing that way. Wherefore preſently he gave Order to raiſe certain Engines, wherewith they caſt combuſtible Matter enflam'd, after the manner of Wild-Fire, into the Baſe Court, ſo faſt, and in ſuch Quantities, that at laſt the whole Court ſeem'd to be one Huge Fire. Whereupon the exceſſive Heat prevail'd ſo, that it took hold of the Roof of a great Tower, which was covered with Reed, and ſo began to ſpread over all the Caſtle. Now therefore when theſe Valiant Captains within ſaw, that of neceſſity they muſt either ſubmit entirely to the Prince's Courteſie, or periſh by the moſt mercileſs of Elements; they all together came down and yielded themſelves abſolutely to his Grace: So the Prince received both Them and their Men as his Priſoners, and left the Caſtle wholly void and ruin'd by the Flames: This was done on the 4 of *September* MCCCLVI, being 15 days before the Battle of *Poictiers*.

[n] *Froiſ. c.* 280. *f.* 170. *b.*

There were here taken the [o] Three Lords aforeſaid, namely the Lord of *Craon*, the Lord of *Bouciquaut*, and the Hermit of *Chaumont*, beſides the Captain of the Garriſon, who was there before, and 240 Men of Arms, the common Souldiers being let go; and in this whole Expedition, before the Battle of *Poictiers*, there are [p] reckon'd to have been taken in all more than 6000 Men of Arms about in the Country as the Prince journey'd, all whom he ſent away Priſoners to *Bourdeaux* to be ranſomed.

[o] *Knighton p.* 2614. *n.* 50. *licet ibi* Broun *malè pro* Craon *&* Briciusgauth *pro* Bouciquaut *propter ἀπόφασιν M.SS. Codicum legitur.*

[p] *M.S. vet-Anglic. in Biblioth. C.C.C.* Cantabr. *c.* 230.

After the Taking of *Romorantin* the Prince marched on as before, thrô the Parts of *Touraine* and *Anjou*, on this ſide the *Loire*, deſtroying the Country all before him, till he came to the Place, which was ordain'd to be remarkable to all Poſterity for a Victory of his.

III. The *French* King [q] having already compleated his Muſters at *Chartres*, began his March about this time, and went thence to *Blois* upon the *Loire* in queſt of the Prince: Where having tarried two Days he paſſed the River with all his Hoſt, a great Part whereof went over at the Bridge of *Orleans*, *Mehun*, *Tours* and *Saumur*, or where elſe they might; for all the other Bridges but thoſe of the Good Towns, were broken down by the *French* to hinder the Prince's Paſſage. From *Blois* King *John* marched to *Amboiſe*, and the day following to *Loches*, where he heard, how the Prince of *Wales* was on the Borders of *Touraine*, and deſigned to return by *Poictou* to *Bourdeaux*: For he had perpetual Information ſent him in dayly by ſeveral expert Knights of *France*,

[q] *Froſ. c.* 159. *f.* 79. *&c.*

who

who continually coasted the *English*, to observe their Countenance and Behaviour. Hereupon King *John* marched from *Loches* to *la Haye en Touraine*, resolving to give the Prince of *Wales* Battle, with an Army consisting of 20000 Men of Arms, Lords, Knights and Esquires, all muster'd and past for Men of Arms, among whom were twenty six Dukes and Earls, and more than 120 Banners, with the Kings Four Sons, who were all but Young, as *Charles* Duke of *Normandy* and Dauphin of *Vienna*, *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, *John* Duke of *Berry*, and *Philip*, who shortly after purchased the Sirname of *Hardy*, and became in time Duke of *Burgundy*.

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At that instant Pope *Innocent* VI sent the Lord *Talayrand*, Cardinal of *Perigort*, and *Nicolas* Cardinal [r] *Titulo Sancti Vitalis* into *France*, to treat of Peace between the *French* King and all his Enemies: First between him and the King of *Navarre* (for whose Delivery they had often before laboured hard with King *John*, when he lay before *Bretevil*, but all in vain) and then to use their utmost Endeavours to compose Matters between *England* and *France*. When these Cardinals came to *Tours*, they heard how the *French* King was in eager Pursuit of the *English*, wherefore they both made haste to the City of *Poictiers*, for that way they understood both the Armies were bound.

[r] *Hæc nomina & tituli eorum, v. Victorell. 1 Vol. p. 911. ad p. 923 & Odor. Rainal.*

The mean while the King hearing, that the Prince made haste to get home, and doubting lest he should escape his hands, departed with all his Host from *la Haye en Touraine*, and rode to *Chauvigny* on the River of *Vienne*, where he tarried that *Thursday* with his Men in and about the Town, between the two Rivers of *Creuse* and *Vienne*. The next Day he passed the *Vienne* at the Bridge, thinking to find the *English* before him on the other side, but he was mistaken; for they were encamped by a little Village higher on the Right hand of *Poictiers*: But for all that King *John* pursued after with great heat and confidence; and with him there passed the Bridge more than 60 Thousand Horse, besides those that passed over higher at *Chastelleraut*, who also took their way directly to *Poictiers*.

On the other hand Prince *Edward* had no certain knowledge where his Enemies were, thô he concluded they were not far off, because his Men could find no more Forage: Whereby he began to be in great Want, and then the *English* Souldiers repented much, that they had made such Havock and Destruction, as they had done before in *Berry*, *Anjou* and *Touraine*; and yet had laid up but small Provision for themselves against an evil Day.

IV. All that *Friday*, being the day that the King passed the *Vienne* at *Chauvigny*, [s] there tarried still behind in the Town three Great Lords of *France*, the Lord *Ralph de Coucy*, the Earl of *Joigny*, and the Lord of *Chauvigny* Marshal of *Burgundy*, with part of their Troops to the number of 240 Men of Arms. These early on the *Saturday* morning also passed the Bridge after the King, who was then about three Leagues before, and they took their way among Bushes by the side of a Wood, which leadeth to *Poictiers*. That same Morning Prince *Edward* had dislodged from about a little Village hard by called *Bonmatour*, at which time he sent before him certain Currours, to try if they could meet with any Adventure, and to get Intelligence whereabout the *French* Army was. These were in number sixty Men of Arms, all excellently well mounted, under the Leading of Sr. *Eustace Dambreticourt* a young Gentleman, Son to the Lord *Sanchio Dambreticourt*, who was Knight of the Garter, with whom was joyned the Lord *John de St. Guislain*, another Native of *Hainalt*; and soon after their setting forth they met by chance with the Three *French* Lords aforesaid, as they rode along by the side of the said Wood. The *Frenchmen* presently knew them for their Enemies, wherefore they strait clap'd on their Helmets, display'd their Banners, and came a good round Trot toward the *Englishmen*. But they seeing their Design, and withall how far they exceeded them in Number, determin'd to fly, and suffer the *French* to pursue, as knowing the Prince with his Horse was not far behind. So they turned their Horses and took down by a Corner of the Wood, with the *Frenchmen* at their Heels upon the Spurr, crying out their Martial Cries with great Clamour. But as they pursued thus eagarly, unawares they came where the Prince was with his Battail, expecting some News from those, whom he had sent forth for that Purpose. The Lord *Ralph de Coucy* rode so forward, that he was suddenly under the Princes Banner, where after a couragious Resistance he was taken Prisoner, together with the Earl of *Joigny*, and the Lord of *Chauvigny*, and an [t] Hundred Men of Arms, as many more being slain; only about Fourty escaped away by reason of the Covert of the Wood. This was the first lucky *præludium* to that Famous Victory, which was already destin'd for the *English*.

[s] *Froiss. ibid. confer cum Knighton p. 2614. n. 50.*

[t] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. t. 230.*

From these Prisoners Prince *Edward* fully understood the Condition of his Enemies,

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and how they followed him so near, that he could not handsomly avoid Battle, if he would; wherefore having reassembled all his Men, and set them in close Order, he gave Command, that none should presume to go before the Marshals Banners. And thus he rode without any further adventure the remaining part of that *Saturday*, till he came into the Fields of *Beauvoir* and *Maupertuis*, within two little Leagues of *Poictiers*; where finding a convenient place he resolved to encamp there that Night, and the mean while sent forth the Lord *John Greilly*, Captal *de Busch*, the Lord *Edmund* of *Pamiers*, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwash*, and Sr. *Eustace Dambreticourt* with 200 Men of Arms well-mounted, to observe the Countenance of the Enemy. These Knights rode so far, that they view'd the Kings great Battail, and saw all the Country cover'd with Men of Arms: But yet their Courage was so great, that they could not forbear their hands; but set on the tail of their Army, and overthrew many to the Earth, and took divers Prisoners, till the whole Host began to move that way. For when tidings hereof were brought to King *John*, just as he was entring into the City of *Poictiers*, he immediately faced about, commanding all Men to do the same, and so he returned into the Field again, where it was very late, before he could take up his Lodgings. The *English* Detachment return'd safe and Victorious again to the Prince, and related to him what they had seen, and done, and found, saying withall, "That the "*French* Army was exceeding Numerous. "Well then (said the Prince) in the Name "of God let us consider, how we may fight with them at our best Advantage; for a-"gainst Number Policy is requisite. And so that Night he chose for his Camp a strong Place among Hedges, Vines, and Bushes: And a good Watch was set, as was needfull, the *Frenchmen* on their part doing the like: And thus both Armies rested for that Night.

[u] *Froiss. c.* 160. *fol.* 79. *b.* [x] *Ex Literis* Clement. VI. *PPæ, dat.* Avin. XI. *Kal.* Julii *An*° *Pontif.* III. *Extant apud Odor. Raināld. ad annum* 1344 §. 62.

V. Now [u] on the *Sunday* Morning the *French* King, who was wonderfull desirous to have Battle, heard Mass in his Pavilion, took the Communion in both kinds (for [x] that Privilege had been granted him long since) and received Absolution together with his Four Sons: After which there came to him his Brother *Philip*, Duke of *Orleans*, the Lord *Peter*, Duke of *Bourbon*, the Lord *Walter de Brenne*, Duke of *Athens*, and Constable of *France*, *Charles* Earl of *Tancarville*, the Earl of *Salebruse*, the Earl of *Dampmartin*, the Earl of *Ventador*, and divers others, as well Barons of *France*, as others, who held of that Crown, as the Lord *John Clermont*, and the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, Marshals of *France*, the Lord of St. *Venant*, the Lord *John* of *Landas*, the Lord *Eustace Ribemont*, who had so signalized himself by combatting hand to hand with King *Edward* at *Calais*; the Lord of *Fiennes*, the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, the Lord of *Chastillon*, the Lord of *Suilly*, the Lord of *Nesle*, Sr. *Robert Duras*, and divers others, with all whom the King then held a Council of War in his Royal Pavilion.

In the end it was universally agreed, that all the Army should be drawn out in Battle Array into the Field, and every Lord Display his Banner, and so set forward against the Enemy in the Name of God and St. *Dennis*.

So the Trumpets sounded, and every Man mounted his Horse, and rode forth into the Field, where they saw the Kings Banner standing aloft, and waving in the Wind. There you might have beheld a most Beautifull Sight of Fair Harness, of shining steel, Feathered Crests of glittering Helmets, and the Rich Embroidery of silken Surcoats of Arms, together with Golden Standards, Banners, and Penons Gloriously moving in the Air. For there was all the Flower of the Nobility and Gentry of *France*, none daring at that time to stay at home, without Invincible Necessity, or for the Defence of the Realm, unless he would hazard his Reputation for ever.

[y] *Froiss. & Du Chesne legunt* Seize, *i. e.* 16000; *sed ut puto figuris decepti Codicum Exscriptores; cùm aliàs id.* Froiss. *dicat totum armatorum numerum ultrà* 20000 *non ascendisse: Aliter ad* 48000 *Armatorum millia, præter pedites numerentur; quod absurdum.* [z] *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an.* §. 7. *&c.*

This Great Army by Advice of the Constable and Marshals was ranged into Three Battalia's, the least whereof contained [y] 6000 Men of Arms, all being Muster'd and past for such, besides the Foot: The First was led by Monsieur *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*, King *John's* Brother; (thô he was 24 Years younger than the King, being born the same Year with *Charles* the Dauphin, who was now but 20 Years of Age.) With this young Prince there were 36 Banners, and twice as many Penons: The Second Battail was under the Duke of *Normandy*, *Charles* the Dauphin, and with him were his two Brethren, *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, and *John* Duke of *Berry*: The King himself brought up the Third, having with him his Youngest Son the Lord *Philip* Duke of *Touraine*, and afterwards of *Burgundy*, with a great Number of his Prime Nobility, and others; this Third Battail consisted of 40000 Chosen Men, whereof 8000 were Men of Arms, [z] all the whole Host was extraordinary well equipped and every way duly provided. And while the Marshals and other Officers were Ordering them, the King

King called unto him the Lord *Euſtace Ribemont*, the Lord *John* of *Landas*, and the Lord *Richard de Beaujeu*, and ſaid unto them, "*Meſſieurs*, ride you on before and mark "the Countenance of the *Engliſhmen*, and conſider exactly how many they may a- "mount to, and by what means we may beſt deal with them, whether on Horſeback or "on Foot. Now while theſe Three Lords rode forth, King *John* being Mounted on a large White Courſer to be ſeen of all, came up to the Head of his Troops, and ſaid aloud with a Couragious and High Voice, [a] "*Meſſieurs*, When You are at *Paris*, at "*Chartres*, at *Orleans*, or *Rouën*, then You threaten theſe *Engliſhmen* terribly, and wiſh "nothing more than to be in Arms againſt them. Now ſhall your Deſire be granted, "I'll lead You, where You ſhall be ſure to find 'um. Let me therefore now ſee the "effects of that Ill-will You bear them, and how well You can Revenge all the Diſ- "pleaſures and Damages, which they have done unto You: For without doubt We "ſhall not part without Blows. Such as were within hearing, anſwer'd briskly, "Sir, "in Gods Name be it ſo: We deſire nothing elſe; but would gladly ſee our Enemies. Within a while after the Three Lords of *France* return'd to the King, who preſently demanded what News? Whereupon the Lord *Euſtace Ribemont* for himſelf and his Fellows, anſwer'd thus, "*Sir, We have view'd the* Engliſhmen, *and by our Eſtimation* "*they are not above* 2000 *Men of Arms*, 4000 *Archers, and* 1500 *others; howbeit* "*they are encamped in a ſtrong Place. And as far as I can imagine, they make up but* "*One Battail, but yet they are very wiſely Order'd, and along by the way they have ſtrongly* "*fortified the Hedges and Buſhes; A Party of their Archers lining the Hedges; ſo that* "*none can go or ride that way, but he muſt lie open to their Shot on the Flank: And* "*yet that way muſt We go, if We intend to attack 'um. Into this Lane there is but* "*one Paſſage neither, whereat as We judge, about* 4 *Horſemen may ride abreaſt, and* "*at the end of this Hedged Lane, where no Man can well paſs either on Foot or* "*Horſeback, ſtands a ſquare Battail of Men of Arms all on Foot, the Archers before* "*them in manner of an Herſe; ſo that eaſily they cannot be diſcomfited. Well,* ſaid the "King, *what then do you adviſe as beſt for Us to do? Sir* (ſaid the Lord *Euſtace*) *Let* "*Us all alight on Foot, except* 300 *Men of Arms, the moſt Select of all the Hoſt, and beſt-* "*armed, and beſt-mounted, who ſhall firſt a little break and open the Archers Battail,* "*and then immediately your Men of Arms to ſtrike in after them on Foot, and ſo to* "*cope with their Men of Arms hand to hand. But only let the* German *Cuiraſſiers re-* "*main ſtill on Horſeback, to comfort the Marſhals, if need ſhall be. This is the beſt* "*Advice that I can give: If any other judge any other way better, let him ſpeak.* The King ſaid, "*Thus it ſhall be done.* And accordingly the two Marſhals rode from Bat- tail to Battail, and choſe [b] out 300 Knights and Eſquires of the moſt Valiant and Ex- pert Men of Arms of all the Hoſt, every Man well-mounted on a ſtrong barbed Cour- ſer, and Arm'd at all points himſelf: And Order was given, that the *German* Brigade of Cuiraſſiers ſhould continue ſtill on Horſeback, to aſſiſt, where moſt need ſhould be, under their Leaders, who were the Earls of *Saltzburg*, *Neydo*, and [c] *Naſſau*.

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[a] *Froiſ. c.* 160. *and* True uſe of Armory *in Vitâ Domini* Joh. Chandos *p.* 47.

[b] *Froiſ. ibid. & Mezeray.*

[c] *Du Cheſne legit* Noſto: *ſed aliàs* Naſſau, *Froiſ.* Noſcy; *culpa vett. M.SS.*

But here I muſt needs reflect on the Vanity of thoſe *French* Authors, who think- ing to palliate the Loſs, they received this Day, affirm, that King *John* in contempt of the *Engliſh* Forces, reſolved to make uſe only of his Infantry; whereat (ſay they) his Cavalry were ſo diſguſted, that they became backward in performing their Duty: And [d] One adds, how there fell among them a Dangerous Emulation, concerning who ſhould be reckon'd among that Famous Three-Hundred, who were to bear the brunt of the Danger, by breaking thrô the Archers. But the Conſideration of the known Prudence of many of the *French* Captains, who were notoriouſly Expert in War, com- par'd with that more Rational and Authentick account We have laid down from an Author of thoſe Days, may ſufficiently evince the Falſity of ſuch Men, who out of Ignorance or Deſign make ſuch Incredible Reflexions on the Wiſdom of the *French* King.

[d] *Paul. Æmyl. p.* 286.

He for his part [e] was there like a Valiant Prince, Armed at all Points in his Royal Habiliments, and it ſeems was ſo far from abſolutely deſpiſing the inconſiderable Num- bers of the *Engliſh*, that for his better ſecurity, Twenty more were order'd to appear that day, Arm'd in like manner with him. His Eldeſt Son, the Dauphin, was commit- ted to the Care of the Lord of St. *Venant*, the Lord of *Landas*, and the Lord *Theobald* of *Bodenay*, and the Lord *Arnold* [f] of *Cervoles*, a right Hardy young Gentleman, com- monly called the Arch-Prieſt, was clad in the Armour of his Second Son, *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, and Earl of *Alanſon*.

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 160.

[f] *Ita* Mezeray *legit illius nomen alii* Queſnol, *alii* Canol, *alii deniq;* Knolles, *& fratrem dicunt fuiſſe* Rob. Knolles, *Mil.* Angli. *ſed tum quomodò contrà Anglos in hâc pugnâ ſtaret?*

The [g] Three Battails being all ready ranged in the Field, and every Lord in his due Place under his own Banner, Command was given, that all Men ſhould put off their Spurs,

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 161.

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Spurs, and cut their Spears to five Foot length, as most commodious for such, who had left their Horses. But [h] at that instant, as they were ready to march against the Prince, *Talayrand* the Cardinal, having rode that Morning from *Poictiers*, came hastily to King *John*, and kneeling down before him with his hands in the most suppliant posture lifted up, desired him for *Jesus Christ's* sake to stop one Moment, till he might speak with him, which being granted, he said, "*Sir, You have here all the* "*Flower of your Realm against an handfull of* Englishmen, *if we compare their Num-* "*bers to Yours, and surely if You can get them to yield to your Conditions, it will be* "*more profitable by far, and nothing less Honourable to Conquer them so cheaply, than* "*to hazard so flourishing an Army, as is here present. Wherefore Sir, most humbly,* "*and in the Name of God, I require You, that You will grant me time, before You go for-* "*ward, to ride yonder to the Prince, and shew him at what Disadvantage You have got* "*him. I am content You do so,* answer'd the King, *on condition You make a quick re-* "*turn back again.* Then the Cardinal took his Horse, and rode toward the Prince of *Wales*, whom he found among his Men on foot, Armed at all Points, but his Helmet; the Cardinal alighting from his Horse came to him, and was received courteously of the Prince. Salutation being therefore taken and given, the Cardinal said, "*O my* "*Fair Son, surely if You and Your Council do but rightly consider the strength of the* "French *King; You will not deny me leave to endeavour to compose Matters between* "*You, if I may.* The Prince, who was Young and Lusty (being then but Twenty five Years and three Months old) answer'd in these Words; "*Father, the Honour of* "*me and of my Country saved, I would willingly admit of any Reasonable Conditions.* Said the Cardinal, "*Sir, You say well, and I shall make You Friends, if I can; for it* "*would be a great Pity, if so many Noble and Gallant Spirits, as are now in the Field* "*on both sides, should be suffer'd to joyn together in Bloody Battle.* And with that the Cardinal hasted to Horse, and rode back to King *John*, to whom he said, "*Sir, You* "*need not make any such great haste to fight with your Enemies, for they cannot fly from* "*You, thô they would, they are in such a place: Wherefore, Dear Sir, I heartily re-* "*quire You to forbear for this day only, till to Morrow at Sun-rise, that during this* "*while We may endeavour to compose Matters handsomly.* The King was extream loath to yield thus much, for several of his Council were utterly against it: But the Cardinal insisted with such Zeal, and shew'd such fair and plausible Reasons, that at last the King agreed to a Truce, till the time aforesaid. And in that very place there was presently pitch'd up for the King a Pavilion of Red Silk, fresh and Rich, embroider'd with Golden Lillies, and leave was given for all Men to take up their Lodgings, except only the Marshals Battails. All that *Sunday* the Cardinal did nothing but ride too and fro between the two Armies, in hopes to Reconcile the Parties; but the High Conceits of the *French* King dash'd all these Pious Endeavours of his. For at first, he said, "he would not agree to loose so great an Advantage, unless he might have Four "Principal *Englishmen* at his Pleasure, and the Prince, and all the Rest to yield themselves to him to be Ransomed. This insolent Demand was with great Disdain utterly rejected by the Prince, who yet offer'd very largely, as "to restore all that ever he "had won, since he marched out of *Bourdeaux* that Summer, both Towns and Castles, "and to acquit all the Prisoners, whom he had taken at that season; and also to swear, "not to bear Arms in Person against the *French* for the space of seven Years after. But these Offers the *French* King and his Council refus'd to accept, and at the last stuck close to this peremptory Demand; "That the Prince and an Hundred of his Knights "should yield themselves to the King as Prisoners of War, all the Rest to be at liberty: "Otherwise, that He would use the Advantage he had over them, to the utter de-"struction of them; the Prince his Person only excepted. To this shamefull and unworthy Motion the Prince reply'd with a smile, expressive of Indignation, "That He "hop'd to Conquer; but if not, that however he could Die; but could never yield "to lose his Honour, which he valued above his Life. That therefore whatever Condi-"tions, thô never so secure, might cast the least Reflexion either on his own Honour, or "his Fathers, or that of the *English* Nation, he utterly rejected them as Infamous and "worse than Death.

[h] *Froiss. ibid. Matth. Villani l. 7. c. 10. ad c. 13.*

VI. Now while the Cardinal busied himself on these fruitless Labours for Peace, certain Knights rode forth from either Camp, because there was a Truce for that Day, to coast their Enemies, and to behold their Order and Behaviour. It chanced [i] that on the *English* Part, the Lord *John Chandos* rode forth to view the *French* Host, and the Lord *John Clermont* one of the *French* Marshals, rode forth on that Part, to see how the *English* were entrenched. These two Knights on their Return met each other,

[i] *Froiss. ibid. and* True use of Armory *in Vitâ Domini* Joh. Chandos *p.* 48.

other, and both had one and the same Device upon their Shields, which was *Azure*, the Virgin-*Mary Or*, encompassed with the Rays of the Sun *Argent*. Whereupon the Lord *Clermont* said aloud, "*You* Chandos, *how long have you taken upon you to wear* "*my Device? Nay, you bear mine, said the Lord* Chandos; *for it is as much mine,* "*as yours. I deny that* (*replied* Clermont) *and if it were not for the Truce to be* "*kept this Day between us, I should prove upon your Body presently, that you have no* "*Right to wear my Device.* "*Ah! Sir, said the* English *Lord, say you so? You shall* "*surely find me to morrow in the Field ready to give you Satisfaction, and to prove by* "*Feat of Arms, that it is mine as well as yours. Then* Clermont *replied,* "*These are the* "*boasting Words of you* Englishmen, *for your gross Wits can devise nothing New:* "*But what you see good and fair among others, that you usurp and assume to your* "*selves.* And with this they parted for that time without any further Medling, because of the Truce.

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The mean while the Good Cardinal of *Perigort* labour'd till dark Night thô to no purpose: For he could no ways reconcile the Parties, wherefore he return'd back to *Poictiers* for the present, intending early the next Morning to renew his former Diligence. All that Night the *Frenchmen* took their full Ease, for they had plenty of Provision of all sorts, and nothing to do: But the *English* were in great Want of all things, nor could they now Forage abroad for fear of the Enemy. But all that Day, and the Night following, they made great Ditches, and laid thick Hedges about their Archers, to render them more secure against the *French* Horse.

VII. On the *Monday* morning early the Prince of *Wales* was ready armed among his Men in the same Order of Battle, as he had before devised; as also the *Frenchmen* were ready on their Part to begin the Charge. When behold the foresaid Cardinal came again riding apace toward the *French* Army, thinking by his Preachments to prevail once more. But now the *French* Captains were so incensed at these fruitless Delays which he occasion'd; that they menaced him, and stir'd up the Souldiers against him, letting him know, that if he came thither Preaching any more, they would use his Eminence not so well as he expected. When the Cardinal saw the Danger he was in, and that all his honest Endeavours signified nothing, he took leave of the King, saying, [k] *Ego Pacem diligo, at quùm loquor, illi ad Bellum se parant; i. e. I am for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make themselves ready for War*; and so riding away straight to the Prince, he said, "Sir, look to your Self as well as you can, for there is "nothing else to be expected but Battle: I can find no sign of a tractable Mind in the "*French* King. "Well (said the Prince) it is the Resolution of Us, and of all our "People to abide him: And God defend the Right. *Amen* (said the Cardinal) and adding his Benediction, took his leave of the Prince and return'd to *Poictiers*. But in his Company there were certain Knights and Esquires, Men of Arms, who secretly favoured the *French* Nation more than the *English*: And therefore when they saw now to what issue Matters were like to proceed, they stole away privily from their Master, and went to the *French* Host, as they stood in Battle Array in the Field; and there they unanimously chose the *Chastelain* of *Ampost* for their Captain, which *Chastellain* also was of the Cardinal's Retinue, together with the Lord *Robert Duras*, who was the Cardinal's Nephew, and the rest of that Brigade, all being his Domesticks or Relations: But of this the Cardinal himself knew nothing, till he was come to *Poictiers*.

[k] Psalm 120. vult.

Now when the *Black-Prince* saw, [l] that he should have Battle, the Cardinal being gone without any Conclusion of Peace, and found, that the *French* King in a manner disdain'd and slighted him and his Forces, he mounted his Horse with a perfect Courage, and rode thrô the Ranks, and spake to his Men in this manner. "Now Gentlemen, what thô we be an inconsiderable Company in respect of our Enemies? Yet "let us not be abashed for that: Since Victory consisteth not in the Multitude of "People, but in the Hands of God Almighty, to bestow it after his good Pleasure. "If it please him that the Day be ours, we shall be the most Honoured and Renowned People in the World; and if the worst happen, that we die in our just Quarrel, "'tis but paying a Debt we all owe to Nature something sooner, but much more honourably: And I have the King my Father, and Brethren, and you also have Valiant Friends, Relations and Countrymen left behind; these will sufficiently revenge "our Blood. Wherefore Sirs, for Gods sake I require you all to be of good Courage, "and to do your Devoirs heartily; for if it please God and St. *George*, you shall see me "this Day to perform the Part of a Good Knight, and to play the Man: For [m] surely "*England* shall never pay for my Ransome; I will either here Die or Conquer. These Words

[l] *Froiss. c. 162. fol.* 81.

[m] Life of the Lord *Chandos ex Bibl. Cottoniana p.* 53.

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Words and other the like which the Prince ſpake, comforted his People extreamly, ſo that at that time they would not have feared all the World; and beſides this, their Captains and Leaders in their ſeveral Places by their Cheerfull Words and Looks exceedingly animated the Common Souldiers. The Names of the Lords, and Principal Leaders at this time with the Prince are as followeth, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, *William Montagu* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord *Richard Stafford*, Brother to the ſaid Earl, the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *Edward Spencer*, the Lord *James Audley*, and the Lord *Peter* his Brother, the Lord *Thomas Berkley* (Son to that Lord *Maurice Berkley*, who [n] died in the Siege of *Calais* Nine years before) *Ralph* Lord *Baſſet* of *Drayton*, *John* Lord *Waren*, Eldeſt Son to *John Plantagenet* late Earl of *Waren*, *Strathern* and *Surry*, by his Firſt Lady *Maud de Nereford*; *Peter* Lord *Mauley* the Sixth of that Name, the Lord *John Willoughby* of *Eresby*, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, the Lord *William Felton* and the Lord *Thomas Felton* his Brother, the Lord *Thomas Bradeſtan*; Sr. *Walter Pavely*, Sr. *Stephen Coſſington*, Sr. *Mathew Gournay*, Sr. *William de la More*, and others; all theſe were *Engliſhmen* born: Then of *Gaſcogners*, the Lord *Edmund Pamiers*, the Lord of *Bougues*, the Lord *John Greilly* Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord *John de Chaumont*, the Lord *Delaſparre*, the Lord of *Rozan*, the Lord of *Couſen*, the Lord of *Monferrand*, the Lord of *Landas*, the Lord *Soldiche de L' Eſtarrac*, and divers Others; and of *Hainalders*, the Lord *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, the Lord *John de St. Guiſlain*, and Two others Strangers; the Lord *Daniel Phaſel*, and a Knight of *Artois*, named *Denis* of *Mourbeque*. The whole Number of the Prince's Army as all agree, did not exceed 8000 Men; whereas the *French* Army amounted to ſixty *Thouſand* at leaſt; whereof there were more than 3000 Lords and Nobles.

[n] *Vid. l. 2. c. 6. §. 9. p. 399.*

About half an Hour before the *French* Hoſt approached, the Prince of *Wales* called before him the Earl of *Oxford*, and the other Principal Leaders of the Archers, and being ſurrounded with other the Chief of his Captains, both of *England* and *Gaſcogne*, ſpake thus unto them for their further Encouragement, "Having already had Experience of your ſeveral Courages and Conduct in many imminent Hazards of War; I "acknowledge You (ô Gentlemen of *England*) in nothing to have degenerated from "the Nobleſt of your Anceſtors; and You (our Dear Friends of *Gaſcogne*) to be as "worthily deſcended from thoſe your Valiant and Loyal Fathers, who have heretofore truly and gallantly ſerved the King my Father, and his Predeceſſors in that his "Ancient Dukedom. I ſee the Marks of generous Indignation in your Viſage, I ſee "how highly you reſent the Affront, that a King of *France* dare deſpiſe thoſe Cou"rages, to which as yet no Labour ever ſeem'd painfull, no Army invincible, no Hill "inacceſſible, no Tower impregnable, no Humane Power formidable. I ſee in your "Faces, my Lords and Gentlemen, the perfect Reſemblance of thoſe undaunted Fa"thers, whoſe Courage hath frequently foiled theſe haughty *Frenchmen*, hath won "and waſted the Iſle of *Cyprus*, hath tamed the *Syracuſians*, *Calabrians*, *Saracens* and "*Paleſtinians*, and hath taught *Scotland* to receive our Yoke, and *Ireland* to grow "mild and tractable; and *Wales* to accept of our Laws.

[o] *Stow p. 260. &c.*

"Even Occaſion it ſelf, and Time, and Danger, and Deſpair, have both ſharpned the Wits of Dull Men, and enhanced the Courages of the Fearfull: How much "more now ſhould honour, the Love of your Country, and the deſire of the Wealthy "Spoil of theſe *Frenchmen* provoke your Noble Minds to ſurmount themſelves, and "to follow the laudable Example of your own Fathers?

"Wherefore follow your Standards with Reſolution, and obey your Chief Leaders, "both with a willing Mind and unwearied Body; that if Victory come with Life, we "may ſtill continue in firm and mutual Friendſhip: But if envious Fortune (which "God forbid) ſhould allot, that this Day we run the Race of all Fleſh, and that we "end together both Life and Labour; aſſure your ſelves, your Names ſhall not want "Eternal Renown; for thirſt whereof we alſo our ſelves together with theſe Gentlemen our Friends and Companions, are all reſolved to drink of the ſame Cup with "you. And we doubt not (thrô the Grace of God) but that unto Us it ſhall be a "Perpetual Name and Glory to have overcome this Day the Nobility of *France*. For "to be Conquer'd (which God forbid to be our Lot!) is not to be aſcribed to "the Greatneſs of Danger, but to the Want of Courage to receive or repell that "Danger.

Having ſpoke theſe Words, he perceived that there was an Hill hard by, which was ſurrounded at the Foot of the Aſcent with Hedges and Ditches; on the one ſide thereof ran

ran a fair Paſture-Field, bounded with many rough and high Buſhes; and on the other ſide it was all planted with Vines, but the reſidue was plain: On the farther ſide of this Hill he knew a Part of the *French* Army ſtood, and between the ſaid Hill and the *Engliſh* were great and low Valleys, and a piece of Mariſh ground. The young [p] Prince therefore commanded the Lord *John Greilly* Captal of *Buſche*, ſecretly to coaſt about under Covert of the Mountain with 300 Men of Arms, and as many Archers on Horſe-back, and coming behind the Enemy in the Heat of Action to ſtrike in upon their Backs. The Captal accordingly, having found a narrow Paſſage, entred the Valley and took the Hill, where [q] among the Buſhes he hid his Men, taking advantage of the Place, till the Armies ſhould be engaged. All the reſt [r] of the Prince's Order was known to King *John* already, but this being not taken Notice of, till juſt upon the Engagement, he was utterly ignorant thereof. And thô the *Engliſh* ſtood ſo cloſe within a ſmall ſpace of Ground, that to the *French* Spies they appear'd to be but one Battail; yet either they were deceived, or the Prince afterwards alter'd his Meaſures, and divided his Men into Three Small Battails (that ſo the more Hands might be ſet on work at a time) beſides that Detachment ſent forth under the Captal of *Buſche*. The Field, wherein the Prince with his Battail ſtood, was divided from the Plain, where the *French* Army lay, with a long Row of Hedges, and a Ditch flung up by the *Engliſh*, the one End whereof reached down to the Mariſh aforeſaid, and the other to the Hill; on the Hill ſide ſtood the Earl of *Warwick* Captain of the Van, and on the other ſide of the Hedge about a ſtones Caſt from the Lane ſtood the Reer, commanded by the Earls of *Saliſbury* and *Suffolk*: At the Lane's end was a pretty large Gap, within which ſtood the Prince of *Wales* with the Main Battail on Foot, down among the Vines, having cloſed the weaker part of his Field with the Carriages.

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[p] *Froiſ. c.* 161.
[q] *Stow p.* 261.
[r] *Froiſ. ibid.*

VIII. The Lord *John Chandos*, who was a moſt Valiant and Expert Knight, never ſtir'd from the Prince's ſide all that Day; no more did the Lord *James Audely* of a great while, till ſeeing the *French* Army advance, and knowing a Fight muſt needs enſue, he ſaid to the Prince, "[s] Sir, I have ever hitherto faithfully ſerved both my Lord "your Father, and your Royal Highneſs alſo, and ſhall do as long as I live. "This "Sir, I ſay, becauſe once I made a Vow, that the Firſt Battle, wherein either the "King your Father, or any of his Sons ſhould be Perſonally preſent, in that Battle I "would be the firſt Aggreſſor, or elſe die in the Endeavour: Therefore I now beg of "Your Highneſs, as in reward of whatever Service I did, or may do to the King your "Father, or your Self, that you would grant me Licence to leave you for a while, "and there to place my ſelf, where I may with moſt likelihood perform my Vow. To this ſo Honourable a Reſolution the Prince accorded with theſe Words, "Sir *James*, "God Almighty give you this day the Grace to approve your ſelf the beſt Knight of "all Others, and therewith ſhook him by the Hand. Thereupon the Lord *Audley* departed from the Prince on Horſeback, and went to the foremoſt Front of all the Battails, only attended with Four of his Eſquires, who were all Valiant and Choſen Men, and had promiſed not to fail him while they lived. But Sr. *James* was a moſt Courageous and Prudent Knight, by whoſe Advice much of the Order of the Army was ſettled the Day before; and now he ſtood with his Four Eſquires in the Front of the Battle ready to perform his Knightly Vow, with his Spear couched, and in his Left hand a Deep Shield charged with his Arms, [t] which were *Gules* a Fret *Or*; the ſame Arms being alſo embroider'd on his Satten Surcoat, which went over his Armour. So alſo the Lord *Euſtace Dambreticourt* of *Hainalt* had taken a Reſolution to be among the Foremoſt; of whoſe Succeſs, as well as of the Lord *Audley's*, we ſhall take notice by and by.

[s] *Froiſ. c.* 162. *fol.* 81. *a.* & *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 749.

[t] True Uſe of Armory *ex Bibl. Cotton. p.* 50. & *Aſhmole Knight. Garter Plate* 22.

Now the Battle began, the Marſhals approaching with their Men, and the 300 Choſen Horſe riding on before to break the Array of the Archers. They for their part made a gallant and reſolute entrance into the way; where on each ſide, the Hedges were thick lin'd with Bows. They when they ſaw theſe Men pretty far entred, powred in their ſhot upon them, galling them in the Flank and hinder parts eſpecially, and ſlew, and overturned, and wounded many Knights and Horſes. Which latter feeling the ſharp Arrows ſticking in their Bodies, and ſeeing them fly ſo about their Ears, would by no means go forward, but ſnorted, and bounced, and flounced, and drew back, and flang, and took on ſo fiercely, that many fell foul on their Maſters; ſo that for preſs and confuſion, they never could riſe again. However ſome of them, both Knights and Eſquires made ſhift to paſs the Archers that lin'd the Hedges, and came up to the Herſe of Archers, that ſtood in the Princes Front; but here they were re-

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ceived so hotly, that being not sufficient in Number, and the Marshals Battails failing to second them in time, those who were not slain with the Arrows, were cut in pieces by a Troop of Men of Arms, sent against them for that purpose. We spake before of a Brigade of *German* Cuirassiers, that stood aloof on Horseback ready to succour the Marshals Battails: It chanced, that the Lord *Eustace Dambreticourt*, being on Horseback in the *English* Front, laid his Spear in his Rest, and ran into that Battail, and was as roughly met by a Knight of *Almaine*, called the Lord *Lewis van Conci-bras*, who bare in a shield *Argent* Five Roses *Gules*, as the Lord *Eustace* bore in a [u] Field *Ermin* Three Hamets *Gules*. These two Valiant Gentlemen met with such a rude shock in the Front of the Armies, that both of them were reversed to the Earth; but the *Almaine* being wounded in the shoulder, was not able to rise so soon, as Sr. *Eustace*, who rising quickly, and taking his Breath a little, went with his sword drawn to the other Knight, as he lay on the ground; but then Five other *German* Knights came spurring upon him all at once, and with their Spears bore him to the Earth; for the Goodness of his Armour preserv'd his Body. So there he was taken Prisoner by force, and brought to the Earl of *Nassau*, who took no great heed of him then, and 'tis question'd, whether he was sworn Prisoner or no: But having bound him fast to a Chair, there they let him stand for that time.

[u] *Froiss. c. 162. and* True use of Armory *p.86. vid. Ashmole* at Plate 25.

The mean while the Lord *James Audley* with his Four Valiant Esquires, was in the Front of the Marshals Battail, doing Wonders in Arms, till by incredible Prowess he came to the Marshals Standard, where he fought with the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, and handled him cruelly; and still the Archers ply'd them with shot on each Flank, till thereby the Marshals Battail also began to be disorder'd both by their thick flights of Arrows, and also by those Men of Arms of *England*, who upon sight of their Confusion dash'd in furiously among them, and beat them down by heaps, and slew, and took Prisoners, and did what they listed. So that finally Sr. *Arnold D' Endreghan* was there taken Prisoner by other Men, than Sr. *James Audley*, or his Esquires, for none of them would once meddle to take any Prisoner, they only minded to hold together in making their way among their Enemies, till by their Extraordinary Valour [x] they brake thrô the whole Battail, causing no small slaughter, whereever they went.

[x] *Walsingh. hist. p.164. ad hunc annum n. 10. & Dugd. 1 Vol. p.749.*

IX. At the beginning of this Justing, while Marshal *D' Endreghan* stood still to behold the strength and skill of the young Gentlemen of either party, the other Marshal, the Lord *John Clermont*, thinking to enter at the Hedge-Gap, and so to come at the back of our Van, made haste thither; but the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who led the *English Reer*, and beheld his Motion, and guess'd his Design, posted to that Gap, which they fenced with an Hedge of steel, and so the Reer came to sustain the first main stress of the Battle. Here began a terrible Medley, the *Englishmen* of Arms laying on most Couragiously with Sword, Spear, and Battle-Ax, and the Archers at the same time notably bestirring themselves, and starting up from the safe Trenches in which they lay, powr'd forth their deadly shot over the Hedge upon the Enemy; insomuch, that they did more Execution with their Arrows, than the Men of Arms themselves. Here the Lord *Clermont* fought a while Valiantly under his own Banner, even as long as he could subsist; but at last he was beaten down, and could not be relieved, nor would the *English* take him to Ransom; but there he was slain without Mercy; which happen'd to him, as some say, upon the Lord *Chandos* his account, because of the High Words, he had given the day before. In this Battail of the Marshals there was *William* Earl of *Douglas*, who led [y] three Thousand *Scots*, who for the most part [z] were slain at this time, together with these Captains of Name, Sr. *Andrew Stuart*, Sr. *Robert Gourdon*, Sr. *Andrew Haliburton*, and Sr. *Andrew Vaux*. Earl *Douglas* being wounded with an Arrow in the Groine, fled out of the Field; for he feared to be taken by the *English*; but the Lord *Archimbald Douglas*, Son to the Lord *James Douglas*, who died in *Spain*, was taken Prisoner: Thô he that took him, let him go afterwards for a small Ransom, because Sr. *William Ramsey* of *Colluthie*, who was taken with him, bore it, as if the said *Archimbald* had been some poor and inconsiderable Fellow, causing him to pull off his Boots, and to do other such mean and servile Offices, as no way suited to a Person of any Rank or Quality, so that it might not be known who he was. But this by the by.

[y] *Holinshead Hist. Scotl. p. 243.*
[z] *Favine le Parisien's* Theater of Honour *l.5. c.3.p.80.*

With this terrible slaughter the Marshals Battails were wholly discomfited, for they fell foul on one another; whereby those who were behind, not being able to Advance forward, were obliged to recoil back in great Confusion to the Second Battail under the Duke of *Normandy*, at which time, while the *English* prest on them before, there

was

was a new Terrour added to them from behind: For now the Captal of *Buſche* came down a little Mountain on their backs with his 300 Archers, and as many Men of Arms; whereat the *Engliſh*, who ſaw the Banner of St. *George*, and the Captal's Enſign alſo (which [a] were *Or* a Croſs *Sable*, charged with five Eſcallops *Argent*) were ſo mightily encouraged, and the *French* ſo ſtrangely confounded, that immediately the ſtrength of that Battail alſo began to be ſhaken: Which Succeſs is chiefly attributed to the wonderfull Courage and Force of the *Engliſh* Archers, who ſhot ſo thick together on Front, Flank, and Reer, that the *French* knew not on which ſide to take heed, and ſo by little and little the *Engliſh* wan ground upon them. At which time, when the Lord *John Chandos* ſaw that the Firſt Battail was wholly diſcomfited, and the Second began to be diſorder'd and broken, he ſaid to the Prince, "Now my Lord, "take your Horſe and Ride forth upon the *French*, the Day is Yours; God is now in "Your Hand; let us march directly to the *French* Kings Battail, for there lies all the "ſtreſs of the Matter: I verily believe his High Courage will not ſuffer him to flinch. "So that I doubt not, but by the Grace of God and St. *George*, We ſhall win him, "provided he be well fought with. And Sir, I heard you ſay, that this Day, We "ſhould ſee You play the part of a good Knight. With that the Prince mounted his Horſe, commanding all his Men to do the like, and ſaid aloud, "Let Us go forth: "You ſhall not ſee me this Day to turn my Back; Advance Banner, in the Name of "God and St. *George*. His Standard-Bearer Sr. *Walter Woodland* did, as he was commanded, and then while the Trumpets ſounded a dreadfull Charge, the Men of Arms of *England* mounted on their Horſes, which they had all ready by them, and uniting cloſe together cried out triumphantly St. *George*, *Guienne*! And at that time all the Field over, the Battle waxed hotter than ever, and many a *Frenchman* was overthrown, and whoever was once down could not be relieved again without extraordinary Aſſiſtance. As the Prince of *Wales* rode forth thus in terrible Array, and was entring in among his Enemies, he ſaw on his right hand under a little Buſh the Lord *Robert Duras*, lying dead, with his Banner by him, and ten or twelve of his Men about him; whereupon the Prince ſpake to two of his Eſquires, and to three Archers, "Here "Sirs, take up the Body of this Knight upon a Target, and preſent it from me to "the Cardinal of *Perigort*, and tell him, I ſalute him by that token. This was done as the Prince commanded; for the Prince had been informed, as now he found, that the Cardinals Men were in the Field againſt him, which was not conſonant to the Decency of Religion: For Men of the Church, who are permitted to go too and fro about Treaties of Peace, ought not in Reaſon to bear Arms, or to fight for either of the Parties; but rather to be Indifferent, both themſelves and their ſervants. And becauſe theſe Men had not been ſo, the Prince was thus diſpleaſed with the Cardinal, and therefore ſent unto him the Body of his Nephew, the Lord *Robert Duras*. Preſently after the Chaſtelain of *Ampoſta* himſelf was taken alive, who was the Chief Captain of all the Cardinals Men; and therefore the Prince gave Command, that his Head ſhould be preſently ſtricken off: But then the Lord *Chandos* ſaid, "Sir, Be patient "for a while, and let Us intend now to a greater Matter; for perhaps the Cardinal will "ſo excuſe this Affair, as to give You ſatisfaction. With that the Prince came up to the Duke of *Athens*, Conſtable of *France*, where he found the *Engliſh* and *French* already engaged warmly; theſe fighting in Companies, and crying *Monjoy*, St. *Dennis*; and the *Engliſh*, who were in a ſmall cloſe Body, returning, St. *George*, *Guienne*. Upon the Princes Arrival the Duke of *Athens* was preſently ſlain, and all his Men diſcomfited, and then the Prince met with the Battail of *Germans* under the Conduct of the Earls of *Saltzburgh*, *Naſſau*, and *Neydo*; but theſe were immediately ſhatter'd and broken; the Archers ſhooting ſo wholly together, that none durſt abide them. There was the Earl of *Naſſau* taken Priſoner, but the two other Earls were ſlain, with many other Knights and Eſquires of their Company, few or none in that hurry being taken to Ranſom. And here the Lord *Euſtace D' Ambreticourt* was found tied faſt to a Chair, and unbound, reſcued, and remounted by his own Men, and he being thoroughly vext, that he had ſo long ſtood idle, did now many Worthy Feats of Arms, and took good Priſoners. When the Duke of *Normandy's* Battail, which was already hardly matched, and had the Captal of *Buſche* upon the Reer, beheld alſo the Victorious Prince of *Wales* approaching, they thought it beſt not to abide him, but to ſave themſelves, as ſoon as they might: And ſo the Duke and two other of the Kings Sons, who were but young, lightly believed their Tutors, and departed out of the Field, with more than 800 Spears in their Company, who had not ſtuck one ſtroak that day. But however the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle*, and the Lord *John de Santerre*, by

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[a] *Aſhmole's Garter* Plate 5. & True uſe of Armory *in Vitâ Captal de Buz. p.* 110.

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by ſome called *Ceintre*, accounted one of the beſt Men of Arms in *France*, would not fly on any pretence whatſoever, but ruſh'd into the thickeſt preaſs of the Battle.

The Kings Three Sons took the way to *Chauvigny*; but the Lord *John* of *Landas*, and the Lord *Theobald* of *Bodenay*, who were appointed to wait on the Dauphin of *Vienna*, when they had conducted the Three Princes a long League from the place of Battle, having charged the Lord of St. *Venant* not to leave them, till they were in ſafeguard, whereby he would better pleaſe the King, than if he aboad in Battle, took their leave of the *Dauphin*, intending to return to the Field again. In their way thither they met with the Duke of *Orleans*, and with him a great Company, who had alſo left the Field with clear hands; and yet there were among them many good Knights and Eſquires, who thô they were conſtrained to accompany their Maſters, had rather have died, than have done a thing themſelves ſo worthy of Reproach.

[b] *Stow p.262.*

Upon the *Dauphin's* Departure, there came [b] one to the *French* King and ſaid, "My "Lord, the Field is fallen to the *Engliſh*, and your Eldeſt Son is withdrawn out of the "Battle. At which the King ſaid with an Oath, "that he for his part would not "forſake the Field that day, without a notable Revenge; unleſs that he were either "taken or ſlain. Then the Standard-Bearers were Commanded to move forward, and preſently there appeared to the Prince of *Wales* two great Battalions of Armed Men, marching towards his ſmall Company. At the ſight whereof an old Counſellour, who ſtood near the Prince, was ſo extreamly diſcouraged, that he could not forbear crying out, "Alas! Poor Wretches; now are we utterly undone. But the Prince, who was full of Courage and Faith in *Chriſt*, check'd his Cowardiſe with theſe Words, "Thou "lieſt like a Daſtardly Fellow, as thou art; for We cannot be overcome, as long as I "am alive. And with that the Kings Battail came fiercely on the *Engliſh*, conſiſting of no leſs than 8000 Men of Arms, beſides footmen; but now the reſt of the *French* being clear'd, the *Engliſh* Marſhals, and the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, and *Suffolk*, with their wearied Battails joyned the Prince, having firſt ſupply'd the exhauſted Quivers of their Archers with Arrows drawn from the Bodies of Dead and Dying Enemies. And thus Armed with Neceſſity and Hope from their Proſperous Beginnings; a Few weary and wounded Men went on boldly to engage with a Numerous and Freſh Army. The Fight was Deſperate, and for a while well maintain'd on both ſides; for here were good Men of War, and the Kings Preſence Armed them with deeper Reſolution. The King and his Son *Philip* happen'd to oppoſe the *Engliſh* Marſhals, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, and *Suffolk*, and with them were now joyned all the *Gaſcogne* Lords, as the Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord of *Pamiers*, the Lord of *Mucidan*, and the reſt aforenamed. To the *French* Kings Battail there came back time enough, the Lord *John* of *Landas*, and the Lord of *Bodenay*, who with their Men alighted on foot, and like Valiant Gentlemen enter'd into the thickeſt of the Battle. On one hand of the King there fought the Noble Duke of *Bourbon*, who had with him many Valiant Knights of *Bourbonnois* and *Picardy*: Hard by were the *Poictevins* with the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Dampmartin*, the Lord of *Montalboto*, the Lord of *Surgeres*, the Lord *John de Santerre*, the Lord *Guiſchard D' Angle*, the Lord of *Argenton*, the Lord of *Lymiers*, the Lord of *Montendre*, the Lord *James* of *Beaujeu*, and the Lord *de Chaſtell Vilaine*. In another quarter fought the Earl of *Ventadour*, the Earl of *Monpenſer*, the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, the Lord *John* of *Artois*, and the Lord *James* his Brother, the Lord *Arnold de Cervoles*, commonly called the Arch-Prieſt, who was clad in the Armour of the young Earl of *Alenſon*; there tarried alſo ſtill in the Field the Lord *de la Torre*, the Lord of *Chalenton*, the Lord of *Montagre*, the Lord of *Rochefort*, the Lord *de la Charre*, the Lord *Dachone*, the Lord *Delmal*, the Lord *Norvel*, the Lord *Piers Buffiers*, the Lord *William Neſle*, the Lord *Arnold Reuel*, the Lord *Geoffry de St. Dizier*, the Lord *Guyventon de Chambley*, the Lord *Euſtace de Ribemont*, the Lord of *Holey*, the Lord of *Monſalt*, and many more too tedious to Name; and ſome place here with more probability the Earl *Douglas* and his *Scots*; who yet ſuffer'd, as before We have related.

[c] *Walſingh. Hypod. p. 124.*

On the *Engliſh* Part the Prince [c] of *Wales* was no leſs Remarkable for his Valour, than for his Place and Quality, performing both the Part of a Prudent and Carefull General, and alſo of an Approved and Experienced Souldier, adventering, trying and performing whatever might be expected from a perfect and exalted Courage. All his Captains did their Parts with much Bravery and Reſolution: Among whom the Lord *John Chandos* merited no ſmall Praiſe, both for his diſcreet Conduct and unwearied

tied Valour. 'Tis impoſſible to recount the Particulars of thoſe Noble Exploits, that were this Day performed by the Nobility of *England*: But this is certain, that as the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, *Oxford* and Others, were exceedingly remarkable in this Hot Service; ſo particularly the Noble Earl of *Warwick* fought ſo long, and with ſuch Fury, that his Hand was [d] galled with the exercise of his Sword and Poleax. Among others he himſelf took *William de Melun*, Archbiſhop of *Sens* Priſoner, for whoſe Ranſom alone he had afterwards no leſs than [e] 8000 Pounds. But all this Courage had been thrown away to no purpoſe, had it not been ſeconded by the extraordinary Gallantry of the *Engliſh* Archers, who behaved themſelves that Day with wonderfull Conſtancy, Alacrity and Reſolution: So that by their means in a manner all the *French* Battails received their firſt Foil, being by the barbed Arrows ſo galled and terrified, that they were eaſily opened to the Men of Arms. The Lord *James Audely* being ſtill followed by his Four Eſquires, fought all Day among the thickeſt Ranks of his Enemies, not without receiving many Wounds both in the Body and Viſage, as long as his Strength and Breath would hold; but when toward the end of the Battle his Eſquires perceived, that for loſs of Blood he began to faint, they carried him by main force out of the Field, and laid him under an Hedge hard by, where they unarmed him, and refreſhed him, binding up his Wounds as well as they could.

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[d] *Dudg. Warwickſhire p.317. & M.S. in Bibl.* Bodleian. *Cantuar. K.84,123 vid. Dudg. Bar. 1 Vol. p.233.*

[e] *Pat. 37. Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 25.*

King *John* of *France* for his part is allowed on all Hands, to have performed the Office both of a Good Captain and of a Valiant Knight; inſomuch, that it is ſaid, how if the Fourth Part of his Men had followed his Example, in all Probability the Victory had been his. There was [f] He on foot defending himſelf, and offending his Enemies with a weighty Ax of Steel in his Hands, which he uſed with much Praiſe. It is ſaid, [g] that Prince *Philip*, his youngeſt Son alſo, fought at this time ſo well by his Fathers ſide, and in his Defence (like another young *Scipio*) that thô he was taken at laſt Priſoner, yet for his forward Courage in War he obtain'd the Sirname of *HARDY*. Thô ſurely he muſt needs be now but of tender Age, being the Youngeſt of four Sons of a Father, who was but then [h] in the Forty fourth Year of his Age; and Prince *Charles* his Eldeſt Brother, was then but [i] Twenty. But it might be, that his Reſolution gave ſuch hopes even now, as to obtain the Title of *HARDY* from that Complementing Age, which called *Philip* of *Valois*, the *FORTUNATE*, and this King *John* the *GOOD*, and his Son *Charles*, whom no Truce nor Oaths could bind, the *WISE*. Yet I have ſeen another Account much more probable indeed, thô not ſo generally atteſted, how this Prince came by the Sirname of *HARDY*. 'Tis ſaid, that while he was Priſoner in *England*, together with his Father, King *John* being at King *Edwards* Table with him at Dinner, this young Prince *Philip* among Others of the Nobility of either Nation was appointed to wait: And that when a certain young Nobleman of *England*, who attended alſo, ſerved King *Edward* firſt, and then King *John*, this *Philip* up with his Fiſt, and gave him a Wherret on the Ear, ſaying, "*What dare* "*you ſerve the King of* England *firſt*, *when the King of* France *ſits at the Table?* The Nobleman offended therewith drew his Dagger, offering to ſtrike the young Prince, but King *Edward* loudly forbad him, and commending the Courage of the Royal Youth, ſaid to him in *French*, "*Vous eſtes Phillippe le HARDI*, *i. e.* thou art *Philip* the *HARDY*; from which that became his Sirname. But to return whence we have digreſſed.

[f] *Froiſ. c. 164.*

[g] *Paul. Æmyl. p. 287.*

[h] *An°* 1364. *An° Ætat. 52. ergo hoc an. 44. Mezeray p. 66.*

[i] *Natus Anno* 1336.

[k] *James Meyer apud Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p. 976.*

All this while the Prince of *Wales*, and the Lords about raged like Lions, and the Archers ſo well beſtowed their Shot, that the *Frenchmen* were at laſt broken here alſo, and a miſerable Slaughter enſued; all the beſt Men being either taken or ſlain, thô not a few choſe to ſave themſelves by Flight; among the ſlain were reckon'd [l] *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Athens* Conſtable of *France*, the Vicount of *Châlons*, the Marſhal *Clermont*, the Vicount of *Beauſe*, the Lord *Geoffry Charny*, who bore the Royal Standard this Day, the Lord *Euſtace Ribemont*, whom King *Edward* had ſo generouſly treated at *Calais* ſome Years before, the Lord *Guiſchard de Beaujeu*, the Lord [m] *Reginald de Carrian*, the Lord *William Neſle*, the Lord *de la Torre*, Sr. *Guyventon* of *Chambley* or *Chably*, the Lord of Caſtle-*Gaillon*, the Lord of *Argenton*, and Others of the Higheſt Quality, to the Number of [n] Fifty; beſides the two Earls of *Germany* and Others, whom we have ſhewn to be ſlain before. But yet this Battail was not wholly diſcomfited, it was ſo numerous, and the King and ſome Lords about him fought ſo couragiouſly, thô ſeveral of their Men fled away.

[l] *Froiſ. c. 162. Knighton p. 2614. n. 20. & Mezeray, &c.*

[m] *Du Serres p. 22. Fabian & Speed.*

[n] *Mezeray ibid.*

Among the various Rencounters, Chaces and Purſuits made that Day in the Field, [o] it happen'd, that Sr. *Edward Renty* a Valiant Knight of *Artois*, who yet had left the Fight, when he ſaw Things deſperate, was purſued as he fled a private way all alone, by

[o] *Froiſ. c. 163.*

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by a certain Knight of *England*, whose Name we cannot recover. The *Englishman* as he gave the Chace, still cried out after him, "Return again Sir Knight, it is a shame "to fly away so from a single Man. At last the *Frenchman* turned indeed, seeing it was so, that no Body else pursued him, and the *Englishman* thought to have stricken him in the Target with his Spear, but he failed: For Sr. *Edward* swerved aside from the stroke on purpose, and as he passed on in full Career, lent him such a full *Blow* on the Helmet with his Sword, that he was astonished, and fell from his Horse in a Swoon. Sr. *Edward* presently hereupon alighting, came to him with his Sword drawn, before he was fully recovered, and said, "Yield your self Sir, and promise to be my "Prisoner, whether you be rescued or no, or you are but a Dead Man. When the *English* Knight being come to himself, saw Death before him, and heard these Words, he accepted the Conditions, and yielded to go along with him, and sware himself Prisoner, and was afterwards released on payment of his Ransom.

That same Day another *French* Gentleman of *Picardy*, an Esquire named *John de Helenes*, having forsaken the Field, met with his Page who deliver'd him his Horse, whereon he rode away all alone. Now there was in the Fight on the *English* Side the Lord *Thomas Barkley*, Son of Sr. *Maurice Barkley* who died before *Calais* (for this Story cannot belong to the old Lord *Thomas*, nor to his Son *Maurice*, as we have intimated before; tho Sr. *William* [p] *Dugdale* thrô inadvertency makes him both young and old, and to have won many Prisoners, wherewith he built *Beverstone* Castle, and to be a Prisoner himself at the same time) this Lord *Barkley* I say, [q] being at that time a young lusty Knight, who had first reared his Banner that Day, pursued the said *John de Helenes* all alone, till having followed him the space of a League, the *French* Esquire turned back upon him, laying his Sword in his *Rest* instead of a Spear, and so came running toward the Lord *Barkley*, who the mean while stood ready with his Arm raised to have smote him, but the Esquire seeing the stroke coming turned from it, and as he passed reached him such a Blow on the *Vambrace* of his Sword Arm, that the Lord *Thomas* his Weapon not being chained, fell out of his Hand to the ground. Whereupon he alighted suddainly from his Horse at the place where his Sword lay, but as he stooped to take it up, the *French* Esquire pricked at him from his horse with his Rapier, and thrust him thrô both the Thighs (in which he was not armed) so that he fell down, not being able to help himself. Then *John* alighting first seised the *Englishman's* Sword, which lay still on the ground, and therewith came to him, demanding whether he would yield or no? Sr. *Thomas* said, "Who are you, that I may know "whether 'tis fit to yield, and what is your Name? "Sir said he, I am called *John de* "*Helenes*, and am an Esquire of *Picardy*; but who are you? Truly replied the Knight, "my Name is *Thomas*, and I am Lord of *Barkley*, a fair Castle on the River of *Severn* "in *Glouceſterſhire* upon the Marches of *Wales*. Well Sir, said the Esquire, then you "shall be my Prisoner, and I shall take care to heal you of your Hurts, and bring you to my House in safeguard. I am content said the Knight, for you have won me by the Law of Arms, and so he sware to be his Prisoner, Rescue or no Rescue. Then the Esquire drew forth his Sword out of the Knights Thighs, and the Wounds being open he carefully wrapped and bound them up, and set him on his Horse again, and so brought him fair and softly to *Chastelleraut* about four Leagues farther, where he tarried above a Fortnight for his sake, till the Cure was pretty forward: And then he hired him a Litter, and so brought him at his ease to his own House in *Picardy*. Here he tarried more than a Year, till he was perfectly whole; and upon his Departure he engaged to pay for his Ransom six thousand Nobles, for the payment of which Summ [r] *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord *Frank van Hall* became his Sureties; and so this Esquire was made a Knight by the Profit he had of the Lord *Berkley*. Surely the Rencounters of Love and War, as *Froissard* observes, are very variable: But especially this Battle of *Poictiers* was so full of sundry, strange and memorable Circumstances, that it is as difficult to recite them, as no doubt it would be pleasant to read them. But we shall pursue the end of the Matter, since we cannot attain to many more Particulars at this Distance, but what we have already drawn from Writers of that Age, and other Good Authorities.

[p] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 358.

[q] *Froiſ. c.* 163. & *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 358.

[r] *Ex Autographo apud Caſtrum de* Berkley. *vid. Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 358.

All this while the Battle endured, thô apparently now enclining to the *English*, for notwithstanding all those Great Men fell in Defence of the King their Master, as became Valiant Souldiers and Loyal Men, yet still the *French* King had a Knot of gallant Souls about him, who disputed the Point so well, as if they alone intended to attone for the Baseness of those, who by turning their Backs had lost the Day. But now the *English* and *Gascogne* Lords by their importunate Valour had beat down the Standard-

Royal

Royal of *France*, and ſlain the Bearer thereof, as we ſaid before; and while many of the Enemies diſcouraged hereat fled away toward *Poictiers*, they puſh'd on the Victory ſo home, that now they won the laſt Stake alſo. In the firſt Breaking of the Preſs near the King were taken the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, Earl of *Ponthieu*, the Lord *John* of *Artois*, Earl of *Ewe*, and *Charles* of *Artois* his Brother, Earl of *Tancarville*; theſe were taken under the Banner of the Lord *John Greilly*, Captal of *Buſche*, and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter; there were taken alſo the Captain of *Poictiers*, and the Seneſchal of St. *Omers*, the Lord of *Bodenay*, the Lord of *Ventador*, the Earl of *Vendoſme*, the Earl of *Mons*, and the Lord *Arnold Cervoles*, commonly called the Arch-prieſt, moſt grievouſly wounded; and many other Knights and Eſquires: At which time a great part of this Battail fled away, but were cloſely purſued by a Party of *Gaſcoigners* and *Engliſh* even unto the Gates of *Poictiers*. Here many were ſlain and beaten down Horſe and Man, for thoſe who defended the City, when they beheld the Enemy ſo near, cloſed their Gates upon their Friends for fear of being loſt themſelves. Wherefore in the ſtreet before the Gate was horrible Murther; ſo that the *Frenchmen* being now neither able to fly, nor to reſiſt, [f] yielded themſelves, as far as they might diſcern an *Engliſh* Man, whereby ſeveral Archers had four, five or ſix Priſoners apiece. The Lord of *Pons*, a great Baron of *Poicton*, was there beaten down in the ſtreet and ſlain, with many other Lords, Knights and Eſquires.

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[f] *Frioſ. c.* 164.

The mean while the Kings Battail was grievouſly handled; and there were taken about the Kings Perſon the Earl of *Rochechoüart*, the Vicount of *Narbon*, the Lord of *Xaintogne*, the Lord of *Montendre*, the Lord *John Santerre*, who had the repute of one of the beſt Knights in *France*, but he was ſo very much hurt, that he never had his Health after. There fell among the Dead the Lord *Guiſchard D' Angle*, who was afterwards recover'd, and leaving the *French* Side, became a Valiant Servant to King *Edward*, and at the Coronation of his Succeſſor, was made Earl of *Huntington*; and in King *Edwards* Time Knight of the Garter: But this Day he fought with ſingular Valour, even to the hazard of his Life, by the *French* Kings ſide. But the Lord *Geoffry Charny* before he dy'd, had an whole Tempeſt of War thundring upon him, till he fell beneath it; for all the Force of the *Engliſh* preſs'd upon him, becauſe he bare the Kings Standard-Royal; and beſides he had in the Field a Banner of his own, which was *Gules*, Three Eſchutcheons *Argent*.

But now the *French* Kings Battail was quite open'd, whereby the *Frenchmen* were ſo mingled among their Enemies, that ſometimes one Gentleman of *France*, had four or five Men upon him at once. There the Lord of *Pompador* was taken Priſoner by the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, and the Earl of *Dammartin* was ſlain by the Lord *Reginald Cobham*; and among 'um the Valiant Lord *Geoffry Charny* was there wounded to Death, with whom the Standard of *France* alſo fell to the ground. Then every Man preſs'd hard to take the King, and ſuch as knew him, cry'd out, "*Sir, yield your* "*ſelf, or You are but Dead.* There was then among the *Engliſh* a Knight of *Artois*, retain'd for Wages in the King of *England's* ſervice, called Sr. *Dennis* of *Morbeque*, who had ſerved King *Edward* about five Years, becauſe in his Youth he was fain to fly the Realm of *France* for a Murder, that he had committed at St. *Omers*. It happen'd ſo well for this Man, that he was near the King, when he was e'n ready to be taken; wherefore he ſtept forth into the Preaſs, and by the ſtrength of his Body and Arms, made way up to the *French* King, and ſaid in good *French*, "*Sir, yield your* "*Perſon.* The King looking on him ſaid, "*To whom ſhall I yield? And where is* "*my Couſin, the Prince of* WALES? *If I might ſee him, I would ſpeak with him.* Sr. *Denis* anſwer'd, "*Sir, he is not hereabout; but if it pleaſe You to yield to me, I* "*ſhall bring You to him. Why? Who are you then*, ſaid the King? Sir (ſaid he) *I am* "Denis *of* Morbeque, *a Knight of* Artois; *but I now ſerve the King of* England; "*becauſe I am baniſhed the Realm of* France, *and have forfeited all I had there.* Then the King gave him his Right Gauntlet ſaying, "*Unto you I yield my ſelf.* But ſtill there was ſo great a Crowding among thoſe, who pretended to have taken him, that the King and his youngeſt Son *Philip*, who now ſhared in his Fathers Fortune, could not be ſuffer'd to go forward.

The mean while the Prince of *Wales*, who was Couragious as a Lion, took great Delight and Pleaſure all that Day, to Fight and break the Power of his Enemies; and ſo did the Lord *John Chandos*, who never ſtirr'd from the Prince's ſide all the time of the Fight: He never troubled himſelf to take any Priſoners, thô never ſo Rich, but leaving that as too mean a Conſideration for him, he wholly apply'd himſelf to Fighting, and Chacing, and Deſtroying the *Frenchmen*. Whereever any ſtrong Body of the

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the Enemy appear'd, thither went the Prince and my Lord *Chandos*, and brake their Ranks, and brought them to Confuſion, and then leaving others to perfect the Conqueſt, they removed to another Quarter, where they did the like. Thus the Noble Prince of *Wales* had much trouble and pains, before he won the Garland; but toward the end of all, about the time that King *John* was taken, the Lord *Chandos* ſaid unto him, "Sir, methinks it would be convenient for your Highneſs to reſt here a little, "and to ſet up your Standard on High in this Buſh, that your Men may draw hither "about your Perſon; for they are very much ſcatter'd abroad: And I can ſee no more "Banners nor Penons of the *French* in the Field. Wherefore pleaſe Sir to take ſome "reſt now, and refreſh your ſelf a little: For You are too much heated and chafed with "this Days ſervice.

Hereupon Sr. *Walter Woodland* was order'd to ſet up the Prince's Standard on High in the Buſh, and Trumpets and Clarions began to ſound a Retreat, and the Captains haſted to obey the Summons. The mean while the Prince pull'd off his Helmet, and the Knights of his Body, and thoſe of his Chamber were ready about him, and a Pavilion of Red Silk was pitch'd up for him; and then Drink was brought forth for the Prince, and ſuch Lords as were about him, whoſe Number ſtill encreaſed; and as they return'd from the Chace, there they tarried with their Priſoners in their Company. When the two Marſhals were come back to the Prince, he demanded of them, "*whether they knew any tidings of the* French *King*. They anſwer'd, "*Sir, We* "*hear of nothing certain as to that Point; but We verily believe he is either Dead or* "*taken; for We are ſure, he is not gone out of the Field.* Then the Prince ſaid to the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Cobham*, "*Sirs, I require You to ride forth and* "*learn what You can as to this Matter, that at Your return We may know the Certainty.* Theſe two Lords took their Horſes again, and departed with an Hundred Spears from the Prince, and rode up a little Hill to view more plainly about them over the Field: From whence they might perceive a Flock of Men of Arms coming together toward them very wearily. Now among theſe was the *French* King on foot in great Danger of his Life; for the *Engliſhmen* and *Gaſcoigners*, who had taken him perforce from Sr. *Denis* of *Morbeque*, were now his Maſters, and among theſe ſome ſaid, "*I have* "*taken him*; nay, ſaid others, *but I, and I, and I have taken him*; and thus the Chief Men, and thoſe of moſt Power contended about him. Wherefore He to avoid the Danger that might enſue, ſaid, "*Pray Gentlemen, contend not thus about me; but* "*Conduct me and my Son Civilly to my Couſin, the Prince, and concern not your ſelves,* "*who it was that took me: For I am ſo great a Lord, as to be able to Enrich you all,* "*who make any ſuch pretence.* Theſe Words ſomewhat pacified them; but yet as they went along, they could not forbear making a noiſe, and a brawling about the taking of the King. But when the two foreſaid Lords of *England* ſaw, and heard that noiſe and ſtrife among them; they rode up to them and ſaid, "*Sirs, what is the Mat-* "*ter, that You contend ſo one with another? My Lords,* ſaid one of them, *it is for the* "French *King, who is here taken Priſoner; and there are more, than Ten Knights and* "*Eſquires, who challenge to themſelves the Taking of Him.* Then the two Marſhals open'd the Preaſs, and commanded aloud in the Prince's Name, that no Man whatſoever be ſo hardy, to make any noiſe, or to approach the Kings Perſon, unleſs they were ſo ordered. Then every Man made way for the Marſhals, and they alighted, and did Reverence to the King, and after that conducted Him and his Son in Peace and Safety to the Prince of *Wales*.

X. Now this mean while, [t] that the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Cobham* were ſent away by the Prince to enquire after the *French* King, the Prince demanded of the Lords about him, if any of them knew, what was become of the Lord *James Audley*; and it was told him, that being grievouſly wounded, He lay there in a Litter hard by. "*By my Faith,* ſaid the Prince, *for his Hurts I am heartily ſorry, but go and ſee, if he* "*can conveniently and without Danger be brought hither, or elſe I will make him a Vi-* "*ſit, where he lies.* At this, two of the Princes Knights went to the Lord *Audley*, and ſaid, "*Sir, the Prince deſires mightily to ſee You, and if You can't go to him, he ſays, he'll come hither to You. Ah! ſirs,* ſaid the wounded Knight, *I heartily thank the Prince,* "*that he would vouchſafe to think on ſo mean a Souldier as I am*: And therewithall he called Eight of his ſervants, and cauſed them to carry him ſoftly in his Litter, where the Prince was. When the Prince ſaw him, he took him in his Arms and kiſſed and careſs'd him highly, ſaying, "*Sr.* James, *I ought in eſpecial manner to Honour You:* "*For by your Valour this day You have merited the High Eſteem of Us all, and You* "*are juſtly reputed the moſt Heroick and Courageous of all others. Ah! Sir* (ſaid the "Knight)

[t] *Froiſ. c.* 165.

"Knight) *You say as it pleaseth You! I would it were so indeed; but alas! if I have* AN. DOM.
"*this day done any thing beyond my ordinary way in the service of such a Prince, and to* 1356.
"*accomplish my Vow, it ought not to be ascribed to any particular Prowess in me.*" Sr. An. Regni
"*James* (said the Prince) *both I my self, and all others acknowledge You in the Busi-* *Angliæ*
"*ness of this Day to have been the best Doer in Arms: Wherefore with intent to furnish* XXX.
"*You the better to pursue the Wars, I retain You for ever to be my Knight with* 500 *Franciæ*
"*Marks yearly Revenues, which I shall Assign You out of my Inheritance in* England. XVII.
"*Sir* (said the Knight) *God grant, that I may do nothing unworthy the Grace, You*
"*are pleased to shew me.* And so they parted; for he was at that time so very Weak, that the Prince would not suffer him any longer to hazard so Dear an Health.

Just as the Lord *Audley* was carried back to his own Lodgings, the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Cobham* return'd to the Prince, and presented the *French* King unto Him. The Prince for his part, not at all puffed up with so extraordinary Success, made his Reverence humbly to the King, and caused Wine and Spices to be brought forth, and he himself would needs serve the King in token of his Respect.

Thus [u] was this Memorable Battle won in the Fields of *Beauvoir* and *Maupertuis*, about two Leagues from the City of *Poictiers*, on the 19 day of *September*, being a *Monday*, in the Year of Grace MCCCLVI. It began about Nine in the Morning, and ended a little after Noon: But all the *English* were not return'd from the Chace till almost Night; wherefore the Prince's Banner was advanced aloft on a Bush, to direct his Men thitherward. There were slain at that time (as is reported by many sufficient Authors, as well *Frenchmen*, as others) the Chief and the most Valiant of the Nobility of *France*, [x] among whom were two Dukes, Nineteen Earls, Five Thousand, or as some say, Six Thousand Men of Arms, [y] those of the Common sort not being Numbred, tho some reckon them about 8000 more; the Chief of the slain were afterwards [z] buried in the Convent of the *Jacobins* at *Poictiers*, and their Arms painted in many places there. But the slaughter was however far less here, than at *Cressy*; because the *English* were not half so Numerous now, and the Prince would not too far pursue the Chace, till he had compleated the Victory; by which time all of the worser sort had quitted the Field, and those of the Better, were either slain or taken. The Place of Battle was left free to the *English*, the Dead Bodies solely at the Dispose of the Conquerour, and more than [a] an Hundred Warlike Ensigns were brought away in Triumph. When the *English* were all return'd from the Chace, they found how they had twice as many Prisoners as themselves were, whereof there were the *French* King, and the Lord *Philip* his Son, seventeen Earls, besides Barons, Knights, and Esquires, to the Number of [b] 1500, or as others say, [c] 2000 Men of Arms. Wherefore 'twas advised among them, because of the great Charge and Danger of keeping so many; that they should put several of them to Ransom in the Field immediately, as was done. And here the Prisoners found the *Englishmen* and *Gascoigners* very Courteous; for many were let go only upon their Faith and Troth to return again between that and *Christmas* to *Bourdeaux*, with their appointed Ransoms. And the Ransoms were all very easie and reasonable; for the *English* said, [d] "*They would not set so high a Price upon a Knight* "*or Gentleman; but that he might still be left able to live after his Rank, and to follow the* "*Wars in an equipage agreeable to his Quality.*

That Night the Army encamped hard by the Place of Battle, having disarmed all their Prisoners, and appointed certain in every Quarter to be ready with their Arms, besides the usual Watches. And every Man made much of his Prisoners; for whoever had taken any Captive that Day, he had him clearly for himself, either to acquit or Ransom him at his pleasure: Except only the *French* King and his Son, or whoever else, whose Ransom came to more, than 10000 Crowns: For by [e] Law of Arms, those, whose Redemption exceeds that Summ, belong to the King.

All the Prince's Men were enriched, as well by Ransoming, as by the Spoil of the Field, which they found there, consisting of Gold, Silver, Plate, and Jewels, besides Horses, Armour, and what they found about the Dead. But as then no Man valued Rich Harness, whereof there was great plenty left in the Field; for the *Frenchmen* [f] came thither in their best Furniture and Apparel, as making sure of the Day.

Now when the Lord *James Audley* was brought back to his Lodgings, his Wounds being well dress'd, and he something better refreshed of his labour and loss of blood, he sent presently for his Brother Sr. *Peter Audley*, for the Lord *Bartholomew Burwash*, the Lord *John Willoughby* of *Eresby*, the Lord [g] *William Ferrers* of *Groby*, and Sr. *Ste-*

[u] *Froiss. c. 164. Mezeray, Du Chesne, Sandford, Ashmole, Fabian, Labbe, &c.* CB Lit. Dom.

[x] *Walsing. hist. p. 164. Froiss. c. 164. Paul. Æmyl. p. 287. Pol. Virgil. p. 381. Mezeray p. 45. Du Chesne, Ashmole p. 672. Fox Acts & Mon. p. 357.*

[y] *Walsing. ibid. n. 28.*

[z] *Du Chesne p. 677. C.*

[a] *Pol. Virgil. p. 381. Du Serres ad hunc annum p. 22.*

[b] *Paul. Æmyl. p. 287.*

[c] *Walsingh. hist. p. 164.*

[d] *Froiss. c. 169. fol. 84. b.*

[e] *Selden's Mare Clausum l. 1. c. 26. p. 171.*

[f] *Froiss. c. 167. fol. 84. a.*

[g] *Hic* William *Lego pro Froiss.* Ralph *ex Dug. 1 Vol. p. 268.*

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phen Coſſington, all being his Kinſmen and Allies; and then he ſent alſo for his Four Eſquires, who had ſerved him that Day ſo Loyally, and with ſo much Valour, and whoſe Names for Honour ſake I ſhall here remember, [h] Eſquire *Delves* of *Doddington*, Eſquire *Dutton* of *Dutton*, Eſquire *Fowlehurſt* of *Crew*, and Eſquire *Hawkeſton* of *Wrynehill*, all *Cheſhire*-Men; and from Eſquire *Delves* is Deſcended in a Right Line the Worſhipfull Sr. *Thomas Delves* of *Doddington* in *Cheſhire* Baronet, now living, in whoſe Houſe are ſtill to be ſeen, as a Memorial of the Action of this Day, the Statues of the *Black-Prince*, of my Lord *Audley*, and of the Four Eſquires aforeſaid.

[h] *Aſhmole's Garter p.705. ex Lib. M.S. penes* W. Flower *nuper* Norroy *Reg. Armorum.*

When theſe Hardy and Faithfull Eſquires were come into the Tent of the Lord *James Audley*, he ſaid unto his Relations, the Lords abovenamed, "*Gentlemen, it* "*hath pleaſed my Lord, the Prince, to give unto me Five Hundred Marks of Yearly* "*Revenue; for which Gift I have done him but ſmall ſervice with my Body. Pray* "*now, obſerve theſe Four Eſquires, who have all along ſerved me Faithfully, and eſpe-* "*cially this Day; ſo that the Honour which I have obtained, was both purchaſed and* "*ſecur'd unto me by their Valour. In reward whereof I hereby give and reſign into* "*their Hands the ſaid Gift of* 500 *Marks, which my Lord the Prince hath given me,* "*(to be divided among them by Equal Portions) in like manner as the Prince gave it* "*unto me: I utterly diſinherit my ſelf thereof, and Endow them therewith without any* "*Condition or Repeal.* The Lords and all that were preſent beheld each other, and ſaid among themſelves, *how it proceeded of a Generous Mind, to beſtow ſo Honourable a Gift ſo freely*, and ſo they anſwer'd him with one Voice, "*Sir, be it with You, as it* "*ſhall pleaſe God: However We ſhall all bear Witneſs of this Your Deed of Gift, where-* "*ever we are.*

XI. With that they all left him to his Repoſe, and ſome of them return'd to wait upon the Prince of *Wales*, who intended that Night to make a Magnificent Supper for the *French* King, and others, who were Priſoners of the Higheſt Quality: And this he might eaſily do now, as being ſufficiently furniſh'd with all manner of Proviſion, ſuch as the *French* had brought with them. Whereas before this his Men wanted Victuals ſo greatly, that ſome of them had not of three days taſted any good Bread. So that the [i] Raſhneſs of King *John* was notorious, who would needs give them Battle; whereas by holding them Beſieged in the place where they were, it was believed, he might have enforced them to yield, or at leaſt, by depriving them of their Advantagious Poſt, have obtained a Victory over them.

[i] *Du Cheſne p. 676. D.*

That [k] ſame Night therefore the Prince had a Magnificent Supper in his Pavilion, for Honour of the *French* King, and the Chief of the Lords, his Priſoners. He obliged the *French King* to ſit in his own Chair of State at the Head of the Table, and together with him, he cauſed his Son *Philip* to ſit down, as alſo the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, Earl of *Ponthieu*, the Lord *John* of *Artois* Earl of *Ewe*, and the Lord *Charles* of *Artois* his Brother, Earl of *Tancarville*, being all of the Royal-Blood of *France*: Beſides whom there ſat the Earl of *Eſtampes*, the Earl of *Graville*, the Lord of *Partenay* and ſome few more, at the Kings Table; and the other Lords, Knights, and Eſquires of *France*, ſuch as were not wounded, ſat at other Tables. And all Supper-time the Prince [l] would needs ſerve in his own Perſon before the King in as Humble and Reſpectfull Manner, as he could deviſe, and for all the King could ſay, would not ſit down, affirming, "*That he was not Worthy to ſit down with ſo Mighty a Monarch, as* "*the King was.*

[k] *Froiſ. c. 168. fol. 84.*

[l] *Matth. Villani l. 7. c. 20. Mezeray, Froiſ. &c.*

But when for all this he perceived, that the Kings Countenance was too much caſt down, he attempted to raiſe his Spirits with ſuch Words as theſe, [m]

[m] *Du Cheſne p. 678. Paul. Æmyl p. 287. Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p. 960. apud quos omnes tota hæc Oratio.*

"*Sir, there is no cauſe, that You, who are the moſt Brave and Valiant among* Chriſtian *Kings, ſhould continue thus Penſive and Troubled: Althô at this time your Arms* "*have not been favour'd by Him, in whoſe Diſpoſe all Battles are. For ſtill your Ge-* "*neroſity is acknowledged, Your Dignity preſerved, and Your Majeſty held Sacred, and* "*whatſoever elſe was truly Yours, remaineth ſtill entire, neither to be violated, nor em-* "*paired by Time or any other Force. God Almighty hath ordained, that as all other* "*things, ſo the Fortune of War ſhould remain in his Hands alone. Your Progenitors* "*have atchieved many Glorious Enterpriſes, as well by Sea as by Land: The whole* "*Compaſs of* Europe, *all the* Eaſt, *all Realms and Countries both far and near, are* "*filled with the Trophies and Victories of* France. *The Faith and Grandeur of the* "Chriſtian *Name have by your Predeceſſors and their Subjects, been defended and propa-* "*gated againſt the moſt Mighty and Puiſſant Captains of the Infidels. Your Valour and* "*the Reputation of your Arms are Celebrated and Renowned thrô the whole World: There*

is

"*is no Nation that doth not confess its Obligations to the* French, *and no People, that may* AN. DOM. 1356.
"*not yet expect to be beholding to their Favours.*

"*Perhaps among so many innumerable Triumphs, One or Two Battles have succeeded a* An. Regni
"*little otherwise than you would: The Usual Instability of Fortune would have it so, which* Angliæ
"*sometimes baffles the Force of Multitudes, and Conquers the Opposition of Men, Horse,* XXX.
"*and Armour. But it lies in the Power of your own Magnanimity to harden your Soul against* Franciæ
"*Adversity, and to keep your own Mind still unconquer'd.* XVII.

"*Nor shall this Day detract any thing from you or yours; for as for my part I pro-*
"*mise you, that this Realm of* France, *in which we are, and which hath produced and*
"*nourished many of my Progenitors, shall find me Gratefull to Her, and mindfull of*
"*my Original, and toward your Majesty (if you will permit me to glory in that Title)*
"*a most humble and respectfull Kinsman.*

"*There are many Reasons to preserve Love and Friendship betwixt You and my Fa-*
"*ther, which I hope will be not a little prevalent: For I know well the most intimate*
"*Thoughts and Affections of his Mind; and that You will easily come to a reasonable A-*
"*greement with Him. And as for me, may he then refuse to own me for his Son, when*
"*I cease to hold you in the same degree of Reverence, Honour and Respect, which I ow*
"*unto his own Person.*

This wonderfull Submission in a Conquerour, a Young Prince, little more than five and twenty Years of Age, did almost melt the unfortunate Captive to Affectionate Tears. The *French* Lords, who saw him so humble in so high a Gale of Prosperity, and heard the Generous Language he so obligingly utter'd, [n] began to say softly among themselves, "*That he had spoken nobly, and that in all probability, he would prove*
"*a most Accomplish'd Prince, if God would grant him to live, and to persevere in the same*
"*good Fortune.*

[n] *Froiss. c. 168.*

King *John* saw [o] plainly now, that at least he was not unhappy in this, that he had fallen into the Hands of a most obliging Conquerour: And thô inwardly afflicted in his Mind, he forced himself to a civil Smile, and looking obligingly to the Prince, he said, "[p] *Thô it hath*
"*been our Chance to fall into an inconsoleable Sorrow, yet for all that (Kind Cousin) We think*
"*it becomes us to smother our Griefs as much as we may, since thô by the Law of Arms,*
"*and the Chance of War, We be under the Subjection of another; yet it is under so Wor-*
"*thy a Prince as your Self, by whom to be vanquish'd is no Dishonour: Especially since*
"*we were not, as Cowards or faint-hearted Runnagates, taken in flight or lying hid in a*
"*corner, but in the open Field with Sword in Hand, where we were as ready to die as to*
"*live, in defence of Justice.* The [q] Prince replied, "*Sir, methinks you for your part*
"*ought rather to rejoyce, thô all things did not fall out according to your Wish: For this*
"*very Day You have won the high Renown of Personal Valour above all Others, that*
"*bore Arms on your Side. Sir, I say not this to flatter your Sorrow, or to deride You;*
"*for all the Captains on our side, that saw what every one did, are unanimously agreed*
"*by just Sentence to award the Prize and Chaplet of Eminence unto your Majesties*
"*Person.* Thus much all the *English* Lords that were with the Prince sincerely protested upon their Honours; and then some *French* Lords in Civility, speaking of the Lord *James Audely*, whom they heard to be grievously wounded; [r] King *John* said,
"*That among all other Valiant Worthies, whom he had seen and heard of that Day on*
"*either Part, he did both greatly admire, and more especially approve of the noble and*
"*couragious Exploits of that Valiant Lord.* And more than this he spake not all Supper-time, except some short obliging Words, which now and then he utter'd to the Prince, who all the while waited at his Elbow. And of this generous Behaviour of that *English* Heroe, we have been the more bold to speak thus largely; not only because it is most true, being acknowledged by [s] all the *French* Writers themselves, but becaufe it is an excellent Pattern for all other Princes to follow; since Prosperity is so uncertain, and Humility and Moderation make so winning a Character; whereas Pride sullies the brightest Glories, and blasts the most verdant Laurels.

[o] *P. Æmyl. p. 288.*
[p] *Stow p. 263.*
[q] *Froiss. c. 168. fol. 84. b.*
[r] *Stow p. 263. a.*
[s] *Froiss. Du Chesn. Mezeray, P. Æmyl. Du Serres, & Matt. Villani l. 7. c. 20. vid. Oder. Rainald. ad hunc annum § 9.*

Supper being ended, [t] every one retired to his Lodging with his Prisoners, and then again they releafed several upon their Parole, whom the next Morning they permitted to depart on as easie Conditions as others enjoyed the Day before.

[t] *Froiss. c. 169.*

XII. Early the next Morning, while certain Heralds were sent out to view the Number and Quality of the Dead, the Prince having heard Mass publiquely in the Field, and caused [u] Thanks to be rendred to Almighty God for so signal a Victory, gave his Men time to take their Repast; and after that, in [x] sight of all the Captives, both highly commended and amply rewarded his Souldiers; And by that time all things being trussed up and ready, a March was sounded, and the Prince rode forth, taking the way toward *Poctiers*.

[u] *Pol. Virgil. l. 19. p. 381. n. 14. & Froiss. c. 169.*
[x] *Pol. Virgil. ibid. n. 15.*

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The Night before there came to that City the Lord of *Roye* with an hundred Spears: He was not at the Battle, but as he was riding thitherward, he met the Duke of *Normandy* near to *Chauvigny*, who ſent him to *Poictiers*, with Charge to keep the Town, till he ſhould hear to the Contrary. When this Lord therefore being now in the Place, heard that the *Engliſh* Army was ſo near, and marching toward the City, he commanded all Men to Arms, and to haſte to their ſeveral Defences at the Walls, Gates and Towers. But the Prince paſſed by without the leaſt offer of Attempting them, either as [y] one ſays, mindfull of his Word to King *John*, for neither did he commit any more Hoſtility thrô all the way he went, or becauſe he was already ſo laden with Gold, Silver, Armour, Priſoners and other Carriages, that he thought it enough for this time, if he might bring all home ſecurely, together with the Perſon of the *French* King, which he valued far above all the other Riches he had won. Wherefore he took but ſmall journeys, not above four or five Leagues a Day, and always took up his Quarters betimes, and rode ever in Cloſe Order, ready arrayed for Battle; ſave only, that the Marſhals went on before, ſcouring the Country with 500 Men of Arms, to open the Paſſages where the Prince intended to go; but they met with no Body to encounter or impeach them, the whole Country was ſo terrified, and all Men of War were retired into ſtrong Holds.

[y] *Pau. Æmyl. p.* 258.

As thus the Prince of *Wales* rode along leiſurely, [z] he heard how the Lord *Audely* had diſtributed among his Four Eſquires, the Gift which he had given him of five hundred Marks *per annum*. Whereupon the Prince ſent for him, and he was brought in his Litter unto Him, and received very courteouſly at his hands; but by and by ſaid the Prince, "*Sir* James, *We underſtand, that aſſoon as you were got to your Tent laſt* "*night, you diſpoſed of the Revenues we gave you, to Four of your Eſquires. We are* "*therefore deſirous to know why you did ſo; and whether our Gift was agreeable to you* "*or no?* Sir (ſaid the Knight) *It is true, that I have given it unto them, and now* "*I ſhall ſhew you the Reaſon why I did ſo. Theſe four Eſquires, that are here preſent,* "*have a long while ſerved me in many weighty Affairs, but Sir, in this laſt Battle they* "*ſtuck to me ſo ſurely, that if they had never done any thing elſe for me, I ought to* "*have been not a little Gratefull unto them. For Sir, I am but a ſingle Man, and yet by* "*their Aſſiſtance and faithfull Valour, I took upon me to accompliſh the Vow, which I* "*had made long ſince, and now am alive after I have performed it; whereas without* "*them I had ſurely died in the Enterpriſe. Wherefore Sir, when I conſidered the Love,* "*that they bear unto me, I had not been Courteous if I had not done well for them,* "*who have ſo well ſerved me, even as your Royal Highneſs hath ſet me an Example.* "*And (God be thanked) I have ſtill ſufficient Revenues left me by my Anceſtors to* "*maintain me according to my Quality in your Service. But Royal Sir, if I have done* "*this againſt your Pleaſure, I humbly requeſt your Pardon: For both I and my Eſ-* "*quires are ſtill as wholly devoted to your Service, as ever We were.* At this the "Prince looking kindly on him, ſaid, "*Sir* James, *I am ſo far from blaming any* "*thing that you have done in this Caſe, that I thank you heartily for it: And for the* "*Sake of theſe Valiant Eſquires, whom you praiſe ſo highly, I conſent that they* "*enjoy your Gift as you intended: But Sr.* James, *I muſt oblige you to accept of me* "*ſix hundred Marks more in the ſame manner, as I gave you the other.*

[z] *Froiſ. c.* 169. *& Cambden's Remains p.* 238. *Dudg.* 1 *Vol. p.* 745. *& Aſhmole's Garter p.* 705.

Thus far *Froiſard*; and for Confirmation of his Report, it appears from the Teſtimony of our [a] Publique Records, that this Lord *Audely* for his ſingular Services at that time, had a Grant from that Renowned Prince of four hundred Pounds *per Annum*; which Grant was afterwards confirmed unto him by the King during Life, and for a Twelve-month after, to be received out of the Coynage of the Stanneries in *Cornwall*, and the Prince's Lands in that County.

[a] 3 May *Pat.* 33. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 2. *m.* 14. *per* Inſpeximus. *Vid. Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 749. *& Aſhm. Garter p.* 705.

After this Manner did this Generous *Engliſh* Prince by his Liberality as well as Valour, take timely Care not only to render thoſe who ſerved him like Himſelf, but alſo to build a ſtrong Foundation of an Honourable Name, which ſhould be venerable to late Poſterity.

XIII. And thus did *Edward* the *BLACK-PRINCE* (now doubly dyed Black by the Terrour of his Arms) continue his March without [b] the leaſt Oppoſition thrô *Poictou* and *Saintogne*, till he came to *Blaye*, where he paſſed over the River *Garonne*, and ſo came in Safety and Honour to his Chief City of *Bourdeaux*. It can hardly be imagin'd, with what extravagant Joy and Triumph, and Honourable Feaſtings, and ſplendid Pageants this Victorious Prince was received into that City, both by the Clergy and Laity, all Sorts of People extolling his Praiſe, and rejoycing in his Preſence. From hence the [c] Prince wrote Letters into *England* to the King his Father, giving him

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 169.

[c] *Polyd. Virgil. p.* 381.

him a full, but modeſt, Account of his Succeſs, and promiſing (God willing) the next Spring to bring over his Royal Priſoner into *England*: For by that Time he would have his Navy well equipped and furniſhed with Men of War. King *Edward* was wonderfully pleaſed with this extraordinary Succeſs of his Sons; but when the News of the Victory was divulged among the People, Men were almoſt beſide themſelves for Joy, the Conduits ran with Wine, Bonfires were continually flaming, Songs and Muſick, Plays, Feaſts and Wakes were in all Places. Thus the Vulgar. But the King [d] Himſelf like a Wiſe and Religious Prince, who knew the Inſtability of Fortune (even before he felt it Himſelf) by the Example of the *French* Kings ſo ſuddain and unexpected Fall, not only return'd his own Thanks to God Almighty for ſo ſignal a Victory, [e] but ſummon'd his Lords together, to whom he ſeriouſly declared, that this Victory was not obtain'd by any Vertue or Power of his Son or Subjects, but by the Grace of God alone; wherefore he enjoyned them all, neither by Feaſting nor otherwiſe to expreſs any looſe Joy or Vain-glory. And at the ſame time he further enjoyned *Simon Iſlip* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *John Thoresby* Archbiſhop of *York*, that for Eight Days together they ſhould thrô their ſeveral Provinces uſe Publique Proceſſions and Prayers for the Souls of thoſe who fell in the Battle; and alſo return ſolemn Thankſgivings to God for ſo ſignal a Mercy vouchſafed unto the *Engliſh* Nation: By which inſtance of Moderation he gain'd no leſs Glory to Himſelf, than his Son had done by his Victory.

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[d] *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an.* §. 7. *Matt. Villani l.* 7. *c.* 21. *P. Virgil. l.* 19. *p.* 381. *& Froiſ. ibid.*

[e] *Matt. Villani l.* 7. *c.* 21.

XIV. Preſently after the Battle of *Poictiers*, the Cardinal of *Perigort* applied himſelf again to the Victorious Prince, in order to ſettle ſome kind of Agreement between the Two Realms. At firſt it is ſaid, [f] that the Prince would not vouchſafe to ſpeak with him, or ſo much as to ſee his Face, becauſe of the *Chaſtelain* of *Empoſta*, and others of his Retinue, who were found to ſtand againſt him in the Battle of *Poictiers*: For he could not believe as yet, but that the Cardinal ſent them thither. However when the Cardinal ſaw the Prince's Strangeneſs, and underſtood the true Cauſe thereof, he made uſe of the Mediation of the Lord of *Chaumont*, the Lord of *Monferrant*, and the Captal of *Buſche*, who were his Couſins, proteſting unto them *in Verbo Sacerdotis*, that he was not conſenting to that Action of his Men. And theſe Lords ſpake ſo much in the Cardinals Behalf, and gave the Prince ſo many Reaſons, that at laſt he was content to hear what the Cardinal could ſay for himſelf. And he having once gain'd that Point, excuſed himſelf ſo diſcreetly, that the Prince and his Council had no further Suſpicion of him. Whereupon he recover'd the Princes good Opinion, and redeemed his Men at reaſonable Ranſoms: For the *Chaſtelain* himſelf was ſet but at a Thouſand [g] *Franks*, which makes an 100 *l.* Sterling, which Summ he afterward paid. From this time the Prince received the Holy Father with ſo much Sweetneſs and Humanity, that he could not but highly commend him therefore in his Letters to the Pope; wherein alſo he ſet forth the Princes Moderation, which he ſhew'd toward the King of *France*. Inſomuch that his Holineſs ſent his Letters to the Prince, wherein he exhorted him yet farther to ſhew Clemency to the Conquered, and amidſt his Triumphant Fortune to accommodate his Mind to Peace, and to return Thanks to God Almighty: As appears more largely from the Letters themſelves, the Tenour [h] whereof followeth.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 169. *fol.* 85. *a.*

[g] Frank 2 *s.*

"*INNOCENT* the Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to *Edward* Prince "of *Wales*, Eldeſt Son of our moſt Dear Son in *Chriſt*, the Illuſtrious King of *Eng-*"*land* Greeting, and Apoſtolical Benediction. Althô O Son, You may, as we proba-"bly believe, after the manner of the World, glory in the Felicity of your Succeſſes; "yet we hold undoubtedly, that as one Devout toward God, and derived of Parents "devout alſo toward him, You do with reverence refer the Glory of your Triumphs, "and the Honour of your Victories to God your Creator, from whom is all Victory and "all Triumph: We hold, that in them you conſider the Effuſion of human Blood; "We hold, that you regard the Peril of Souls; and that therefore you do ſo much "the more humble your Self in the ſight of your God, by how much as a wiſe and pru-"dent Perſon, you may plainly perceive, that for thoſe you ought to return him Thanks; "for theſe to beg Pardon of him. For althô the ſame God, who beſtows his Gifts as "he pleaſes, hath made you Glorious with the Titles of Victories, and the Pomp of Tri-"umphs, yet he doth deteſt the Slaughter of his People; nor would have the Rancor "or Hate, the Right or Wrong of Rulers, to be compenſated with the Deſtruction of "faithfull and innocent Subjects. Which we in ſerious Meditation weighing with our "ſelves, nothing doubt, nay perhaps we are certain, that You, by how much you have "received more proſperous things of the Hand of the Lord, are ſo much the more prompt "to Peace, ſo much the more favourably enclin'd to Concord. Eſpecially ſince it is u-

[h] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc ann.* §. 8. *& 9. ex Tom.* 4. *Epiſt. Secret. p.* 201, *&c.*

ſual

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"sual for Powerfull Men, who follow Goodneſs, that Proſperity doth rather ſtir them "up dayly to Mercy; that Succeſs doth rather induce them perpetually to Gentle- "neſs. For Goodneſs is never taken notice of in any One, but onely when it is in "his Power to be Cruel; the Sweetneſs of Clemency is rarely known, unleſs when it "might deal ſeverely: Power therefore gives occaſion to Clemency, and a Cauſe alſo to "Goodneſs.

"This Occaſion therefore and this Cauſe We require of You, ſince you are able to "expreſs it; and for a Peace, to be by the Help of God reformed between our moſt "Dear Son in *Chriſt*, *John* the Illuſtrious King of *France* (whom the Event of War "hath brought into your Priſon) and your Self, we confidently approach your High- "neſs, deſiring You as affectionately as we can, and more earneſtly beſeeching You by "the Bowels of the Mercies of God, that rendring a return of Gratitude to the Lord "your God, for thoſe things which he hath given unto You, You would accommo- "date your Soul, prepare your Heart, and diſpoſe your Mind to Peace and Concord.

"For You know, that the Great King of Peace, by whom You live and reign, doth "command You to love Peace, and refuſes to dwell in the Hearts of the Unmercifull. "And leſt we ſhould more prolixly enlarge our Epiſtle, we add unto our Prayers, that "thoſe things which our Reverend Brother *Talayrand* Biſhop of *Alby*, and our Belo- "ved Son, *Nicolas titulo Sancti Vitalis*, Prieſt-Cardinal, Nuntio's of the Apoſtolick "See, or either of them, in their own Perſons or in Others, ſhall relate unto You as "to this Point, or declare unto You by Letters, You would undoubtedly believe; and "by a pious Proſecution fulfill them with the deſired Fruits of your Actions. Dat. *Aven. V. Non. Octob. Anno Pontificatûs noſtri IV.*

By other Letters alſo of the ſame Date the Pope highly applauded the Young Prince, for that he had honourably received the Cardinal *Talayrand*, and had in the midſt of Proſperity overcome that inſolence of Mind, which uſually attends Conquerours, and gave him his Thanks for having entertain'd the *French* King with ſuch ſingular Courteſie.

"*Our Reverend Brother* (ſays he) Talayrand *Biſhop of* Alby, *Nuntio of the Apoſto-* "*lick See, wrote unto us by his Letters, that You confirming and enhancing the Nobility,* "*which you derive from your Stock by your Generoſity of Soul, and the exerciſe of Vertues,* "*have entertain'd him with ſuch Honours and ſuch Favours, as became a Son to exhibit* "*to his Father in* Chriſt: *And that (which is greater than all theſe) preparing your* "*Mind equally for all Events, and not being puffed up with any Proſperity of Succeſſes,* "*but always more humble in the ſight of the Lord your God, attributing all unto him,* "*from whom you have received all, You do graciouſly allow unto our Dear Son in* Chriſt, "John *the Illuſtrious King of* France (*whom the Event of War hath brought into your* "*Priſon*) *that Honour, which belongs to ſo great a Prince. Upon which account retur-* "*ning unto your Highneſs our deſerved Praiſes, and hoping undoubtedly that the Omni-* "*potent God, who* hath reſpect unto the Lowly, but knoweth the Proud afar off, *will* "*beſtow on You more abundantly and freely the Grace of his Benediction, &c.* Dat. *Aven. V. Non. Octob. Anno Pontif. IV.*

i *Froiſ. c.* 169. *fol.* 75.

XV. All this while i did *Edward* the *Black-Prince* continue at *Bourdeaux*, having with his ready Mony bought up of the Lords, Knights, and Eſquires of *Gaſcogne* all thoſe *French* Priſoners, whom he deſign'd to carry along with the King into *England*: For as for thoſe whom the *Engliſh* Lords had taken, he intended not to buy them till they were brought ſafe home. The *French* King he lodged honourably in a magnificent Apartment in the Abby of St. *Andrew*, and Himſelf kept Court in the other Apartment of the ſame Abby, like unto it.

Now there were many Queſtions, Contraſts, and Challenges among ſeveral Knights and Eſquires of *Gaſcogne*, concerning the Taking of the *French* King; divers of them affirming, how they were the Men that took him. But Sr. *Dennis Morbeque* by Right of Arms and true Tokens, which he ſhew'd, as the Kings own Gauntlet, challenged him for his rightfull Priſoner. Yet for all that this Mans Cauſe ſeem'd ſo evident (inſomuch that the Pretenſions of all Others were ſilenced thereby) an Eſquire of *Gaſcogne*, called *Bernard de Troutes* averred, how he had more Reaſon to lay Claim to that Honourable Action. Between theſe two there was much Fending and Proving in Preſence of the Prince and other Lords, that ſat with him to hear the Cauſe. But when once it came to a Challenge between them, then the Prince commanded them both peremptorily to ſurceaſe, and to forbear any further proceeding, till they came into *England*, on pain of his Diſpleaſure; for he ſaid, no manner of Deciſion or Determination ſhould be made, but by the King his Father. However, becauſe the *French* King himſelf enclin'd more

more to Sr. *Dennis* of *Morbeque* than to any other, and wish'd (as he said privately) that he alone might have the Honour, which he had so well deserved; the Generous Prince considering, that being a banished Man, he had little more than his Wages, and what he purchased in War, caused secretly to be deliver'd into his Hands 2000 Nobles, to maintain his Estate handsomly withall, against the time he should appear in the Court of *England*. And (to end this Matter once for all) when the next Year King *Edward* and his Council had determin'd the Cause in his behalf, the Prince [k] gave him 5000 Crowns of Gold more, as a Reward for that Service: For as we shew'd before, all Prisoners, who are valued above 10000 Crowns, belong not unto him that took him, but to the Prince.

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[k] *Paul. Æmylius p.* 288.

Thus the Prince of *Wales* tarried at *Bourdeaux*, providing and ordaining his Affairs, as he thought best, till it was *Lent*, during which time, the Souldiers of *England* and *Gascogne* spent in Mirth and Revell, especially in the *Christmas* Holy-days, all the Gold and Silver, which they had won with the hazard of their Lives. For Souldiers and Seamen, thô they court Money at the Highest rate of any others, take their leave of it as pleasantly, and as unconcernedly, as any Men whatsoever. Those Knights, [l] Gentlemen, and others, who had been present in the Battle of *Poictiers*, upon their return into *England*, were welcomed, treated, and caressed highly by all Men, whereever they came, and in all respects Prefer'd to others of their Rank and Condition: So Honourable is it to be Brave upon a good and just account. But on the contrary [m] all the Lords, Knights, and Esquires of *France*, who had fled from the Battle, were so hated, reviled, and pointed at, whereever they came, that they durst hardly venture to appear in any great Town or publick place of Resort.

[l] *Froiss. c.* 169.

[m] *Froiss. c.* 170.

Now about the time, [n] that this Battle of *Poictiers* was fought, *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaster*, was in the County of *Eureux* in *Normandy*, and toward the Marches of *Coutances*, together with Prince *Philip* of *Navarre*, and the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt* in his Company. These Great Captains endeavour'd all they could to joyn the Prince of *Wales* before that Battle; but they could not by any means: Because all the Passages on the River of *Loire* were so surely guarded. However, hearing shortly after of the Prince's Success, they were wonderfully pleased; and Prince *Philip* of *Navarre* soon after went for *England* to speak with the King, about the further Progress of his Affairs, and the Duke of *Lancaster* (as we shew'd before) diverted into *Bretagne* to the Countess of *Monford* (where shortly after he went, and laid Siege to *Rennes*) having constituted the Lord *Godfry* of *Harcourt* his Lieutenant, who kept at St. *Saviour le Vicount*, his own Possession, to hold frontier War in those parts: And this he performed with such Zeal and Success, that he alarum'd the Regent of *France*, and obliged him to seek a Remedy, as we shall see by and by.

[n] *Froiss. c.* 170.

XVI. It is to be observed, that the Three Sons of King *John*, who fled from the Battle of *Poictiers*, were all Green and unexpert in managing Publique Affairs; especially in such a Confusion, as must needs follow so Great and Publique a Loss, and in the Kings absence too. *Charles* the *Dauphin*, thô the Eldest, yet knew not how to steer his Course in so tempestuous and turbulent a Season: However, as Regent of the Realm, [o] on the 29 of *September*, which was but Ten days after the Battle, he summon'd a Parliament of the Three Estates to meet him at *Paris*, on the 15 of *October* then next ensuing. At which time the said Duke, sitting as Regent in the Parliament Chamber, and the Three Estates being present, *Peter de la Foreſt*, Archbishop of *Rouën*, and Chancellour of *France*, "declared openly the great Misfortune, that had lately be-"fallen the Realm, by the taking of their King and Head at the Battle of *Poictiers*, "and exhorted them in a long and well-composed Oration to be aiding and assisting, "every Man to his Ability, toward the Redemption of their Lord and Sovereign. Whereupon Answer was returned by the Mouth of Dr. *John Craon* Archbishop of *Rheims*, in the Name of the Clergy, by the Mouth of *Philip* Duke of *Orleans*, King *John's* Brother, in the Name of the Nobility, and by the Mouth of *Stephen Marcell*, Burgess and Provost of *Paris*, in the Name of the Commons of the Towns of *France*, "That all of them were ready to assist in that Affair to the utmost of their Power; "but they prayed, that they might have a convenient time allowed them, to consult "together, and to consider, how to raise wherewithall to do it: Which was granted. So the Three Estates held their Consultation at the Fryers *Minors*, or the Grey-Fryers, in *Paris* for the space of 15 days: In which time they appointed among them to the Number of 50 Persons, to inspect and make an Enquiry after many Enormities and things, as then out of Order in the Realm. These Fifty superintendants chose from among themselves Six Representatives, to go to the Duke of *Normandy*, and to Request of him in their Name,

[o] *Fabian p.* 282. *Froiss. & Mezeray, & Du Chesne p.* 678.

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Name, that he would promiſe to keep ſecret what they were about to declare unto him, which he granted. And then they humbly beſought him to diſcharge all ſuch, as they ſhould name unto him, and to ſeiſe their Goods, as forfeited, to the Kings uſe. And firſt they named *Peter de la Foreſt*, Archbiſhop of *Rouën* and Chancellour of *France*, then Sr. *Simon Bucy*, Chief Preſident and Counſellour to the King, Sr. *Robert de Lorize*, the Kings Chamberlain; Sr. *Nicolas Braque*, Maſter of the Kings Palace; *Ingelram de Celer* Under-Treaſurer of *France*, *John Brill de Berry* Sovereign Maſter of the Moneys, and Chief of the Accompts to the King, and *John Channeau de Chartres* Treaſurer of the Kings Wars. All theſe Officers the ſaid Perſons, Delegates from the Fifty, would have to be diſcharged of their Offices for ever; and moreover they demanded of the *Dauphin*, that the King of *Navarre* might be deliver'd from his Impriſonment, and that He himſelf would pleaſe to be adviſed and counſelled by ſuch, as they ſhould aſſign unto him; [p] That is to ſay, Twelve Prelates, Twelve Knights, and Twelve Burgeſſes; which *Thirty ſix* were accordingly forthwith choſen for that purpoſe: But among them were many, of whom neither the Duke of *Normandy*, nor his Council, had any good opinion. And yet theſe *Thirty ſix* were not only to be as ſo many Tutors to the Duke, but as ſo many Tribunes, the whole Power of the Three Eſtates of Parliament, being in a manner Epitomized in them. When the foremention'd Officers of State heard, what Arbitrary Judges were like to ſit upon them, they thought it their beſt way to fly from the impending Storm, and take refuge in foreign parts, till they might hear better News. The Duke of *Normandy*, upon the firſt propoſal of theſe Requeſts, and others, as little agreeable, [q] gave this reply, "that he would know the opinion of his Council, and accordingly return them ſome "ſuitable anſwer: But firſt he deſired to hear, what aid the Three Eſtates would "give him toward the Redemption of the King, his Father. Whereunto they anſwer'd, "That the Clergy had granted one *Deſme* and an half to be paid within a "Year, provided they might obtain the Pope's leave, and that the Lords had granted "as much to be levied on their Lands; and that the Commons had granted the Tenth "peny of all their Moveables.

[p] *Froiſ. c.* 170.

[q] *Fabian ibid.*

On the Morrow following, the Duke aſſembled his Council in the Palace of the *Louvre*, and there ſhew'd them the High Demands of the Three Eſtates; whereupon many ſcruples were raiſed, and many Meſſages ſent too and fro between the Duke and them. But the Eſtates return'd this final anſwer, "That except he would re"form all the foreſaid Miſcarriages, and conform himſelf to their Minds for the Pub"lique Good, they would not give him any Aid with their Goods, as they had pro"miſed him. Wherefore the Duke, being in a mighty plunge, ſent ſecretly to his Father, then a Priſoner at *Bourdeaux*, to inform him of all the Premiſes; and the King wrote back to him again; "That he ſhould not by any means agree to their Inſolent "Demands; for He had rather continue ſtill a Priſoner to an Honourable Enemy, than "return home, to become a ſlave to his own Subjects. The Duke upon receit of theſe Letters, becauſe he would not have ſuch Matters to be ſcann'd in open Parliament, ſent for the moſt Eminent of all the Three Eſtates to come to him to the *Louvre*; and accordingly there came the two Archbiſhops of *Rheims* and of *Lyon*, and the Biſhop of *Laon* for the Clergy; Sr. *Waren de Luxemburgh*, Sr. *John de Conflent* Marſhal of *Champagne*, and Sr. *John de Picquigny* Governour of *Artois* for the Lords; and for the Commons and Burgeſſes of *Paris*, and other Towns, *Stephen Marcel* Provoſt of the Merchants, and *Charles Cuſac*.

Unto theſe the Duke communicated the News, he had lately received from the King, his Father, requiring their Advice, whether it were beſt that day to acquaint the whole Parliament therewith, or to defer it, till they might be more calm, and in a better humour: In the end, it was agreed, that he ſhould defer it, till the fourth Day after; all which time he waited to ſee, if they would grow more Dutifull, and more Modeſt in their Demands. But all was in vain, they ſtill ran as High as ever, and eſpecially in the matter of Changing the Officers, and of delivering the King of *Navarre* from the Caſtle of *Crevecœur* in *Cambreſis*, where he was confin'd: "For they ſaid, it would be "much for the Advantage of the Realm, if ſo Valiant and Compleat a Prince could "be brought to eſpouſe her Intereſt; now that in a manner all her Nobility was either "ſlain or taken in the Battle of *Poictiers*. Wherefore they inſtantly urged the Duke "at this time to deliver him; becauſe he was wrongfully impriſon'd. But the Duke told them all along, that he durſt not undertake to deliver him, ſince the King, his Father, had put him in Priſon, for what cauſe it was not his part to determine. However when He ſaw there was like to be no abatement of theſe heats, on the Fourth

Day

Day he came into the Parliament-Chamber, and said, "That he had not leisure as "then to attend to, and discuss all their Requests; because of tidings, which he had "lately received from his Father, and also from his Uncle, *Charles* Emperour of *Ger-* "*many*, some whereof he vouchsafed to communicate unto them; and so for that time adjourn'd them to the Day of *All-Saints*; when by Advice of his Council he wholly dissolved them, without any fruits of so promising an Assembly, or any Remedy against the Confusions of the times. At this sudden, thô deserved, Dissolution, the Estates murmured and repin'd; but however, before they parted, in order to the justification of their Proceedings, took Copies of their Requests made to the Duke, to carry to their several Countries and Corporations: and to shew them upon occasion in their own Defence. And thô afterwards the Duke required an Aid of the City of *Paris*, toward the Maintenance of his Wars, they told him plainly; "that they were "not obliged to any such thing, unless they were enjoyned by the Three Estates, "which therefore they desir'd might be reassembled: But this the Young Prince would by no means yield to, thô he was never so much press'd with Difficulties.

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So unhappy was the Realm of *France* at this time, that when her Parliaments should rather for the present have wisely winked even at great Abuses, and have immediately apply'd their helping Hand to the Vitals, that were now endanger'd, leaving less important Mischiefs to be cured at a more seasonable time: On the contrary, she undutifully, as well as unadvisedly, quarrel'd with her Prince, about the Reformation of small Abuses, not considering, that she ought rather in such a Desperate juncture to have closed with Him, in providing Physick for the almost expiring State. Kings are not to be forced by the Insolent Populacy from the Necessity of their Affairs; but to be confided in, as Fathers, and to be rely'd on, as Generous and Benign Deputies of Heaven; from whom we are humbly to request, and not violently to extort.

More commendably did those of the Province of *Languedoc*, as the most remote part from *Paris*, so the most Free from the Contagion of its Insolence: For they, being [r] by Authority of the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Kings Lieutenant in those parts, assembled in order to make Provision for the Kings Redemption, did behave themselves both as Dutifull Subjects, and discreet men at the same time. For first they unanimously agreed to provide at their own proper Costs and Charges 500 Men of Arms, all Knights, with an Esquire to every one of them, and moreover a 1000 Souldiers on Horseback, a 1000 Arbalists, and 2000 others, all to have a Years pay from the State, *viz.* Each Spear to have for himself and his Esquire, or Serjeant, half a Floren *per diem*, every other Man to be allow'd 8 Florens a piece *per* Month. Moreover they ordain'd, that no Man should wear any precious Furrs, or other Rich stuff, and that all Women and Ladies should lay aside their Gorgeous Attire of their Heads, and wear neither Pearls, Gold, nor Silver about their cloaths, or upon their Girdles, as long as the King should remain Prisoner. And further, to testifie how deeply they resented this Publique Calamity, they generally abandon'd all Banquets, Entertainments, Masks, Dances, Plays, and other Diversions, during his Captivity. Besides all which, they freely granted a considerable Aid toward his Redemption, and made divers wholsome Ordinances, both to their own Honour, and the Profit of the Common-weal. Which Laudable Example of theirs, *Champaigne* also followed: But good Examples are not always so Influential as Bad; for almost all other parts chose rather to copy the obstinate Undutifullness of that Seditious Metropolis of *Paris*. And this City, after the usual Methods of Rebels, pretending to be in fear of Tyranny, when it was preparing to be seditious, was [s] now strengthen'd with Regular Fortifications, its Walls repaired, and Ditches enlarged, and all the Street of St. *Anthony* and St. *Paul*, which before belonged to the Suburbs, was now enclosed within the Walls, and Chains continually drawn cross the Streets. Thus was *Paris* of a very weak Place, made considerably strong by those popular Tribunes, *Stephen Marcell* Provost of the Merchants, and *Ronsac* the Sheriff, who thô they intended this Defence against their Prince, and so did wickedly; yet, as it proved some while after, in good time made it more teneable against a Publique Enemy, and so were by chance Benefactors to that City.

[r] *Fabian p. 283. Du Serres p. 25, & Paul. Æmyl. p. 289.*

[s] *Mezeray p. 47.*

XVII. Now [t] before this Fruitless Parliament at *Paris* was thus broke up, Word was brought to the Duke and the Three Estates, that the Lord *Godfrey Harcourt* made cruel War in *Normandy*, and overran the Country twice or thrice in a Week; sometime to the suburbs of *Caën*, sometimes to St. *Lo*, or to *Eureux*, or *Coutances*. Whereupon the Duke was however so much assisted by the Three Estates, as to be enabled to raise 300 Men of Arms, and 500 others, to go against the foresaid Lord *Godfrey*: Over which Troops the Duke set the Lord [u] *Robert Clermont* his Lieutenant in that

[t] *Froiss. c. 171.*

[u] *Fabian p. 284.*

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Duke dom, together with the Lord of *Ravenal*, the Lord of *Remilly*, and two other Lords. These Forces marched from *Paris*, and came to *Roüen*, where they very much encreased, being joyn'd by many Expert Men of Arms of *Normandy*, and also an addition of several Knights with their Troops from *Artois* and *Vermandois*; as the Lord of St. *Quintin*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Neufcastell*, the Lord *Edward* of *Renty*, the Lord *John de Fiennes*, the Lord *Ingram* of *Hesdin*, and several others, who all rode to *Coutances*, and there made their Garrison.

* *Froiss. c. 172.*

When the Lord * *Godfrey Harcourt*, who was a Knight of great Valour and Conduct, heard, how the *French* were come to the City of *Coutances*, he assembled together as many Men of Arms, Archers, and others, as conveniently he could, and said, "he would ride forth and look upon the *Frenchmen*. Accordingly he marched from St. *Saviour Le Vicount* with little more than 700 Men in his Company, consisting for the most part of *Normans* and other *Frenchmen*, who holding for the King of *Navarre*, were generally in those days called *Navarrois*. That same day the *Frenchmen* also rode forth, having sent their Scouts before them, who brought back word of Sr. *Godfrey's* being in the Field with his *Navarrois*; as also Sr. *Godfrey's* Scouts brought him word of the *French*, whom they had seen, and of their Number; for they had view'd them well. "Then, said Sr. *Godfrey* aloud, since our Enemies are coming to "meet Us, We will by no means flinch from them: But that they may find Us "ready to receive them, let Us now order our selves to the best Advantage, and therewithall he set his Archers in the Front, and order'd his Battails at Leisure. When the Lord *Robert Clermont* came up with his Forces, and saw their Behaviour, he commanded his Men to alight on Foot, and being close cover'd with their broad Bucklers against the Archers, to stand still, and not to move forward, till the Word of Command. Then the Archers began to approach, and shot fiercely; but the *Frenchmen* stood the shock, lying close under their Shields; So that they suffer'd little or no harm. When therefore the Archers had spent all their Arrows thus in vain, they cast away their Bows, and retired back to their Men of Arms, who stood ready ranged along by an Hedge, and in their Front Sr. *Godfry* with his Banner before him, [y] being *Gules* two Bars *Or*. Then the *French* Archers began to shoot, and having spent all their own Arrows to much more purpose, than Sr. *Godfry's* Men had done theirs, they gather'd up the Arrows, which before had been shot against them, and returned them now with a good will. And now the *French* Men of Arms began to approach, and at the First meeting there was a severe and cruel Battle: But Sr. *Godfrey*'s Infantry were soon put out of order and discomfited. When the Lord *Godfrey* saw this Misfortune, he prudently drew himself into a wing of Armed Men, closed about with Hedges, resolving there to Dispute the point with his Enemies: This being observed by the *French* Men of Arms, who after they had baffled the Archers, were Mounted again, they all alighted on foot once more, and encompassed the Place round, searching, which way they might best enter the Hedge, and come at their Enemies. Whereever the chief Brunt was, thither came Sr. *Godfrey*, bringing along with him Terrour to his Foes, and to his Friends Assurance: For he was of great strength and Courage, and very Expert in Arms; so that many Hundreds of the *French* were hurt or slain, before they could win an entrance upon him. But at last by obstinate Valour, the Disadvantage of the place was overcome, and then a most Bloody Fight ensued: Nor yet would the *French* have had much reason to boast, if Sr. *Godfrey's* Men had been mindfull of their Promise, which was at all adventures to live and die with him. But now after a short and faint Resistance the Major part of them began to flee, and left him to his Destiny. Sr. *Godfrey* being sensible of his Condition, and knowing, he was too far engaged to retire handsomly, resolved in his Mind rather to die upon the spot, than suffer himself to be taken Prisoner, and reserved to some publique shame. Wherefore being on foot, he took a ponderous great Ax in his Hand, and set fast his left leg before the other, to stand more sure; for one of his legs was a little crooked; but he was exceeding strong in the Arms. And in this posture he fought Valiantly a good while, cleaving Heads and Helmets, or whatever he could reach; so that none dar'd to abide his stroaks: Till at last two *Frenchmen* Mounted their Horses, and so both together ran upon him with their Spears; and therewith bore him forceably to the Earth: At which time, those who were on foot near him, thrust him into the Body under his Armour, and so slew him. And with him there were slain, or taken, every Man of his Company, that remain'd about him, to the Number (says [z] one) of 800; thô others reckon, as we said before, that his whole Forces consisted but of 700 in all. However those, who fled away in the beginning, escaped all safe to St. *Saviour le Vicount*; for the *Frenchmen* had not leisure

[y] True use of Armory, in the Life of the Lord *Chandos p.* 57. *in Bibl.* Cotton.

[z] *Fabian p.* 284.

to

to purſue them, for tending to Sr. *Godfrey*. This Battle was fought on the [a] Tenth of *November*, being a *Thurſday*, *An°. Domini* MCCCLVI. Some ſay, [b] that Prince *Philip* of *Navarre* was preſent in the Field at this time, and that He went not into *England*, as we ſaid before: However he was of no moment, as to the Succeſs of the Battle, but made ſhift, it ſeems, to eſcape away to the further embroiling of the Realm of *France*.

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The Lord *Godfrey* of *Harcourt* being thus ſlain, [c] the *Frenchmen* returned Conquerours to *Coutances*, together with their Priſoners and the Spoil of the Field, and ſoon after having quieted thoſe Parts pretty well, they returned into *France* to the Duke of *Normandy*, who by that time was publiquely Proclaimed Regent of *France*. On the [d] 4th of *December* following, the Caſtle of *Pont de l' Arche* near unto *Roüen*, which had long been in the Hands of Prince *Philip* of *Navarre*, was after a Siege of five Months yielded up on Conditions to the Regents Captains; the *Navarrois* not only to depart with Bag and Baggage, but to receive by way of Gratuity 6000 Franks for yielding up the ſaid Caſtle, which Summ amounts to 600 *l.* Sterling, every Frank being valued at two Shillings.

[a] Lit. Dom. C. B.
[b] *Fabian ibid.*
[c] *Froiſ. c.* 173.
[d] *Fabian p.* 285.

However [e] the Lands of Sr. *Godfrey* of *Harcourt* upon his Death fell to the King of *England*; for he had on certain Conditions engaged them unto Him and his Heirs for ever, having utterly diſinherited his Nephew the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, becauſe he ſo tamely reſented the Murder of his Uncle, the late Earl of *Harcourt*, as not to ſeek any Satisfaction; but ſtill continued a Friend to King *John*, who had ſo unjuſtly murther'd him. When King *Edward* heard News of this valiant Lords Death, he was very much concern'd at the Loſs; but however he ſent forth immediately by Sea more than 300 Men of Arms, Knights and Eſquires, beſides Archers, to go and take Poſſeſſion for him of St. *Saviour le Vicount*, which alone was well worth [f] 40000 Franks, or 4000 *l.* Sterling *per annum*, and made the Lord *Robert Liſle* his Captain over thoſe Lands, who was ſucceeded three Years after by the Lord *Thomas Holland*, who dying about a Year after, the King gave unto the Lord [g] *John Chandos*, in Conſideration of his manifold and notable Services, a Grant for Him and his Heirs for ever, of the Baronies of St. *Saviour le Vicount*, *Daunvers* and *Dongeville*, as alſo of the Lands and Knights Fees of St. *Mary de Monteſarſellis* and *Romilly*, and all the other Lands and Poſſeſſions of the ſaid Lord *Godfrey* of *Harcourt*: Whereupon the Lord *Chandos* built anew the Caſtle of St. *Saviour*, and for its better Defence frequently reſided there in Perſon, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 173.
[f] *Froiſ. c.* 271. *fol.* 166. *legit* 400000 Franks, *i.e.* 40000 *l. ſed corruptum hic puto; nam alibi æſtimat ad* 30000 *Franks tantum, omiſsâ unâ Decimâ.*
[g] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 503. *ex Clauſ.* 34. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 35.

XVIII. Now the [h] Pope, being extreamly ſollicitous to deliver the *French* from their preſent Conſternation, and to avert their impending Miſeries, thought fit to make uſe of *Charles* the Emperour towards a Settlement of Affairs, and ſending unto him *Androine* Abbot of *Clugny*, exhorted him to be a Mediator between the *French* and *Engliſh*, telling him, that the Glory of that Great Work was reſerved only for him; and that the Cardinals his Nuntio's, would joyn their utmoſt Endeavours. But with what Grief he was affected at the Captivity of King *John* will appear beſt from his Letters, the [i] Copy whereof followeth.

[h] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum* §. 10. *&c.*

[i] *Tom.* 4. *Epiſt. ſecret. p.* 202. *apud Odor. Rainald. ibid.*

"*INNOCENT* the Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his moſt Dear "Son in *Chriſt*, *CHARLES* Emperour of the *Romans*, always *Auguſtus*. With ſuch "bitterneſs (O moſt Dear Son) and with a ſting of ſuch vehement Sorrow are our "Heart and Bowels wounded at the news of the Misfortune of our moſt Dear Son in "*Chriſt*, the Illuſtrious King of *France*, which we believe to have come to You be"fore the Receipt of theſe Preſents; that our Spirit hath almoſt failed us, our Vigour "is dried up, and in a manner all our Senſes are loſt. For who that is of a ſound "Mind, who that has but his Senſes, who that has but a Heart of Fleſh, who that has "any Humanity about him, would not burſt forth into Tears, would not ſigh from the "bottom of his Heart, would forbear grieving, would refrain weeping, would ceaſe la"menting? And indeed who could withhold from ſighing, at the Effuſion of ſo much "*Chriſtian* Blood, at the Fall of ſo many Nobles, at the Ruine of ſo many faithfull "People, and which is more deplorable at the hazard of ſo many Souls? For we be"lieve, that none has an Heart ſo ſtony, which the hearing of theſe things would not "break; that none is ſo obdurate, whom they would not melt and mollifie; none ſo "rocky, whom the Conſideration thereof would not ſoften. And whereas among the "manifold Afflictions, to which upon this account and otherwiſe we are obnoxious, we "awaken with a ſenſe of Grief our ſleeping Mind to a neceſſary Reparation of this Miſ"fortune (althô in a manner wholly deſperate of all Humane help and Aſſiſtance) un"to Him we lift up our Eyes darkned with ſorrow, unto Him we raiſe up the ſight of our

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"afflicted Soul, unto Him we pour forth devout Prayers and Supplications, who commands the Sea and the Winds, and at whose Nod the breath of Tempests is allay'd; "that He being moved with gracious Compassion at so many grievous Scourges of his "People, extending from on high the Hand of his Power, would vouchsafe to deliver "us from these tempestuous Waves, and after the multitude of the Sorrows in our "Heart rejoyce our Soul with his Consolations. And we hope in him, that althô upon "the account of our sins he refuses to lend his Ear unto our Prayers, he will yet at least "take pity of the Calamities of his People, whom he hath redeemed with the gracious "Effusion of his own Blood.

"And hence it is, that firmly beleeving it proceeded from the Goodness of the same "our Redeemer, that You, who only of Mankind can apply a necessary Remedy to "these more acute Distempers, are in this time of Confusion retired into the utmost "Parts of your Empire next unto the Realm of *France*, We address our selves unto "You; That by the vertue of your Diligence and Prudence you would assuage the "fury of these Storms, and by the benefit of a calm Peace, remove the inconveniences "of War and Hostile Commotions, earnestly requiring you by Him, thrô whose Providence you are raised to the Imperial Dignity, that taking the Premises and other "things, which for brevity sake we omit, into due consideration, for the Reverence of "God, the Conservation of your Weal and Honour, the prospect of a general Advantage, and the Contemplation of our Intercession, You would not delay, but hastily "come down to prevent the Desolation of Catholick People, to hinder the Destruction of *Christians*, and to avert the Hazard of Souls. For unto You this Glory, unto "You this Honour, unto You this Praise is reserved of the Lord: For You are by "Blood allied unto the Parties, You (thô you be nearer to the One) will yet justly "respect the Cause of Both, and encline your eyes to Justice and not to Affinity: You "are (likely to be) an Effectual Umpire of Peace, and a Promoter of Concord, as "well on the Account of your Imperial Dignity, as of your Good-will and Charity.

"There also You shall have our Venerable Brother *Talayrand* Bishop of *Alby*, and "our beloved Son, *Nicolas* of the Title of *St. Vitalis*, Priest-Cardinal, Nuntio's "of the Apostolick See, whom you will find usefull Fellow-Labourers after this Good "Thing; and by whose Counsels and Help you may be directed and aided in what shall "occurr. Concerning which (because we have deliver'd certain Matters unto our Beloved Son *Androine*, Abbot of *Clugny* in the Diocese of *Mascon*, to be reported unto "your Clemency by Word of Mouth) We pray you more earnestly, that you would "give full credit to his Relations on our Behalf. Dat. *Aven. V. Non. Octobr. An° Pontificatûs nostri IV.*

[k] *Matth. Villani l. 7. c. 46.*

Upon the Receipt of these Letters the Emperour [k] summon'd a *Diet* to sit at *Metz*, then an Imperial City, in the Country of *Lorraine*, standing on the *Moselle*, to which Place he came a little before *Christmas* with Imperial Pomp, and no less than 20000 Horse attending him. He was served at Table by the Duke of *Brandenburgh* and other Princes of Course appointed to the said Service. There came thither to meet him among Others, his Nephew *Charles* Duke of *Normandy*, Dauphin of *Vienna* and Regent of *France*, to move him to put to his helping Hand in these Confusions: For the Realm was at that time not only at a loss from the Terrour of the *English* War, their King being Captive, and the Flower of their Nobility slain; but also from the Civil Broils then reigning: For the King of *Navarre's* Brother infested *Normandy* in Revenge of his Brothers Confinement: The Commons also raged against the Nobility, because they judged that by their Treason or Cowardise the King was taken. With which Note of Infamy the Heir of *France* himself was aspersed, who together with his Troops after a slight Resistance fled away and forsook his Father. To this *Diet*[l] at *Metz* there came also Ambassadors, as well from *England* as from *France*, but no effectual way of Concord could then be found by the *German* Princes: Of which Matter thus *Rebdorf*. *In the Month of* November *the said Emperour, being invited by the Lords and Burgesses of* France, *after the foresaid Battle of* Poictiers, *came to the City of* Metz, *where he demanded of the Inhabitants the Rights of the Empire, and the Keys of the City. And thither came from Pope* Innocent *the Cardinal of* Perigort, *and the King of* France's *Son, the Emperours Nephew, who fled out of the said Battle with many Men of Arms; and a great Number of Nobles both of* Germany *and* France *were there with him, and tarried with him during the Festival of our Lords Nativity.* But of the Peace there made between *Wenceslaus* Duke of *Brabant*, and *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*; and of the Laws promulged at this time by the Emperour, we shall not say any thing, those Matters being foreign to our Purpose. The Curious Reader may refer himself for that to the [m] Authors quoted in the Margin.

[l] *Matt. Villani l. 7. c. 46.* [m] *Rebdorf. in Annal. ad hunc annum Albert. Argentin. in Chron. Lib. Priv. Rom. Eccl. Tom. 1. p. 401. Extetiam in Arce St. Angel. & inter Collect.* Platin. *Tom. 3. p. 103, 128. & 156. & apud* Goldast. *in Collect. Constit. Imperial. Tom. 1. in* Carolo IV. *vid. Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum §. 12. & 13.*

On

On the * Tenth of *December* certain Coins of leſs value than uſual (which the Duke of *Normandy* by Advice of his Council, upon the account of his Neceſſities, had cauſed to be made) were proclaimed thrô *Paris* to be Currant Money, whereat the Commons yet were further incenſed. So that two Days after *Stephen Marcell*, Provoſt of the Merchants, went to the *Louvre* there to ſpeak with Prince *Lewis* Earl of *Anjou*, whom the Duke of *Normandy* had left his Deputy-Regent, upon his going to *Metz* to viſit the Emperour his Uncle, as we have ſeen. AN. DOM. 1356. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXX. *Franciæ* XVII.

Here the ſaid Provoſt and the Reſt with him deſired the young Earl to ſtop the Courſe of thoſe new Monies, for otherwiſe the People would think themſelves obliged to ſtop it themſelves: At laſt after a day or two's Delay, and a long Conteſt, the young Earl was fain to yield thus much to the Provoſt, and the reſt of thoſe humble Petitioners, as to ſtop the Money, till the Dukes further Pleaſure might be known; for which Purpoſe Meſſengers were immediately poſted away to learn the Dukes Reſolution as to that Point. And he, thô for a while he ſtood firm to his firſt Reſolution, was in the end compelled to ſtop the Proceedings, and to comply with the outragious importunities of the Rabble. * *Fabian p.* 285.

XIX. And thus we ſhall end this Remarkable Year, when we have ſubjoyned two ſhort Obſervations, which to Philologers may perhaps ſeem not uſeleſs: It hath been an old Report, that as *Scipio Africanus*, that Noble *Roman* Commander, was obſerved firſt to have brought Barbers into *Rome*; ſo our *Black-Prince* is ſaid [n] this time in Complaiſance to the *French* Nation, to have begun and authoriſed a Faſhion which hath continued ever ſince, of ſhaving the Beard, and letting the Hair of the Head grow, contrary to the Primitive uſe of the *Engliſh* Nation. Thô I muſt acknowledge this Relation agrees not well with the ancient Pictures of Men of that Age: And the learned Antiquary Eſquire *Aſhmole* ſome Years ſince deſcribed unto me a Medal, which he ſuppoſed to have belonged to one of the Princes Great Horſes, whereon he was figured Praying in Armour, ſave that his Helmet was off, and having a conſiderable Grown Beard. [n] *Stow p.* 263.

Nor is it altogether unworthy our Obſervation, [o] that after this Taking of King *John* of *France*, the Lords and Gentlemen of *England* began generally to leave off that ancient Uſage of bearing their Effigies on Horſeback in their Seals, and ſet their own Arms only in the Reverſe of their Seals on little Shields. [o] *Dugd. Warw. p.* 672. *ex* Joh. Rous *Hiſt. M. S. de Reg. in Bibl. Cotton p.* 253.

CHAPTER the SECOND.

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AN. DOM. 1357. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXI. *Franciæ* XVIII.

I. *Prince* Edward *brings King* John *of* France *and the reſt of his Priſoners, taken at the Battle of* Poictiers, *into* England; *their Paſſage thrô* London; *King* Edward *receives the Captive King with great Honour.* II. Henry *Duke of* Lancaſter *continues the Siege before* Rennes; *the Cardinals obtain a Truce between the two Kings.* III. *King* David *releaſed of his Impriſonment, returns into* Scotland *and ſettles Affairs.* IV. *At King* Edwards *Command the Duke of* Lancaſter *raiſes his Siege from before* Rennes, *having juſt before taken the Town on Conditions.* V. *Sr.* Robert Knolles *beats the Marſhal of* France *in* Normandy. VI. *The Lord of* Granville *takes the Caſtle of* Eureux *from the* French *by Stratagem.* VII. *The Riſe of Sr.* John Hawkwood *and* Sr. Robert Knolles. VIII. *The Original of a ſort of Free-Booters, called the* Companions, *in* France. IX. *The Inſolence of the* Pariſians *and their Provoſt towards the* Dauphin. X. *King* Charles *of* Navarre, *being got out of Priſon, foments the Diſorders, and grows Popular.*

I. MOST part [a] of the preceding Winter the Victorious *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, buſied himſelf in Equipping a Navy to convey his Royal Prey and the reſt of the *French* Priſoners ſafely into *England*. During his intended Abſence in the Parts of *Aquitain*, he left behind him certain Valiant and Loyal Captains to defend the Country until his Return, namely the Lord *de la Bret*, *aliàs Albret*, the Lord of *Mucidan*, the Lord *de L' Eſparre*, the Lord of *Pamiers*, and the Lord of *Rozan*, with certain Troops both *Engliſh* and *Gaſcoigners*. And ſo on the [b] 24 of [a] *Froiſ. c.* 173 *f.* 86. & *Mat. Vill. l.* 7. *c.* 58. & 66. *Knighton p.* 2615. *n.* 13. *Walſingh. Hyp. p.* 124. & *Hiſt. p.* 164. & *Speed p.* 582. & *Polyd. Virgil. l.* 19. *p.* 381. *&c.*

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[b] 24 of *April* being a *Monday*, and the day after St. *George* in the Third Week after *Easter*, he set Sail for *England* with certain Lords of *Gascogne*, and most of his *English* Captains about him. The *French* King was in a good Ship by himself, lest he should conceive any Offence or Molestation; but he was well guarded with no less than 200 Men of Arms, and 2000 Archers, who sailed close by him; for the Prince had been informed, how the Three Estates, by whom *France* at that time was governed, had laid ready in the Ports of *Normandy* and *Crotoy* two Great Navies to receive him upon his approach toward *England*, and if they might to take away the King of *France* and rescue him. But no such Matter appeared afterward, thô the Prince was detain'd at Sea Eleven days. On the Twelfth Day from his first Setting out, *viz.* on the [c] 5th. of *May* he landed at *Sandwich* in *Kent* (and not as some say, at *Plymouth* in *Devonshire*) where he tarried two Days to refresh his Compauy. On the Third Day he rode to *Canterbury*, where also he stayed for some time; and here the *French* King and the Prince of *Wales* made their Offerings at the famous Shrine of St. *Thomas Becket*. The mean while King *Edward* being informed of the Arrival of his Son with the *French* King in his Company, [d] gave Command to Sr. *Henry Picard* then Lord Mayor of *London*, to make ready the City Pageants, and to prepare for the Reception of King *John*, with all their Formalities in the most honourable Manner that might be. And now Prince *Edward* rode from *Canterbury* to *Rochester*, from thence the next day to *Dartford*, and the day after to *London*, whither he came on the 24 of *May*, being the *Wednesday* before *Whitsunday*, and was met in *Southwark* by more than a Thousand of the Chief Citizens on Horseback. King *John* being clothed in Royal Apparel was mounted on a large White [e] Courser in token of Soveraignty, and to be the more Remarkable; the Generous Prince of *Wales* riding by his side on a little black Hobby, as one that industriously avoided all suspicion of a Triumph. They took their way over *London* Bridge, and rode directly for *Westminster*, and in all the Streets as they passed, the Citizens of *London* set to publick View all their Riches, as Plate, Tapestry and the like, in honour of the *French* King; but especially they [f] boasted of their Warlike Furniture, and exposed that Day in their Shops, Windows and Belconies such an incredible Quantity of Bows and Arrows, Shields, Helmets, Corslets, Breast and Back-Pieces, Coats of Mail, Gauntlets, Vambraces, Swords, Spears, Battle-axes, Harness for Horses, and other Armour both Offensive and Defensive, that the like had never been seen in Memory of Man before. The [g] Concourse of People that came from all parts to behold this rare Spectacle, was so great, that the Solemnity of the Cavalcade held from Three of the Clock in the Morning till High-noon, about which time the Prince got to *Westminster*-Hall, where he presented unto the King his Father, then sitting in Great Majesty on a Royal Throne, the Person of King *John* his Prisoner. King *Edward* could not long retain the Severe Majesty of a Conquerour; for when the *French* King had humbled himself with such a serious, thô Manly Submission, as became his present Fortune, he was immediately touch'd with a due Consideration of the Instability of his own Affairs, by the instance of so great a Prince, whom now he beheld in so low a Condition; and so rising hastily from his Throne he [h] Caressed him with as much Honour and Respect, as if he had only come to give him a Visit. And the Father and the Son did so exactly resemble each other, as well in Generosity as Valour, that King *Edward* being now fully acquainted with the Particulars of his Sons humble Deportment after the Battle of *Poictiers*, declared that he was more sincerely satisfied therewith, than at the Victory it self. Nor did that Great King make use of this solemn Entrance of his Royal Captive, as a Matter of his own Triumph, but rather of a devout Procession: For [i] by his Order that very Day the Clergy of *London* came forth with their Crosses, and singing Anthems to meet the Prince, and after that, for two Days together publick Supplications and Prayers with Thanksgivings were celebrated thrô the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*.

That Day King *Edward* treated the *French* King, his Son *Philip*, and the rest of the Noble Captives at a Princely Rate, and order'd for the King an Apartment of his own Court to lodge in for the Present, till the *Savoy* should be prepared for him, being at that time a most splendid and magnificent Structure, belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and so called [k] from its first Founder, *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, Father to *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was Uncle to *Eleanor* King *Henry* the Third his Queen.

To this Palace soon after he was convey'd, and there Honourably attended, King *Edward* himself, his Queen, and the Prince, giving him frequent Visits, and devising all the ways they might, both to Honour and Comfort him. But nothing is perfectly agreeable, while Liberty is wanting; and therefore, thô King *John* could not expect either more Diversion, or more Respectfull Behaviour in the Court of his Brother

[b] Lit. Dom. A. *Paschæ* 9. April. *Festum* D. Georgii 23 April.

[c] Knighton, *in vigilia St.* Joh. *ante Port. Lat. quod idem est: Walsing. id. &c.*

[d] *Speed p.* 582.

[e] *Ita Mezeray ad ann.* 1378. where *Charles* King of *France* had an Enterview with *Charles* the Emperour: *He entertained him* (says he) *with all the magnificence imaginable, & paid him all manner of Respects, but such as denote Soveraignty, &c. And at his Entrance into* Paris *the King affected to be mounted on a white Horse, and order'd a black one for the Emperour.*

[f] *Knighton p.* 2615. *n.* 19.

[g] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 164. *& Hyp. p.* 124. *& Speed p.* 582.

[h] *Mezeray p.* 49 *ad hunc ann.*

[i] *Polyd. Virg. l.* 19 *p.* 381. *n.* 42.

[k] *Pol. Virg. p.* 382. *n.* 3. *Speed p.* 539.

ther in Law, the Emperour; yet something hung upon his mind, which was not possible for him to shake wholly off, till he should find himself at his own disposé. 'Tis said, [l] that when the King of *England* and his Son, having often observed such a cloud of sorrow to obscure much of that serenity, which was expected from him at those Princely Diversions, wherewith they entertain'd him, asked him thereupon to lay aside all Melancholy Care, and sorrowfull thoughts, he made this Answer with a smile, [m] *Quomodo Cantabimus Canticum in Terrâ alienâ?* i. e. *How shall we sing a Song in a strange Land?* AN. DOM. 1357. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXI. *Franciæ* XVIII.

[l] *Pol. Virgil. l. 19. p. 382.*
[m] *Psalm. 137. v. 5.*

Thus was King *John* and his Son, and the Chief of the Captive Nobles of *France* entertain'd in *England*; [n] of the other Prisoners, some were presently releasd upon King *John's* security in their behalf, and the rest were severally bestow'd in safe Custody.

[n] *Pol. Virg. ibid.*

II. While things went thus in *England*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, lay at the Siege before *Rennes* in *Bretagne*, which he had begun on the [o] Third of *December* in the preceding Year, and had made many Assaults, but to little purpose as yet; the Place was so well defended. For within was a good Garrison, set there by the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, under the Viscount of *Rouën*, the Lord *de Laval*, Sr. *Charles du Digne*, and others. There [p] was also in *Rennes* at this time a Valiant young Batchelour, a Knight of *Bretagne*, called Sr. *Bertram du Clequin*, who soon after became a most Renowned Captain, and was at length sirnamed the *Restorer of France*. During this Siege there passed a Challenge between this Sr. *Bertram*, and a young Baron of *England*, named Sr. *Nicolas Dagworth*, a Valiant Son of that Valiant Lord *Thomas Dagworth*, of whose Actions, and Life, and Death, we have already spoken. The manner of the Combat was to run Three Courses with a Spear, to strike Three Blows with an Ax, and to give Three Stabs with a Dagger. And each of these Knights bare himself with such Expert Valour, that they performed the Challenge without receiving any harm, and so Honourably quitted the Field with equal stakes to their great Commendation from both Parties.

[o] *Mezeray ad hunc annum.*

[p] *Froiss. c. 175. fol. 87.*

This while the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, being in the Country, was very sollicitous to raise the Siege, and besides his own Musters, daily importun'd the Regent of *France* for a strong reinforcement. But the Regent had his own hands so full, that he was not at leisure to do any thing Material in that Case: So the Siege lasted on, and the City began to be greatly oppressed.

Wherefore [q] on the 19 of *June*, being the *Monday* before the Feast of St. *John Baptist*, there came in all haste a Cardinal to the King at *London*, who said, "My "Lord, it was agreed between your Son the Prince of *Wales* and King *John*, when "they were at *Bourdeaux*, that the Siege before *Rennes* should be raised, and a seri- "ous Treaty of Peace be set forward between the two Realms. Now therefore, if "Your Majesty doth really design a Treaty, command the Siege to be removed. Hereupon the King by his Letters commanded the Duke of *Lancaster* upon forfeiture of Life and Limb, and whatever else he could forfeit, to desist from the Siege, and to come home as soon as might be; the *French* King also at the same time sending to his Subjects to desist a while from all Hostilities whatsoever. This Cardinal [r] was Bishop of St. *Jean de Maurienne* in *Savoy*; whose Letters of safe Conduct for himself and a Train of 30 Horse, bore Date at *Westminster* the 26th of *May*, this Year. In that very juncture came [s] hither from Pope *Innocent* VI. *Talayrand* Bishop of *Alby*, Cardinal of *Perigort*, and *Nicolas* Cardinal of St. *Vitalis*, to assist at a Treaty of Peace, to be held about *Midsummer*, this Year; the Kings [t] Letters of safe Conduct for them and their Train (consisting of 200 Horse) bearing Date the Third of *June*. These two Prelates together with the other Cardinal, lately come from *Bretagne*, as aforesaid, addressed themselves to the King at *Westminster*, and having [u] made their Salute in a kind of Adoration, as he sat in great and terrible Majesty on his Throne, One of them began to preach upon this Text, [x] *Honor Regis Judicium diligit*, i. e. *The Kings Honour loveth Righteousness*: After which they discoursed about their Commission, which contained thus much, that King *Edward* should have all the Lands, which his Predecessors held in *France*, on Condition, that Peace and Concord might be settled between the two Kings. To which King *Edward* answer'd briefly; "*That* "*althô some of the Lands of his Predecessors had been lost for a time, yet he doubted not* "*of recovering them again, when it should please God: But that he would have nothing* "*to do with them; unless they came to the point in hand, concerning the Crown of* "France, *which he claim'd.* They answer'd, their Commission extended not so far; wherefore the Matter rested, till they might hear from the Pope again, which they did not, till

[q] *Knighton p. 2615. n. 44.*

[r] *Ashmole p. 658.*

[s] *Froiss. c. 173. & Knighton p. 2615. & Walsing. Hist. p. 164. Ashmole p. 658.*

[t] *Ashmole p. 658. ex Pat. 31 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 25.*

[u] *Knighton ibid.*

[x] *Psalm. 99. v. 4.*

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till the 29 of *August*; or the Feast of the Decollation of St. *John*. But in all these Treaties the Pope was so notoriously partial in the *French* Kings Cause, that by reason thereof, and because of those many miraculous Victories, which even in spite of his Holiness, by an especial Providence of God, the *English* obtained, there were Rhymes scatter'd about the Pope's Court at *Avignon*, and in other parts of *France*, importing thus much in *English*,

y Or est le *Pape* devenu *Franceis*;
Et *Jesu* devenu *Engleis*:
Or serra veou, qui fra plus;
Ou le *Pape*, ou *Jesus*. *Knighton p.* 2615. *vid.*

y *The* Pope *is on the* Frenchmens *side*,
With England Jesus *doth abide*:
'Twill soon be seen, who 'll now prevail;
For Jesus, *or the* Pope *must fail*.

And the truth of this sufficiently appear'd at the Return of the Pope's Answer at this time: For thô outwardly the Cardinals were enjoyned only to look to the Negotiation of the Peace, yet at the same time they had x with them a Bull from his Holiness, enjoyning every Bishop by Papal Authority to make a Visitation throughout their several Diœceses, and to pay their Procurations to the Cardinals; and it was said, how this Summ was by the Pope intended for the aid and sustaining of the *French* interest. At the same time his Holiness was pleased to demand of the Realm of *England*, the annuity of 1000 Marks, granted by King *John* of *England* to the Court of *Rome*, at the time when he resign'd his Crown to the Legate *Pandulphus*, declaring upon his resuming thereof, that for the future he would hold it of the Pope. But since his days the said Summ of 1000 Marks remain'd unpaid, even for the space of an 140 Years; all which arrearages were now demanded, in hopes, that King *Edward* would so be terrified into an easie Complyance in behalf of the *French* King. But He, who besides his own Couragious Heart had both a more Loving Clergy and Loyal Baronage, then had that unfortunate King *John*, answer'd wisely and roundly; "a *That he would never pay any tribute to any Mortal whatsoever, because he held his "Kingdom, and would hold it, freely, and without subjection to any One, but only to God "Almighty.* And yet we shall find, that in the 39th Year of this King, this Pope's Successor made the same Demand; and upon refusal threatned to cite him by Process to answer it at the Court of *Rome*; but the King, being strongly back'd by his Parliament, neither did the one nor the other.

x *Knighton p.* 2617. *n.*50.

a *Knighton p.* 2617. *n.*60.

b *Knighton ibid. n.* 46.

The Work of Peace-making was it seems so chargeable; that b at *Michaelmas* the Cardinals had of the Clergy of *England* 4 *d.* in the Mark, as well of Spirituals as Temporals; and yet no final Peace was made: Only c at last with much adoe they procured a Truce between the two Kings, and all their Allies (except the Lord *Philip* of *Navarre*, and his Allies, and also the Countess of *Monford*, and the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*) to endure until the Feast of St. *John Baptist*, or the 24 of *June*, which was to be in the Year MCCCLIX. Upon this Truce the *French* King had leave to remove with all his Houshold to *Windsor* Castle; where he and his Son *Philip* diverted themselves with Hunting and Hawking at their pleasure: But the other Prisoners continued still at *London*, where they had the Liberty to go to Court, when they pleas'd; only they were sworn to be true Prisoners, and by no means to endeavour an Escape. About this time King *Edward* d granted unto the Lord *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, the Custody of the Fort and place of *Cruyck* in *Normandy*, part of the Kings late Conquests, with all the Revenues thereunto belonging, to hold, *durante Bene placito*: And a Command was given to Sr. *Donald Heselrige*, Sr. *Lewis Clifford*, and Sr. *Walter Mewes*, to deliver them up to him, or his Lieutenant accordingly.

c *Froiss. c.* 173.

d *Ashmole's Garter p.*697. *ex Rot.*31 *Ed.*3 *m.*5. *Dat.* 18. Novemb.

III. We have declared largely enough, how King *David* of *Scotland* was taken Prisoner also at the Battle of *Durham*; and ever since that he wanted his Liberty, being e at this time in the Tower of *London*. But now upon the Conclusion of the foresaid Truce between *England* and *France*, the Cardinals together with the f Bishop of St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*, began to enter into a serious Treaty with King *Edward* about the Delivery of King *David* from his Long Imprisonment: Which Treaty was not a little further'd by the Prayers of Queen *Joan* of *Scotland*, King *Edwards* Sister. So that at last, on the g 3d of *October* there met at *Barwick* Commissioners on both sides, namely *John Thoresby* Archbishop of *York*, *Thomas Hatfield* Bishop of *Durham*, *Gilbert Welton* Bishop of *Caerlile*, the Lords *Henry Piercy*, *Ralph Nevill*, *Henry Scroop*, and *Thomas Musgrave*, on King *Edwards* part; and *William* Bishop of St. *Andrews*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Cathnes*, *Patrick* Bishop of *Brechin*, Chancellour of *Scotland*, *Patrick* Earl of *March*, *Robert de Irskin*, and *William Levington* Knights, Deputies of

e *Knighton p.* 2616. *n.*13.

f *Non enim ad Archiep. erecta est hæc sedes, ante* Sixtum IV. *PP. qui id fecit An°.*1471

g *Rot. Scot.*31. *Ed.*3. *m* 2. *Dorso. Vid. Ashmole's Garter p.* 658.

Robert

Robert Stuart Guardian of *Scotland* on the other Part: Between whom these Articles were agreed on, *viz.* AN. DOM. 1357. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXI. *Franciæ* XVIII.

"*Imprimis*, [h] That King *David* should never after bear Arms against the King of "*England* within this Realm; nor either Counsel or Abett any of his Subjects so to do.

2. "*Item*, That King *David* upon his Return into *Scotland*, should use his utmost "Endeavour to persuade his Lords and Others to agree, that the Crown of *Scotland* "might be held in Fee and by Homage of the King of *England*: But that if the *Scots* "could not be brought to yield to that, yet however King *David* should swear solemn- "ly to observe the Peace with the King of *England* punctually and duly.

3. "*Item*, That King *David* should oblige and bind himself and his Heirs, and the whole "Realm of *Scotland*, to pay unto the King of *England* and his Heirs within [i] ten Years "after, the Sum of one hundred thousand Marks Sterling.

4. "*Item*, That King *David* in the mean time deliver unto King *Edward* Twenty "good and sufficient Pledges and Hostages, for the Performance of these Covenants, as "namely the Lord *John*, Eldest Son and Heir to the Lord *Robert Stuart*, and Nephew "to King *David*, and together with him the Earls of *Southerland*, *Douglas*, *Murray* and "*Mar*, and *Fife*; the Baron of *Vescy*, Sr. *William Cathanes*, and Twelve others: All "who were to abide in *England* as Prisoners and Hostages for the King their Lord, till "the said Summ be fully paid and acquitted.

5. "*Item*, That a *Decennial* Truce in *England*, *Scotland* and the Isle of *Man*, be in- "violably kept between the two Realms, on pain of Forfeiture of Body and of Chat- "tels, and that after ten Years the *Scots* might be free to choose Peace or War, as they "should like best.

Of these Articles there were made Indentures and Publick Instruments, sealed with the Seals of both the Kings; and so King *David* after almost 11 Years Imprisonment, had his Liberty, and rode homeward with his Queen *Joan*, Sister to King *Edward* (who attended him like a loving Wife all the time of his Confinement) and came to *Barwick* on the Feast of St. *Michael*, where they were met by several of the *Scotch* Nobility, who brought along with them one Moiety of the Summ agreed on for their Kings Ransom, and the Hostages, who were to remain in *England* till the Remainder should be paid.

And then according to the Fifth Article above-written, the Decennial Truce between the *Scots* and *English* was solemnly Proclaimed: For all along till now, whatever Truce was taken between the two Nations, there was none entirely observed; but either by the Robberies of the Borderers on Land, or the Piracies of private Men by Sea, was continually interrupted by the *Scots*: Thô King *Edward* many times was content in a private manner to correct these Disorders without infringing the Publick Peace. Particularly this very Year, even while the two Kings were labouring what in them lay for an Everlasting Concord, [k] three *Scotch* Pirates with no less than 300 chosen Men of Arms, went cruising about the Coasts of *England* to trepan Merchants, and such as they could get they slew and rifled, doing that way much Mischief: But about *Michaelmas* there arose an high and strong Wind, which drove them, and many *English* Vessels also, as well of War as others, all together into *Yarmouth* Haven, where it pleased God, the *Scots* were taken every Man, and brought to a just account for all their Piracies.

'Tis said of this King *David*, [l] that during his Captivity here in *England*, being much part of the Time confined in *Nottingham* Castle, he left behind him in a Vault under the Castle curiously engraven with his own Hands on the Walls, which were of Rock, the whole Story of the Passion of our Saviour: For which one says, that Castle became as famous, as formerly it had been for *Mortimers* Hole.

But He being now acquitted of his Imprisonment, like a just Prince, sets himself seriously to perform the Articles of Agreement between him and his Brother-in-Law of *England*; and first according to a private Promise made unto King *Edward*, he rased and demolished the Castles of *Dalswinton*, *Dumfres*, *Mortoun* and *Durisdere*. Then [n] he called a Parliament, where he enacted sundry Laws for the Punishment and Disgrace of those, who had fled from the Battle of *Durham*; as in a Parliament [n] preceding that Battle he had very liberally rewarded all such, as had either been Notable for their Actions or Sufferings in his Service; among whom (says *Hector Boethius*) his Ancestor *Hugh Boece*, in Consideration of his Fathers Death on his Account in the Action at *Duplin*, was made Inheritor of the Barony of *Balbrid*, the King giving unto him in Marriage the Heiress of the said Barony. But now on the Contrary, he was as Severe in punishing the Cowardise or Disloyalty, as he thought it, of those who had deserted him in the Battle of *Durham*; among whom the Lord *Robert Stuart*, Prince of *Scotland*, was espe-

[h] *Knighton p.* 2617. *n.*40. *Du Chesne p.*680.

[i] Thô we find 24000 Marks of the said Summ upon Arrears 27 Years after. *Vid. Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*277. *ex Rot. Scot.*7. *Ric.* 2. *m.*8.

[k] *Knighton. p.* 2617. *n.*30.

[l] *Speed's Maps* Nottinghamshire *c.*34. §. 3. *fol.*65.

[m] *Holinsh. Chron. Scotl. p.*243.

[n] *Holinshead ibid. p.*240.

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cially numbred: Thô both before that and ſince he had given ſufficient Teſtimonies of his Courage and Conduct, and had alſo by his Government, during his Maſters Impriſonment, and his Care, and (at laſt) Succeſs in working his Delivery, as plainly demonſtrated his Loyalty. But however King *David*, rather than acknowledge his own Raſhneſs in occaſioning that Overthrow, laid it ſo vehemently upon his Nephew *Roberts* Leaving the Field, [o] that now at laſt that Act (whereby the Crown of *Scotland* for want of Lawfull Iſſue begotten of *Davids* Body, was for ever entailed on the ſaid Prince *Robert* and his Heirs) was by his Procurement repealed, diſanulled, and wholly made void; and his other Nephew, the young Lord [p] *Alexander*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Southerland*, by his youngeſt Siſter *Jane*, was declared Heir Apparent to the Crown of *Scotland* in the Room of Prince *Robert*, who was Eldeſt Son of the Lady *Margaret* King *David's* Eldeſt Siſter. Which Act all the Lords of *Scotland* were ſworn to obſerve and maintain.

[o] *Holinſh. Chron. Scotl. p.* 243. *& Hector l.* 15.

[p] *Odor. Rainal. vocat* Alexand. *alii* Johann. *ſed Rainaldi fides præſtantior.*

Whereupon the old Earl of *Southerland*, Father to this Prince *Alexander*, verily believing, that his ſaid Son could not now miſs of the Crown of *Scotland*, gave away the moſt part of his Lands, dividing them among his Friends and Relations, eſpecially to the Noble Families of the *Hayes*, the *Sinclares*, the *Ogilbies* and the *Gourdons*, thereby to bind them the faſter unto his Sons Intereſt. But all this Precaution fail'd, for ſhortly after the Lord *Alexander* his Son, being one of the Pledges, then remaining in *England* for the Security of King *David's* Ranſom, together with moſt of the other Hoſtages, died of the Plague which then again raged in this Kingdom, as we ſhall ſee ſhortly. Whereupon Prince *Robert Stuart* being then again eaſily reconciled to the King, was once more acknowledged, and by Act of Parliament eſtabliſhed Rightfully the Heir Apparent to the Crown of *Scotland*, in as full manner, as he had been before.

The mean while, eſpecially at the Inſtance of the Pope, the Clergy of *Scotland* agreed to contribute the Tenth Penny of all their Fruits and Revenues, towards the payment of their Kings Ranſom: And at the ſame time the ſaid King, nothing unmindfull of his Promiſe made to King *Edward* before his Deliverance, moved his Lords and Barons in a Matter, which yet himſelf was not willing to ſucceed in, thô being bound by Oath ſo to do, he urged it notwithſtanding with all the Application he could: Namely, [q] "*That provided he himſelf ſhould deceaſe without Iſſue, they would agree, that the* "*Crown of* Scotland *and all the Rights thereof, ſhould be entirely transferred to the King* "*of* England's *Eldeſt Son, and to his Lawfull Heirs for ever.* But to this unexpected Propoſal the Lords anſwer'd all with one Voice, *That as long as any of them were able to hold a Sword in their Hands, they would never yield to be ſubject to* England. King *David* was well pleaſed with this their Reſolution, and look'd upon himſelf now, as diſcharged from attempting any thing further that way: Becauſe he had only engaged to King *Edward*, "That if the *Scotch* Nobility would conſent, he would Entail the Crown "upon his Eldeſt Son.

[q] *Odor. Rainal. ad ann.* 1358. §. 4. *& Scotici Scriptores, Holinſh. &c.*

IV. But we have too long left the Duke of *Lancaſter* at the Siege of *Rennes* in *Bretagne*, from whence as we ſhew'd [r] before, King *Edward*, at the Cardinals Remonſtrance, had ſent him a peremptory Command to riſe forthwith upon ſight of his Letters. Now the mean while the Duke by a ſtrict and long Siege (for it began on the 3d of *December* in the Year foregoing, and ended not till the latter end of *July* in this Year) had mightily ſtraitned the Place, having moreover ravaged and eaten up the Country all about to ſupply his Army; but I dare not ſay with [s] *Leland*, that by a Detachment ſent from the Siege, he wan *Autry* and *Semay*, lying on the River *Ayſne* on the Marches of *Lorraine*; for to any one that conſiders the Diſtance of thoſe Parts from *Bretagne*, it will ſeem ridiculous to imagin it; I had rather in that Place read *Vitray* on the *Vilaine*, on which River the City of *Rennes* alſo ſtands. However [t] once *Charles* of *Blois* came thither with 10000 Men to raiſe the Siege, but when he ſaw the *Engliſh* Duke ready to receive him in the Field, and yet at the ſame time to make good the Siege with another Part of his Army, holding it not likely to ſucceed as then, he retired. Whereupon the Beſieged beginning to doubt of their Affairs, ſought for an occaſion to parly with the Duke, but they deſign'd to do it as it were by Chance, that ſo they might obtain the better Conditions. Firſt therefore they requeſt a ſafe Conduct for a Biſhop and ſix Knights, whom they ſent to re-conſecrate a Church without the Walls, which being polluted by a Murther committed therein had been ſhut up for ſome time. Theſe ſeven having obtained a ſafe Conduct, and the Work for which they went being done, upon their return thrô the Camp, were invited by the Duke to Dine with him: and there at Table in Diſcourſe it was queſtion'd, what might be the Meaning that the Defendants delay'd to yield up the Town, ſince there was no Body able

[r] *Vid. Lib.* 3. *c.* 2. §. 2. *p.* 527.

[s] *Leland Collect.* 1 *Vol. p.* 824. *vid. Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 788.

[t] *Knighton p.* 2616.

able to ſuccour them or to raiſe the Siege. The Biſhop having received Inſtructions before-hand, ſaid they ſhould not refuſe to yield upon good Conditions; the Duke ſaid, they could not expect any better Conditions as things were now, than to ſubmit Themſelves and Goods to his Clemency. However after much Altercation, Matters were brought at laſt to this Iſſue, "That the Inhabitants ſhould give to the Duke an [u] hun- "dred thouſand Scutes of Gold toward the Charges he had been at; ſo that they ſhould "be otherwiſe free both in their Body and Goods; and further, that they ſhould give "Security, that upon the Duke's Demanding the Town for the Uſe and Behoof of the "King of *England*, they would deliver it unto him, to ſet what Captain he ſhould pleaſe "over them. Theſe things were eſtabliſhed and agreed to on both ſides, and thereupon the Duke named them a Captain; but becauſe he would not expoſe the City to Plunder, he appointed only certain Troops to go and take Poſſeſſion of it in his Name, he himſelf tarrying without the Town with the Groſs of his Army. One [x] ſays, how he had ſworn not to riſe from before *Rennes*, untill he had entred in Perſon, and ſhould ſee his Banners planted upon the Rampiers: Wherefore his Men apprehending they ſhould grapple with the Difficulties of a ſecond Winter, and the Defendants fearing to be utterly famiſhed, the Treaty was thereupon promoted with more vigour on both ſides. And as for the Duke's Oath, Sr. *Bertram Clequin*, one of the ſix Knights that menaged the Treaty, found out an Expedient to ſave that: Which was, that he ſhould enter the Town with Nine more, and his Colours ſhould ſtand on the Gate for ſome hours. Without this Device, as it proved, he muſt have been obliged to depart without fulfilling his Oath; for preſently after, even on that ſame Day, being the laſt of *June*, the King of *England's* Letters aforemention'd came to his Hands, wherein he was commanded immediately to leave the Siege: Thô by good Fortune he had firſt got his Mony, and made full Agreement. Which Agreement, according to Orders ſet down in the King's Letters, was after that advanced into a Truce, [y] between the Earl of *Montford* and *Charles* of *Blois* and their Adherents, to endure untill the Firſt Day of *May*, *An°* MCCCLXI.

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[u] *Fab.* ſays but 60000. a Scute 6 *s.* 8 *d. i.e.* a Noble *Engliſh*.

[x] *Mezeray ad hunc annum.*

[y] *Froiſ. c.* 213. *f.* 108. *a.*

V. At the ſame time [z] there were certain Men of Arms and Archers, belonging to divers Caſtles in Garriſon both in *Bretagne* and *Gaſcogne*, of whom more than 600 joyning together went into *Normandy*, to further the Affairs of *Philip* of *Navarre*; where in a ſhort ſpace they took by Stratagem the ſtrong Town of *Honfleur*, which is directly oppoſite to *Harfleur*, on the other ſide the *Seyne*; and began to fortifie it for themſelves. But ſoon after the Marſhal of *France*, *Robert Clermont*, came upon them with 800 Men of Arms and 5000 Foot, and made a fierce Aſſault upon the Town; wherein yet he loſt no leſs than 500 Men: And ſtill the *Engliſh* defended themſelves, and the *French* laboured hard at the Walls to carry the Place by Force. But while thus the Fight continued, Sr. *Robert Knolles* and Sr. *James Pipe*, who [a] were the Duke of *Lancaſter's* Lieutenants in *Normandy*, came ſuddenly on the *Frenchmens* Backs, and with the ſlaughter of a Thouſand more of them, put the Marſhal and the reſt to flight.

[z] *Knighton p.* 2616. *n.* 40. *&c.*

[a] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 109.

VI. Now the ſtrong [b] Caſtle of *Eureux* in *Normandy*, which was a part of the Natural Inheritance of King *Charles* of *Navarre*, and whence he bore the Title of Earl, had ſome while ſince been ſeiſed into the *Frenchmen's* hands, and was ſtill by them detained, to the exceeding Regret of the Citizens of *Eureux* and others, Subjects and Friends of the ſaid King of *Navarre*. Among others *William* Lord of *Granville* reſented it extreamly ill, that the King his Maſter ſhould be thus baſely impriſoned, and this his Caſtle and other Places of his injuriouſly detained by his Enemies. This Lord had an Houſe and Lands within two Leagues of the City, and could without any Suſpicion go in and out at his pleaſure; becauſe as yet he had never bore Arms for Prince *Philip* or the *Engliſh* againſt the *French*, for fear of loſing thoſe Lands which he held thereabout. And beſides when King *John* wan that Place, he took an Oath of Fidelity from all thoſe who held any thing in thoſe Parts, or elſe all had been ſeiſed to his own Uſe: And thus King *John* held the Country, but King *Charles* reign'd in the Hearts of the People. And yet if the *French* King had been now at home all had been well enough: But his Captivity, and the Confuſion of the *French* Affairs thereupon, gave more Courage to the Enemies of *France* to undertake Matters, which otherwiſe they durſt not have thought on: Eſpecially becauſe it was well known, that the Three Eſtates themſelves were deſirous of the Liberty and Proſperity of the King of *Navarre*. Upon theſe Conſiderations this Lord *William* of *Granville* began to form a notable and a bold Enterpriſe on the Behalf of the King his Maſter, which now we ſhall exactly relate. The Liberty he had of going to *Eureux* at his pleaſure, he made uſe

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 176.

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of chiefly to visit a great Alderman of that City, whom he knew in former times to have been very firm and loyal to the King of *Navarre*. This Alderman had a particular esteem also for him upon the same and other Accounts, and entertain'd him always with the best sort of Provisions, and with much freedom of Discourse relating to several Matters; but still they would now and then have a Touch about the King of *Navarre's* being seised and thrown into Prison, whereat they were both highly displeased. But at last the Lord *William* said in private to the Alderman, "*If you will be of my Mind, and* "*give me your Furtherance, I will undertake soon to recover both this Town and Castle* "*to the use of our Lord the King of* Navarre. *How can that be,* said the Alderman? "*For the Captain of the Castle is so true a* Frenchman, *that we can never expect to make* "*him consent to any such thing: And without the Castle nothing can be done; for 'tis* "*that over-aws the Town. Well,* said the Lord *William, I'll tell you now: First of all* "*you must try to get five or six substantial Citizens to your side, and every one of you* "*must then secretly provide a certain* Quota *of Men of Arms, to be ready by such a* "*Day in your Houses: And when you can assure me of thus much, I'll engage upon my* "*Life, that you shall enter the Castle without any Danger, by a Stratagem which I have* "*thought on.* The Business being thus concluded, the Alderman handled the Matter so discreetly, that he wan an Hundred substantial Citizens to be of his side presently; all who provided certain Armed Men, who were to be ready on such a Day in their houses. When the Lord *William* knew that all things were Ripe, he fixed the Day, and informed the Alderman what Measures to take, and so prepared himself to put his Plot in Execution.

Early in a Morning he arm'd himself, and over his Armour put on a Coat, and over the Coat a short Cloak, and so putting a short Battle-Ax close under his Arm, he walked forth with his Man after him toward the Castle. Being now near, he walked in a careless manner to and fro before the Gate, as he had often done before, by way of Preparation; till at last the Captain of the Castle came down and opened the Wicket of the Gate, and as it was his daily use stood there and looked about him, to see if the Coast was clear. When Sr. *William* espied him, he walk'd as it were by Chance that way, till being something near, he gave the Good Morrow to the Captain, who stood still and civily returned his *Bon-jour*; and so Sr. *William* drawing a little nearer they began to enter into Converse.

The *Frenchmen* of all other People are hugely desirous of News; but especially when any ways they are debarred from going abroad, as those are who keep Garrisons: Wherefore first of all in subtlety Sr. *William* asked the Captain, what News he had heard lately? The Captain who had nothing to tell, and therefore greatly desired to know something, answer'd, "*Alas! I have no News in the World, but desire if you have* "*any to impart it to me. Sir, that I shall do most readily,* said Sr. *William,* and then pro- "ceeded in this manner. "Sir, it is now current all about *France,* that the King of "*Denmark* and the King of *Iseland* are allied together, and have sworn to Sail forth, "and not return again into their own Countries, till they have utterly destroyed all "*England*; and that in their Course thither, meeting with the Prince of *Wales* upon the "Sea, as he was conveying the *French* King into *England,* they fought him and wan "the *French* King from him, whom they are now sending home in great Honour to *Pa-* "*ris:* For their Navy consists of more than an hundred thousand Fighting Men. And "the *Englishmen* are in such fear of them, that they know not what in the World to "do; for there goes an old Prophesie among them, "That *England* shall be destroyed by "the *Danes.* Then the Captain asked him, how he heard these News? Sir, said the "Lord *William,* an honourable Friend of mine, a Knight of *Flanders,* wrote this to "me for most certain, and together with the Letter he sent me the loveliest Chessboard of "Men, that ever I beheld in all my Life. That Device he put in by the by; because he knew the Captain took great pleasure in playing at Chess; and indeed this Project took, for the Captain immediately snatching hold on the last Word, said, "Sir, *I* "*pray be so kind to let me see your Chess-Men.* I'll send for them presently, replied Sr. *William,* on condition you'll play a Game with me for some Wine. And that being agreed on, he bad his Servant, who was privy to all his Design, to run and fetch him his *Chess-men,* and bring them unto him to the Wicket: Accordingly his Man ran into the Town, and the Captain and Sr. *William* enter'd in at the first Gate, the Captain fastning the Wicket after him with a Bolt only; for he would not lock it because of the return of the Chessboard. Then Sr. *William* asked him familiarly to open the Second Gate, saying, he might do it safely enough, seeing the First was fast. Then the Captain open'd that Wicket also, and let Sr. *William* enter with him to see the Castle in his Company.

The

The mean while his Servant had gone ſtraight to the Chief of thoſe Burgeſſes, who had Men ready Armed in their Houſes, and they immediately ſignified the ſame to all the reſt, and ſo being all aſſembled, and conveniently poſted on one ſide near the Caſtle Gate, he went up before and ſounded a little Horn, as he was before order'd to do by the Captain and Sr. *William*. The Lord of *Granville* hearing the Horn, ſaid to the Captain, "let us go out to the Second Gate, for my Man is coming; and with "that he himſelf paſſed forth at the Firſt Wicket, and ſtood ſtill without, watching his Opportunity. The Captain thinking to follow him ſet out one Foot, and ſtooping down put out his Head, but juſt then had Sr. *William* taken in his hand the little Ax from under his Arm, and therewith clave the Captains Head at one ſtroke, before he could get his other foot over, ſo that he fell immediately dead upon the Groundſel. Then Sr. *William* ran haſtily to the Outer Wicket and unbolted it, at which time he ſaw his Friends marching up apace to his Aſſiſtance. Now the Watchman of the Caſtle having heard the Horn, was much ſurprized, for the Captain, however lately he had forgot his own Order, had commanded that none ſhould ſound any Horn in the Town on pain of Death. Wherefore looking down from the high Tower he ſaw Men in Harneſs haſting towards the Caſtle Gate, whereupon he cried Treaſon. At that, as many of thoſe in the Caſtle as were ready, haſted to the innermoſt Gate, where they were extreamly ſtartled to behold their Captain Dead, and Sr. *William* with his Ax in his Hand, and all in ſhining Armour (for he had flung away his Cloak now) to defend the Entry. At that inſtant thoſe, who were to ſecond the Lord *William* being enter'd the Firſt Gate were come up alſo to the other, and ſo they eaſily drave back the Souldiers, and took and ſlew whom they pleaſed, and ſo became Maſters of the Caſtle.

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The Caſtle being thus won, the City preſently yielded, and caſt out their *French* Garriſon, at what time they ſent for the Lord *Philip* of *Navarre*, who being juſt then return'd out of *England*, went thither upon their Invitation, and made that his chief Garriſon, from whence on occaſion to infeſt all *Normandy*. Upon his Coming thither he was joyned with Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *James Pipe*, and other *Engliſh* Captains, beſides *Gaſcogners*, who all together made a conſiderable Garriſon, which afterwards prov'd highly prejudicial to the Realm of *France*.

VII. At this time there aroſe ſeveral Captains of *England*, who gather'd Companies unto themſelves, wherewith they made War at their Pleaſure; and gain'd Prizes by Spoils and Ranſoms, and arrived to great Wealth and Dignity. One of theſe was Sr. *John Hawkwood*, [c] an *Engliſh* Knight, born at *Sible Heveningham*, *alias Heningham* in *Eſſex*, being the Son of *Gilbert Hawkwood* a Tanner: He was bound an Apprentice to a Taylor in the City of *London*, by whoſe good leave he went very Young to the *French* Wars in the Service of the King. For his admired Valour he was honoured with the Order of Knighthood, and became in his Days a moſt Noble Captain. All *Italy* remembers the Fame he purchaſed in the Wars there, now fighting for the Duke of *Milain*, *Barnabo*, whoſe Daughter *Donna* he had in Marriage; now for the Pope and the Church, and another while for the State of *Florence*, in whoſe Service he died 38 Years after this. In Teſtimony of whoſe manifold good Offices to that State, the *Florentines* have depoſited his Bones in a ſumptuous Monument in their Cathedral, over which there is his Statue of Black Marble armed at all Points, with *Hawks* flying thrô a *Wood* upon his Shield, that being the *Rebus* of his Name. Thô ſome of his Friends raiſed for him a *Cenotaph* alſo here in *England* at *Sible Heningham* aforeſaid, the Arches of which Tomb repreſented *Hawks* flying thrô a *Wood*. *Froiſard* calls him Sr. *John Hacton*, *Jovius*, *John de Aucut*, or *de Acuto*, and [d] Others otherwiſe; but *Hawkwood* is the True Name. Take this Tetraſtick of *Julius Feroldus* in his Praiſe.

[c] *Weever's Funeral Monum. p.* 623. *& Camden in* Eſſex *p.* 324. *&c.*

[d] *Matt. Villani* calls him *Gianni dell' Aguglio, Sartore Inghileſe. l.* 9. *c.* 37.

Hawkwood, Anglorum *Decus & Decus addite Genti*
Italicæ, Italico *præſidiúmque ſolo:*
Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, *ſic ſimulachri*
Virtutem Jovius *donat honore tuam.*

O Hawkwood, England's *Glory, ſent to be*
The Bulwark and the Pride of Italy;
A Tomb juſt Florence *to thy Worth doth raiſe,*
And Jovius *rears a Statue to thy Praiſe.*

By the Lady *Donna* aforeſaid he had a Son, called alſo Sr. *John Hawkwood*, naturalized in the Eighth year of King *Henry* IV, ten Years after the Death of his Father, as [e] appears by the Record.

[e] Johannes *filius* Johannis Hawkwood *miles, natus in partibus* Italiæ, *factus Indigena An°* VIII Henrici IV. *Mater ejus nata in partibus tranſmarinis. M.S. in Bibl. Cotton. & in Archiv. Turris* Lond. 1 *Part. Pat.* 8. *Hen.* 4. *m.* 20.

Nor

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Nor was Sr. *Robert Knolles* leſs remarkable in theſe days, who being born of mean Parentage in *Cheſhire*, was by his Valiant Acts advanced from a Common Souldier to a Great Commander; his firſt Riſe was in theſe Wars of *Normandy*, of which we are ſpeaking, where with his *Engliſh* Troops and *Navarrois*, he wan from the *French* Towns and Caſtles, driving the Country before him like ſheep, and winning Prizes at ſuch a Rate, that all Men * were willing to follow his Fortune: For he loaded all his Men with Plunder, and was himſelf worth more than an 100000 Crowns.

* *Froiſ. c.* 178.

VIII. But beſides this double torment, which the *French* Nation at that time felt both in *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, there aroſe in other parts of *France* a ſort of Freebooters; who were men, neither provoked, nor employ'd by any, but therefore provoked, becauſe not employ'd, they banded together to afflict, rob, and plunder the poor Country. The Chief whereof at that time was [g] Sr. *Arnold Cervoles* a *Gaſcogner*, who at the Battle of *Poictiers* was armed like one of the *French* Kings Sons; being commonly called the Arch-Prieſt. He was very wealthy, and had for ſome while at his own Charges retained a good Number of Men of Arms, and others of ſeveral Nations; with whom he lately ſerved the *French* King. But upon that Kings Impriſonment miſſing of his pay, he thought he could not better employ himſelf, and keep his Men together, than by paying himſelf at the Countries coſt. This Arch-Prieſt knew the Clergy was Rich, and therefore he took his way towards *Provence*, intending to give his Holineſs a Viſit, and to finger ſome of his Gold, and all along in his way thither he plunder'd, and pillag'd, and took Towns and Caſtles. Pope *Innocent* VI. was ſo terribly alarum'd at the noiſe of this approaching Storm, that he fell to retain Men of War on all hands, and made the Cardinals do the like; moreover [h] he wrote earneſtly to the Emperour *Charles*, requeſting his Aſſiſtance, as alſo to the Impriſon'd King of *France*, becauſe the *Dauphin* was of no Authority: But theſe Friends were far of, and Sr. *Arnold* came daily nearer and nearer, having haraſſed at his pleaſure in *Venaiſſin*, till coming toward *Avignon*, [i] the Pope and his Clergy not daring to truſt to their Arms, to be fairly rid of him, fell into a Treaty with him; till at laſt upon good ſecurity given and taken, he was permitted to enter the City with certain of his Troops, where he was as Honourably received, as thô he had been Son to a King. Heſrequently dined with the Pope and the Cardinals, and there obtained a Revocation of the Curſe lately laid upon him and his Men; and alſo a full pardon *ab omni pœnâ & culpâ*; which was made more reliſhing with an addition of 60000 Crowns of Gold, preſented unto Sr. *Arnold*; he thereupon promiſing to leave thoſe parts. This he punctually obſerved; but thô certain of his Men, being now ſatisfied of their pay, disbanded, he kept the greater part of them ſtill together, and only changing his Quarters continued his new Profeſſion.

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 177.

[h] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum §.* 3. & 4.

[i] *Froiſ. ibid.* & *Mezeray ad hunc annum.*

[k] *Froiſ. c.* 178.

At the ſame time there [k] aroſe another Warlike Company of *Robbers* under one *Griffith* a *Welch* Captain, who kept between the Rivers of *Loire* and *Seyne*; ſo that none durſt travail on Horſe or Foot between *Paris* and *Orleans*, or between *Paris* and *Montargis*; but all the People of the Country fled before them, either to *Orleans* or to *Paris*. This Captain *Griffith*, whom ſome way or other his Men had made a Knight, became wonderfull Rich by his exceſſive pillaging and plundering. One day he would ride up almoſt to *Paris*, another day to *Orleans*, and a third to *Chartres*; inſomuch, that there was no Town, Caſtle, nor Village, except thoſe, that were fortify'd to purpoſe, which they did not overrun, rob, and plunder, as *Eſpernon*, *Gaillardon*, *Rambouillet*, *Alais*, *Eſtampes*, *Chaſtres*, *Montereau*, *Pluviers en Gaſtinois*, *Milly*, *Artenay*, *Chaſtillon*, *Montargis*, *Illiers*, and divers other great and ſmall Towns; that You'ld admire to think it. And beſides this they infeſted the Roads, robbing all Paſſengers, by 20, 30, and 40 in a Company; nor did they meet with any Reſiſtance, the Noble Realm of *France* was at that time in ſuch Diſorder. Theſe ſort of Men called themſelves *La grand Compagnie*, and *Les Compagnons*, and grew by Degrees numerous, and laſted long, and ravaged about in divers Countries to the great Terrour and Affliction of the whole Kingdom. For the Three Eſtates did ſo claſh with the *Dauphin*, and with one another, that they did to their Country more miſchief, than good; and the Regent was not able to do any thing of Moment, becauſe he wanted both Money and Authority. Wherefore the [l] Noble Men of *France*, and the Prelates of Holy Church being weary of the troubleſome Government of the Three Eſtates, voluntarily gave up their ſhare in the Rule, and permitted the Provoſt of the Merchants to call ſome of the Burgeſſes of *Paris*, and other Towns to an account; becauſe they had preſum'd to call others to account, whom they had no power to queſtion.

[l] *Froiſ. c.* 179. *fol.* 98.

IX. At this the Provoſt taking more confidence upon him, than hitherto he had done, began to aſſemble certain of the Commons of *Paris*, who were of his Mind; and

to

to all these he distributed Hats, half-red, and half-sky-colour'd, to distinguish them from others. With 3000 of these fellows, being all armed, he marched from the *Augustins* to the Palace of St. *Paul*, where then the *Dauphin* was lodged, having about him sundry Prelates and Noblemen of *France*: But the Provost upon his coming, having seised on the Gates, and guarded all the Avenues, mounted boldly up into the Prince's chamber with a great Rout of Armed Rascals in his Company. Here he peremptorily desired the *Dauphin* to take upon him the Government, which belonged to him by Inheritance, that so the Realm, which one day would be his, might be defended better than it was, and that those Companions, who began to swarm about in the Nation, plundering, spoiling, and ravaging without controll, might be subdued. AN. DOM. 1357. AN. REGNI *Angliæ* XXXI. *Franciæ* XVIII.

The *Dauphin* said, he would willingly take in hand so good a Work, if he had wherewithall; but that it ought to be rather expected from those, who had received the Profits and Rents belonging to the Crown: And, says he, for the reason of this Matter I refer my self to all the World. At this, a [m] sign being given, *John* Lord of *Conflent*, and the Lord *Robert Clermont*, Marshals of *France*, with Dr. *Simon de Bucy*, a Counsellour of State, Three of the *Dauphin's* most trusty servants, are immediately slain before his face, and so near unto him, that the Blood gush'd out upon his Cloaths; "Ha! says the poor Prince, what Insolence is this? Dare you attempt against the "Blood of *France*? No, no, my Lord, says the Provost, fear you nothing; 'tis not "against your Person we pretend, but only these disloyal servants of yours, who have "now received their Reward for giving You such ill Advice. And therewith he took the *Dauphin's* Hat and clapt it on his own Head, at the same time putting his own upon the *Dauphin's*, so making him a Stale for that Popular Rebellion, by giving him the City Livery. The *Dauphin's* Hat was of a Brown-black, embroider'd with Gold, which this audacious Fellow wore all that day in token of his New Dictatorship: Wherefore he forced the abused Prince to pardon them for the Death of his Three Counsellours.

[m] *Du Serres & Mezeray, &c.*

X. But we shall refer the tedious narration of these Insolencies to the *French* Historians, to whom it more properly belongs; since 'tis enough for us, to set forth only so much of the Affairs of that Nation, as either may better explain our Domestick transactions, or are more strictly interwoven with them. And such a Matter was the [n] Release of *Charles* King of *Navarre*, from his Prison at *Arleux* in *Picardy*; which happen'd immediately after that affront put upon the *Dauphin*, the Castle being entred by *Scalado*, and the King deliver'd thence not without the knowledge, as was thought, of the Lord of *Picquigny*, to whose Care King *John* had committed the Custody of that Prince. Being thus freed, he was carried in Triumph to the City of *Amiens*, where having tarried till he had made his Peace with the *Dauphin*, he went with great Pomp to *Paris*, where he was welcom'd with Feastings and Splendid Entertainments, by the Duke of *Normandy* himself, at the Advice of the Provost, whom as then he would not, or durst not, displease. Here having been a few days, he made before the *Dauphin* and the Nobles of *France* a Florid Oration in *Latine* (for he was well learned and of a wonderfull voluble tongue, which was much advantaged by his Shape, Youth, and Presence) wherein "he complain'd of the hard and unworthy usage, which he had suffer'd from his neareſt and "dearest Relations, who of all Men ought especially to have upheld him. And that there "was no Man living, who could with any shadow of Reason doubt, but that he would live "and die in Defence of the Realm and Crown of *France*, as he was more particularly bound "to do; being both by Father and Mother extracted of the Right Line of *France*: Insomuch, that if he had a design (which yet he had not) of Challenging that Crown unto "himself, he could evidently prove, that he had more Right thereto, than the present Pretenders. This Poison was so neatly cover'd with the Flowers of his Eloquence, Majesty, Youth, and Beauty; (especially all Men being prepared to pity him upon the account of his late Imprisonment) that it was immediately swallowed down by most of his Hearers, and by them transmitted to the Vulgar. With whom also he us'd such Popular Arts, by caressing them, promising to ease them of Taxes, to stand by them and the like; that he was presently in far more Power and esteem at *Paris*, and with most of the Chief Cities of *France*, than the *Dauphin* was himself. Wherefore he began to send for his Friends to come and be about him; but as for his Brother *Philip*, neither at his Invitations nor the Provosts, would he ever venture himself among the *Parisiens*; for he would always say, "how in the Favour of the Common-people there was never any certainty: But if Fawning and *Hosanna's* went before, there followed in the Reer nothing but *Crucifiges*, Ruine, Shame, and Dishonour.

[n] *Froiss.* c. 180. *Mezeray ad hunc annum, &c.*

CHAP.

An. Dom. 1358. An. Regni Angliæ XXXII. Franciæ XIX.

CHAPTER the THIRD.

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[a] *Knighton p. 2617. n. 60. & p. 2618. n. 10. & M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c. 230. Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p. 963.*

IN the [a] beginning of this Year King *Edward* iſſued forth his Royal Proclamation throughout all *England*, that all Knights Strangers from any Part of the World, who had a mind to come to the Feaſt of St. *George*, to be ſolemnly held by him on the 23[d] of *April* at *Windſor*, ſhould have his Letters of ſafe Conduct to paſs and repaſs the Realm at their Pleaſure, for the ſpace of three Weeks, without the leaſt Impediment or Danger, there to partake, every one according to his Degree and Merit, of thoſe Honours and Prizes which attended the Princely Exerciſe of Juſts and Tournaments. And this high Feaſt the King held in the greateſt Splendour imaginable, beyond all that he had ever done before; for the Honour chiefly of the *French* King, and others of the Nobility of *France*. To this ſolemn Juſts came the Duke of *Brabant*, Sr. *Frank van Hall*, Sr. *Henry Eam* of *Flanders*, and many Great Lords and Knights of *Almain*, *Gaſcogne*, *Scotland* and other Countries. The Queen of *Scotland* alſo, and many other Great Ladies, as well of *England* as of other Nations, came to *Windſor* to this Feaſt in their gayeſt and richeſt Apparel: And thô it is not our Purpoſe to dwell long on Deſcriptions, ſurely the Pomp and Magnificence of this Famous Entertainment ſet forth as well King *Edwards* Greatneſs, as any other Grandeur of State whatſoever. But King *John*, who expected by an high Ranſom to pay ſomething toward theſe vaſt Profuſions, ſaid merrily, [b] *That he never ſaw nor knew ſuch Royal Shews and Feaſtings, without ſome after Reckoning for Gold and Silver.*

[b] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c. 230. ibid.*

And we find, that about the ſame time he made uſe of one ſhift to raiſe Mony; for it was now ſet forth by Proclamation, [c] that all ſuch the Kings Subjects, as were poſſeſſed of Lands or Rents to the Value of 40 *s.* ſhould appear before the King, there to receive the Order of Knighthood, if he ſhould ſo think fit, under Penalty of being fined according to the Law: And among others it is recorded, that *Richard Bermingham* of *Bermingham* in *Warwickſhire* paid a Fine of 10 *l.* for his Pardon, becauſe he did not obey the Proclamation.

[c] *Dugd. Warw. p 647. a. ex Pat. 32. Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 25.*

II. A little before this, the [d] Pope being concerned at the inteſtine Troubles of *France*, and finding that the Preſence of the King was neceſſary to allay them, ſent the two Cardinals of *Perigort* and St. *Vitalis* with Letters to the *Dauphin*, bearing Date at *Avignon* VIII *Kal. Januarii, An° Pontificatûs VI.* Wherein he admoniſhed him to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours ſpeedily to redeem his Father, to compoſe all Civil Diſcords, and to attend to the Cardinals Advice in thoſe Matters.

[d] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum § 3. ex Tom. 6. Epiſt. ſecret. p. 6.*

[e] *Knighton p. 2618. n. 10.*

The mean while King *Edward*, [e] as ſoon as the Solemnity at *Windſor* was over, removed

moved his Court to *London*, and there began to treat so seriously with King *John*, that all Men believed a Perpetual Peace would now take place between them. Yet it was long before Matters could be brought to any tolerable Issue: For King *Edward* [f] required Homage of King *John* for the Realm of *France*, as holding it of Him, whose Right it was; and upon this Condition he proffer'd him his Liberty and a perpetual Friendship. But King *John*, who had not lost either his Courage or Honour by this Adversity, made this resolute Answer, "That he intended whatever came of it, to leave the Realm of "*France* free and entire to his Children, as he had received it from his Fathers: That "Affliction might well engage his Person, but not the inviolable Rights of his Crown, "nor the Liberty of that Country where he had the honour to be Born; and over which "neither the Imprisonment nor Death of any single Person had such Influence; especi- "ally as to him, who should always reckon his Life well laid down for the Immortal "Preservation of *France*. This Generous Magnanimity of King *John* gave King *Edward* occasion not only to commiserate his Calamity, but also more tenderly to respect and honour him, as a Person worthy of a better Fortune. So that at last, especially because his Dearest Son, the Prince of *Wales*, had promised unto him both in his Tent the Night of the Battle, and afterwards at *Bourdeaux*, that Peace and Concord should take place, as much as in him lay, if by any means he might prevail with his Father; the King being willing to do his Son Honour, yielded to more easie Conditions of Peace, at least such as seemed so to King *John*, who declared he was ready to pay any Summ of Mony as should be demanded; but to subject the Crown of *France* to any Other, that he should never yield to for all the Terrours imaginable. So it was agreed, [g] "That "the whole Countries of *Gascogne* and *Guienne*, *Poicton*, *Touraine*, *Saintogne*, *Peri-* "*gort*, *Quercie*, *Limosin*, *Angoulmois*, *Ponthieu*, *Boulonois*, *Guisnes* and *Calais*, should "remain wholly and entirely to the King of *England* and his Heirs for ever, without "any Homage or Duty paying therefore. And in lieu thereof King *Edward* to re- "nounce for Him and his Heirs, all his Right to the Title and Crown of *France*; as "also his Claim, which by any manner of Means he might have to the Dukedom of "*Normandy*, the Earldoms of *Anjou* and *Maine*. The King of *France* being moreo- "ver to pay unto the King of *England* for his Ransom [h] Three Millions of Crowns of "Gold, which amounts to 500000 *l.* Sterling: Whereof 600000 Crowns to be laid "down presently, 400000 the Year after, and the Remainder the next two Years fol- "lowing. And that Fourteen of the Chief Nobility of *France* should lie as Hostages "in *England*, till the whole Summ is paid; which done, King *John* to be set at Liber- "ty, and honourably conveyed into his own Country. These Articles were sent over to *Avignon* to be confirmed and ratified by the Pope, and also to the *Dauphin*, to be by him communicated to the Three Estates; the success whereof we shall shew in due Place. And so the two Cardinals, who had now been more than a Year in *England*, took their leave and went home again, having the Kings safe Conduct as far as to *Calais*. This Agreement between the two Kings was established by Oaths interchangeably made, and with their mutual Kissing each Other, and the Fame thereof was spread all about; but however on one side or other, Sincerity was supposed to be wanting. Those Wri- ters [i] that favour the *French* Interest, lay the blame upon King *Edward*, saying, that when he beheld the Commotions in *France*, he did his utmost to foment them, that so he might subject the Realm unto himself; and that he might fling the *Odium* of the Breach upon the *French*, he [k] contrived to hinder them from raising the Mony, which was to be paid ready down; and that he secretly assisted the King of *Navarre* with Men, to enable him the more to embroil that Kingdom. But all this we shall easily prove to be the Invention of Malice or Mistake: For as to the stopping of the Mony, 'tis [l] af- firmed by good Authority, "That soon after the Departure of the Cardinals, there "came certain Persons from *France* with [m] twelve hundred thousand Crowns in Part of "Payment for their Kings Ransom: But King *Edward* refused the Mony, for that they "had not brought the Hostages with them, as it had been agreed. They in their De- "fence answer'd, that a great Part of *France* was ravaged by the *English*, contrary to "the Form and Nature of the Agreement; that the People of *France* durst not go to "their own Houses. The King told them, that such *Englishmen*, who tarried in *France* "after the Agreement made, were Outlaws, Felons, Murderers, Theeves and Robbers, "and Delinquents against the Laws of his Kingdom, and as such, out of his Protecti- "on, nor could he justifie them. And further, there is found rather an instance of King *John's* Insincerity in this matter; for the same [n] Author assures us, that when the *English* Ambassadors were returning from *Avignon*, having compleated their Bu- sinesses, it was found out, that King *John*, contrary to his Oath, had sent Letters into

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[f] *Du Serres, &c.*

[g] *Holinsh. Eng. Chron. p. 963. & Matt. Villani l. 8. c. 51. & l. 9. c. 9.*

[h] *Ita Authentica Articulorum copia; Churchill's Divi Britan. p. 242. Fabian p. 240. &c.*

[i] *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum §. 3.*

[k] *Matt. Villani l. 8. c. 101.*

[l] *Knighton p. 2618. n. 56. &c.*

[m] *Forte esset 6 cent. Mill. ut suprà.*

[n] *Knighton p. 2619. n. 24.*

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France, importing, "That whatsoever he had agreed to for Convenience sake in the "present Necessity of Affairs, it was never in his Mind to part with one Foot of the Land "of *France* unto the King of *England*. And the Bearer thereof was taken at Sea, and upon Search these Letters found about him sealed with King *John's* Privy Seal. Upon notice of this double Dealing, King *Edward* thought fit to confine him a little more closely; and so first order'd him to be convey'd to *Hereford* Castle, from whence the next Year [o] his Keeper Sr. *John Kirketon* was order'd to remove him to *Somerton*-Castle in *Somersetshire*; where also for some time he remain'd under Custody of the Lord *William Deincourt*, and Sr. *William Colvile*, who therein supplied the Place of his Brother the Lord *Robert Colvile*, he being indispos'd at that time: And lastly, he was removed thence to the Tower of *London*, his Son *Philip* being constantly with him. But (as we said before) these Removes were made the next Year, when King *Edward* was in *France*.

[o] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 168. 1 *Vol. p.* 388. *Holinsh. Engl. Chron. p.* 964. *& Knighton ibid. Ashmole p.* 659.

III. The mean while, as if all the Vials of Gods Wrath were now to be poured out all together upon that unhappy Prince's People; there arose in *France* another Plague, more terrible than any hitherto mention'd. For whether on occasion of the Oppression of the Great Men, or the intolerable Presumption of the Poor; soon after the Deliverance of the King of *Navarre*, [p] a sort of Rascally Clowns began their seditious Assemblies in *Beauvoisin* and *Brie*, about *Soissons* and the River of *Marne*, which threatned a total Destruction to all the Nobility and Gentry of *France*. For they prov'd just such Levellers, as some twenty three Years after, in the Days of King *Richard* II, *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Straw* were here in *England*.

[p] *Froiss. c.* 182. *f.* 88. *&c. Mezeray, Du Serres, &c.*

At first they were not passing an Hundred or such a matter, who gathering together out of the little Villages without any Head or Captain, and being met somewhere in *Beavoisin*, said among themselves, "How their Nobles, Knights, Esquires and Gentle-"men were a shame and burthen to the Land, and that it would be as laudable to de-"stroy them for their Villany, as profitable for their Wealth. And they all cried out, "that it was true, and said with one Voice, "A shame on him, that doth not his best to "root out all the Gentlemen of the Land. Being thus suddenly gather'd and agreed, without either Captain or Weapons, except what their own ungodly Madness armed them with, as Prongs, Staves, and the like; they went forthwith to a Knights house hard by, which having broke up, they slew him and his Lady, and all his Children great and small, and fired the House upon them; which done they proceeded to another House, a Castle, where they took the Captain thereof a Knight, and bound him fast to a Stake, and ravished his Wife and his Daughter before his Face, and then slew the Lady and her Daughter, and the rest of his Children, and lastly, tormented the Knight himself to Death, and burnt and beat down the Castle; the like whereof they did to several other Castles and Gentlemens Houses. And still as they went on, they encreased like a rowling Snow-ball, so that presently they were grown to above 6000 in Number; for all ungracious Villains like themselves fell to them. Wherefore all the Gentlemen about the Country, with their Wives and Children fled away before them, ten or twenty Leagues off for their better Security, leaving both their Houses and Goods at the discretion of these base Rascals.

Thus did this disorderly Multitude range about, robbing and burning of Houses, Palaces and Mansions, murdering and tormenting all Gentlemen they could lay their hands on, and ravishing young Ladies and Gentlewomen, and committing such horrid Villanies, as can hardly be imagin'd: And he of their Company who was most daring and exquisite in Cruelty and Wickedness, had the highest Esteem among them. At first they had no Head to follow or obey, but now there was found among them one *Jaques* of *Clermont* in *Beauvoisin*, who was so diabolically excellent at these Damnable Inventions of doing Mischief, that as the most ungracious of all, they chose him for their King and Captain, naming him *Jaques* the *Good-Man*: And thence their whole Tribe obtain'd to be called [q] *the Jaquerie*.

[q] *Cotgrave* in his Dictionary says, they had the name of *la Jaquerie*, or *les Jaquiers*, from a short Country Jacket worn in those days. *Non mihi hæc arridet Opinio.*

This incarnate Devil of a King, having first cruelly slain a Noble Knight of those Parts, caused him to be spitted and roasted at a Fire, in sight of the Lady his Wife and Children, and after that ten or a dozen had in most shamefull manner violated the Lady, they compelled her to eat her Husbands Flesh, and then put to Death both her and her Children. And at this rate they raged and prevailed in *Beauvoisin*, about *Corbie*, *Amiens* and *Mondidier*, destroying and burning more than threescore good Houses and Castles. And at the same time the like Fury seised the Peasants and other villanous Wretches in *Brie* and *Artois*, but especially in *Brie*; so that all the Ladies, Knights and Esquires of those Parts were fain to fly away to *Meaux* on the *Marne* for their Defence.

fence. And among them were the Dutcheſs of *Normandy*, and the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, the one Siſter in Law, and the other Daughter in Law to King *John*, with ſeveral other Ladies and Gentlewomen; all who were obliged to fly thither for preſervation of their Lives and Honours. And all the Country on each ſide the *Marne*, as between *Paris* and *Noyon*, and about *Soiſſons* and *Creſſy en Valois*, and on the other ſide, as far as *Mortmireil* and *Eſpernay*, was overrun by theſe Wretched Creatures; and more than an hundred Caſtles and ſtrong Edifices, belonging to the Nobility and Gentry utterly defaced and ruined. Wherefore the Gentlemen of *Beauvoiſin*, *Corbois* and *Vermandois*, being alarum'd at the horrible Outrage of theſe People, ſent to their Friends in *Flanders*, *Hainalt*, *Brabant* and *Luxemburgh* for their Aſſiſtance. Whereupon being ſpeedily re-enforced, they took Courage and rode about the Country in ſtrong Bodies, and whereever they met with any of theſe ungracious Levellers, they ſlew them without Mercy, and hanged them on the trees in Cluſters; and ſurely it was high time to take them up, for if they had all been joyned together, they had made above an hundred thouſand Men. When any were taken and queſtion'd, why they did ſuch Deviliſh deeds, they had nothing to ſay; "*but that they could not help it, they only did as* "*they ſaw others do; it being their deſign to deſtroy all the Nobles and Gentlemen in* "*the World.*

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One day the King of *Navarre* ſlew of theſe People above 3000 near *Clermont* in *Beauvoiſin*; and at the ſame time there came out of *Pruſſia* from the Holy War *Gaſton Phœbus* Earl of *Foix*, and his Couſin *John Greilly* Lord of *Kendale* and *Benanges*, and Knight of the Garter, commonly called the Captal of *Buche*, a true and conſtant Lover of the *Engliſh* Nation. When the Truce was taken between the two Realms, this Noble and Valiant Gentleman, with the Lord [r] *Walter Fauconberg*, an *Engliſh* Baron, and ſeveral others, as well *French* and *Gaſcogners*, as *Engliſh*, went into *Pruſſia* to fight againſt the Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Religion; and being now upon their Return on the Borders of *France*, they heard of the great havock theſe unhappy Multitudes made among the Nobility; and that the Dutcheſs of *Normandy*, and the Duke of *Orleans* and his Dutcheſs, with more than 300 other Ladies and Gentlewomen, were in great fear fled unto the City of *Meaux* for refuge. Wherefore the foreſaid Lords agreed to go and comfort theſe Ladies, and to offer their Lives in their ſervice; for thô the *Captal* and other *Engliſh* Lords were there, yet a Truce being now between the two Kings, they might ſafely ride thrô any part of that Kingdom; and beſides the Cauſe it ſelf was able to juſtifie them, all the Country ſtanding in need of ſuch Protectors. They were in all Threeſcore moſt accompliſh'd Men of Arms, Lords and Knights, beſides their Eſquires and ſervants, all who were well provided for War; and being come in time to *Meaux*, they were heartily welcome to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Ladies with him, and immediately the *French* Lords and Gentlemen thereabouts joyn'd them.

[r] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol.* p. 4.

The mean while the Raſcals of the *Jaquerie* hearing what a Number of Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Noblemens Children were gather'd together in *Meaux*, taking unto them the Rebels of *Valois*, and ſome of the Commons of *Paris*, marched thither, as to a certain Prize. Upon their firſt ſetting forth they were about 9000, and every day they encreaſed, as they paſſed on, till they came to *Meaux*; the Commons of which City, out of Fear, as they pretended, or rather in connivance at their Wickedneſs, ſet open their Gates, and gave them leave to enter. Immediately all the Streets were full of them, even to the Market-place; where all the Nobles, Knights, and Ladies were lodged in a ſtrong houſe, environ'd by the River of *Marne*.

Yet notwithſtanding the Preſence of theſe Valiant Knights, when the Ladies ſaw ſuch Multitudes of the Rabble coming againſt them, they were in an heavy taking for doubt of their Lives and Honour. But at that inſtant the Earl of *Foix*, the Lord *John Greilly*, the Lord *Fauconberg* and their Company, being all gallantly mounted, rode toward the Gate that looks to the Market-place, and ſallied forth in Warlike Order, ſetting fiercely upon the Levellers, who were but indifferently Armed, and held but little Array, being more ignorant in the Arts of War, than in the Practiſe of Brutiſh Cruelty. Beſides the Three Lords aforeſaid, there was alſo the Duke of *Orleans* with his Banner, and their whole Number exceeded not 500; but they were all well-armed, Expert and Gallant Men, and led on by Captains of High Courage and Conduct. Wherefore when this Raſcally Rabble ſaw theſe Warriers all in ſhining Armour ſallying forth on their Barbed Horſes, ready to Defend the Place, the foremoſt of them gave back in great Confuſion, and the Gentlemen fell in upon them with ſwords, Spears, and Battle-Axes. But when the Barbarous Clowns felt and ſaw the mighty

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ſtroaks they gave, and how nothing they had, could reſiſt them, they all began to turn their backs, and for haſte fell foul upon one another. Then all the Noblemen having quitted the Barriers, and won the Head of the Street, ruſhed forth in good Martial Order, and flew in with great Fury among the thickeſt of their Enemies; whom they beat down by heaps, and ſlew them like Beaſts, driving them before their faces ſo haſtily, that Hundreds of them leap'd into the River. In ſhort, they ſlew of them that day more than 7000, and not one of them had eſcaped, but that the Victors were ſo wearied with the Execution, that they were not able to follow the Chace, and pick them up from all parts, where they were ſcatter'd. Now at laſt when all theſe Men of Arms were return'd to the Town, with one conſent they ſet it on fire, and burnt it to the ground and all the Commons of the Town, whom they could encloſe therein; becauſe they had ſo perfidiouſly taken part with the *Jaquerie*, and let them in at their Gates. Their Captain *Jaques* the *Good-man*, being here taken alive, was ſent to the *Dauphin*, [f] who underſtanding that he had aſſumed the Name of a King, cauſed him to be Crown'd with a *Trevet*, or the Three-legged Frame of an Iron Skellet, red-hot, and ſo to be hang'd, in Requital of all his Barbarous Cruelties.

[f] *In Geſtis* Innocent. VI. *apud Boſqu. vid. Odor. Rainald. ad ann.* 1359. §. 1.

After this notable Diſcomfiture, and the terrible Example done upon *Meaux*, they were never able to make any conſiderable Head again: For the young Lord *Ingelram de Coucy*, a Valiant Baron both of [t] *England* and *France*, with certain flying Troops of both Nations ſcoured about thrô all the Country; and ſtill as faſt as he could pick them up, he put them to Death without pity.

[t] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 761.

IV. But neither yet were the inteſtine Broils of *France* allayed; for by reaſon of the King of *Navarre's* popularity (eſpecially becauſe he preſum'd to retain certain *Engliſhmen* at his wages within *Paris* it ſelf) the [u] Duke of *Normandy* doubting the Event of ſuch open Inſolence, as alſo the ſeditious Deſigns of the Provoſt of the Merchants and his Abettors, left the City in Diſpleaſure with thoſe Friends he had about him, and rode to *Pont-Charenton* on the River *Marne*, where he began to Muſter Men of War, and preſently ſent his Defiance to *Stephen Marcell*, the Provoſt, and all his Partakers. The Provoſt was mightily ſtartled at this, and doubted greatly, that ſome time or other, the Duke would come upon them in the Night, and overrun the City; for at that time *Paris* had neither deep Trenches, nor any other Defence in a manner, except thoſe Walls of Bone, her Inhabitants. Then immediately he ſet Labourers and Pioneers to work about the City, who made large and deep Trenches, and began High Walls, and ſtrong Gates, and Baſtions, and other Defences; there being 300 Men continually employed about the Work for the ſpace of one whole Year. Surely it was a Mark of Extraordinary Greatneſs to furniſh an Army, and at the ſame time, almoſt in an inſtant to fortifie ſo vaſt and ſpacious a City, as *Paris*: And whatever the occaſion was, moſt certainly never any Provoſt did an act of more Advantage to that Place; for had it not been for theſe Defences, the City had not only been ſhortly after taken by King *Edward*, but upon ſeveral other occaſions eaſily overrun and ſpoiled.

[u] *Froiſ. c.* 183.

[x] *Froiſ. c.* 185.

Now when the [x] Duke of *Normandy* had compleated his Muſters, and gather'd together to his Aſſiſtance ſundry Perſons of Honour, not only of the Realm of *France*, but alſo out of the Empire, and elſewhere for pay; ſo that he had more than 3000 Men of Arms, beſides others; He preſently went and laid Siege to *Paris*, toward the Gate of St. *Anthony*, along by the River of *Seyne*, himſelf being lodged at St. *Maur des Foſſez*, and his Men thereabout, who every day went and skirmiſhed even to the Walls of *Paris*: But ſtill the Provoſt's Workmen proceeded; for the Souldiers within the City defended them upon all occaſions. Sometimes the Duke lay at St. *Maur*, and ſometimes at *Charenton*; ſo that nothing could come to *Paris* on that ſide, either by Land or Water: For he had cauſed both the Rivers of *Seyne* and *Marne* to be well kept, and had burnt all the Villages about *Paris*, which were not encloſed, the better to curb the Inſolence of that Rebellious City. And ſurely he had ſerved *Paris* it ſelf in the ſame manner; if it had not been pretty well fortify'd: However none durſt go in or out for fear of his Men, who rode on both ſides the *Seyne* at their Pleaſure; there was none to Reſiſt them.

Yet there were in the City ſeveral Loyal and well-diſpoſed Perſons, as *John Maillart*, and his Brother *Simon*, and many of their Relations and Friends, who were very much troubled at the Duke of *Normandy's* Diſpleaſure with the City, and would very willingly have ſubmitted unto him, and have beg'd his Pardon: But the Provoſt had ſo inveigled the Vulgar by his Popular pretences, that no Man durſt contradict him, unleſs he had a Mind to be torn in pieces. The Provoſt for his part ſtill kept in with the King of *Navarre*, following his Directions in all things, and all the while he had

had Men at Work, both Day and Night by turns; for Defence of the City; and moreover retain'd Souldiers on all hands, as well *Navarrois*, as *Engliſh* Men of Arms, and Archers, and other of the Companions: For no other *Engliſhmen* durſt make War in *France*; becauſe hitherto there was a Truce between the two Nations. AN. DOM. 1358. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXII. *Franciæ* XIX.

When the King of *Navarre* ſaw this Difference between the Duke and the City, he began to call to Mind the Words of his Brother *Philip*; *That there was no Truſt to be repoſed in the Vulgar*, and therefore doubting the Worſt, if Matters ſhould proceed, he very fairly took his leave of them (thô not without many kind Promiſes) and drew off to St. *Dennis*: Where he began to retain Souldiers in great Numbers; but the City of *Paris* paid their Wages. The Duke of *Normandy* had now lain at *Charenton* ſix Weeks, and the King of *Navarre* almoſt as long at St. *Dennis*; and between them both, all the Vicinage was in a manner deſtroy'd and eaten up.

V. But in this ſad juncture it pleaſed God to raiſe up certain Eminent and Worthy Perſonages, to labour effectually to compoſe Matters, firſt between the King and the Duke; and then alſo between the two Realms. And here we muſt not forget the great Diligence of the Pope, [y] who by his Letters both to the *Dauphin* and the King of *Navarre*, earneſtly exhorted them to a final Concord, ſo profitable to the Realm, and ſo comfortable to all Good Men. Beſides the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, then newly Ranſom'd out of *England*, the Biſhop of *Auxerre*, and the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, the Lord *Charles* of *Monmorency*, the Lord *Moreau de Fiennes*, and the Lord of St. *Venant*, joyned together to do their utmoſt in this pious way of Pacification. Theſe ſix went ſo often between the Parties, interceding, qualifying, arguing, and conjuring, and bare themſelves with ſuch diſcretion; That now the King of *Navarre* of his own meer good Will, without the leaſt Conſtraint, went to *Charenton* to the Duke of *Normandy*, and excuſed himſelf of what he was ſuſpected, eſpecially of the Death of the Lords of *Clermont* and *Conflens*, and of Doctor *Simon Bucy*, and of the Affront, which the Provoſt had done unto him in the Palace at *Paris*: Swearing, "that it was all without his Conſent and knowledge, and promiſing the Duke to embarque with him, "and joyn iſſue in all his Affairs both good and evil, and to make the *Pariſians* give "him ſatisfaction for what they had done. Hereupon there was Peace made between the King and the Duke; the latter whereof ſaid, "He was willing to pardon the *Pa*"*riſians*, on Condition, that he might have the Provoſt and 12 other Burgeſſes, ſuch as "he ſhould name, to puniſh after their Demerits.

[y] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum. §. 2. & 3. ex Tom. 6. Epiſt. Secret. p. 6. & 7.*

After this Agreement the King of *Navarre* returned to St. *Dennis*, and the Duke went to *Meaux* in *Brie*, which had ſuffer'd ſo much lately on occaſion of the *Jaquerie*: Both the King and the Duke disbanded the greater part of their Troops now; and ſeveral of the Burgeſſes in *Paris*, eſpecially ſuch as had been concern'd in promoting the Treaty, had invited the Duke to come to *Paris*, promiſing to render him all the Dutifull Reſpect imaginable. But the Duke reply'd, "How he would ſurely keep "the Peace, which he had made and ſworn to, without any breach or flaw on his part: "But as for ſetting his Foot within *Paris*, that he was reſolved never to do, till he had "ſatisfaction for the Affronts put upon him.

When the Duke of *Normandy* had thus broke up his Siege, the Provoſt of the Merchants and the Chief of his Partakers, went frequently to St. *Dennis* to viſit the King of *Navarre*; and they told him, "How for his ſake they had incurred the Duke's "Diſpleaſure, for that they had deliver'd him out of Priſon, and brought him in ſuch "Honour to *Paris*: Wherefore they deſired him, for Gods ſake, to have ſome re"ſpect to their ſafety, and not to repoſe too much Confidence either in the Duke or "his Council; nor leave them as a ſacrifice to attone for all the Publique Miſcarriages. The King who was very ſubtle, reſolving now, however things went, to make the beſt Market for himſelf, reply'd, "Certainly, Friends, you ſhall ſuffer no harm, but I will "bear a part therein: But to be armed againſt the worſt Events, I would adviſe You, "ſince at this time You have the ſole Government of *Paris* in Your Hands, to furniſh "Your ſelves with Gold and Silver; ſo that if You ſhould be thruſt out of your Places, "You may have a Friend left at a Pinch. And what You can thus heap together, for "its better ſecurity, ſend it hither to me, as privately as may be, to be kept for Your "uſe: And I ſhall take Care of it, and retain under hand Men of War, who upon oc"caſion ſhall defend You againſt your Enemies. After this Agreement the Provoſt of the Merchants ſent twice every Week to St. *Dennis* two Sumpters, cram'd with Florens, to the King of *Navarre*, to whom the Money was very heartily welcome.

VI. All

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VI. All this while there had [z] been in *Paris* a great Number of Men of Arms and Archers, as well of *England*, as *Navarre*, retained for wages by the Provoſt and Commons of the City, to defend them againſt the Duke of *Normandy*. While the War laſted, theſe Men behav'd themſelves with great Diſcretion, being always upon their Guard, and holding together as One Man. But the Peace being now made between the *Pariſians* and the Duke, they began to ſeparate, many of them going from *Paris* to the King of *Navarre*, who notwithſtanding the Peace retain'd them for his ſervice. But Sr. *James Pipe* in Confidence of his Friend, the Provoſt, tarried ſtill at *Paris* with about 300 Men, who went about ſporting themſelves merrily, and ſpending their Money, as if they had been at *York* or *London*. One day among the reſt, while they were thus divided and ſcattered abroad, whether any occaſion of quarrel was given, or whether Opportunity was the only occaſion, the Men of *Paris* roſe againſt the *Engliſh* and ſlew Threeſcore of them, and had ſlain them every Mothers Son, had it not been for the Provoſt, who to appeaſe the Commons for the Preſent, pretended to be as incenſed againſt the *Engliſh*, as they themſelves, and ſo immediately ſeiſed on 150 of them, whom he flang into Priſon, ſwearing they ſhould all die for it: So that the *Pariſians* were content, and ſtirred no further. But when 'twas Night the Provoſt cauſed them to be all deliver'd out of Priſon, reſtor'd them their Arms, and ſent Sr. *James Pipe* and the remainder of his Men out of the Gates in ſafety. When the *Pariſians* the next morning underſtood of their Eſcape, they were highly offended with the Provoſt, who wiſely diſſembled the Matter, till by degrees it was forgot. However theſe *Engliſhmen*, being thus hardly ſaved, went to St. *Dennis* to the King of *Navarre*, who took them alſo into his pay, and here the other *Engliſh* and *Navarrois* hearing, how perfidiouſly the *Pariſians* had ſerved their Fellows, whom they themſelves had hired to defend their Town, they all ſware a Bloody Revenge, and forthwith ſent their Defiance to the *Pariſians*, and began hot War againſt them, and put to the ſword all manner of People that adventur'd to come out of the City: Whereupon the *Pariſians* deſired the Provoſt to arm a ſufficient Number of Men, and to ſend them forth againſt theſe *Engliſh* Robbers. To this the Provoſt agreed, ſaying, that he himſelf would lead them forth againſt the Enemy, and ſo having within a day or two got together 1200 Choſen Men, he marched forth of the City in the Head of them. But hearing that the *Engliſhmen*, who grieved the City of *Paris* ſo much, were now about St. *Cloud*, he divided his Men into two parts, as it were with a Deſign, that ſo the Enemy ſhould not eſcape them, and appointed a place near the *Seyne* over againſt St. *Cloud*, where both Diviſions ſhould meet together again. So they took two ſeveral ways, the greater Number marched all day taking a Compaſs about Mount *Martre*; but all in vain, for they could not find their Enemies: The mean while the Provoſt, who had the leſſer Diviſion by half, marched forward a little for ſhew, but preſently wheel'd about, and toward Noon return'd into the City [a] at St. *Martins* Gate, having done nothing at all. The other Brigade, not knowing the leaſt of all this, tarried in the place appointed, between Mount *Martre* and the Windmills, expecting the Provoſt, till the day began to decline, at which time they alſo thought beſt to return homeward. So they went back without any good Order or Array, for they little thought at that time to meet with any Danger. Wherefore they went on heavily by heaps, ſome bearing their Helmets in their Hands, others at their backs, ſome having their Swords in their Hands naked, and others in their Scabbards. As they were thus careleſly marching from St. *Cloud*-ward, the way that leads to *Paris* at the Gate of St. *Honore*, they ſuddenly fell among 400 *Engliſhmen*, who had laid an Ambuſh for them in a low way at [b] *Bois de Boulogne*. The *Engliſh* were all well appointed, and in good Order, and as ſoon as ever they perceived the *Frenchmen* within their Ambuſh, they ſet upon them with all the Fury imaginable; ſo that at the firſt brunt there fell above [c] 200 *Frenchmen*; whereupon the reſt betook themſelves to their heels; but were cloſely purſued and beaten down like Dogs, without any pity; ſo that there fell in the Chace above [d] 400 more; for the purſuit was made even to the Barriers of the City. And the next Morning the Friends of the ſlain, coming forth to ſearch their Dead for burial, fell into another Ambuſh of the *Engliſh*; ſo that Sixty more *Pariſians* being now ſlain, were left in the ſame Condition with thoſe, whom they deſign'd to bury.

z *Froiſ. c.* 186. *fol.* 100.

a *Du Serres, &c.*

b *Du Serres, &c.*

c *Froiſ. c.* 186. *&c.*

d *Froiſ. ibid. & Mezeray, &c.*

VII. Thus were the *Pariſians* juſtly ſcourged for their Seditions, Inſolence, and Diſloyalty; and which was worſt, knew not where to have Remedy; for the King of *Navarre* was cold in lending them his uſual Aſſiſtance, partly becauſe he had now made Peace with the Duke of *Normandy*, and alſo becauſe of the Violence they had done

done to their Protectors, the *English*; for which he was willing to let them smart a little: And the Duke of *Normandy* winked at this their Misery; because his Enemy, the Provost, was still their Governour. So that they were in continual fear Day and Night, not knowing whom to trust, nor where to seek for help; since they believed, that the Provost himself had betrayed them in the last Action. AN. DOM. 1358. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXII. *Franciæ* XIX.

But when the [e] Provost and his Partakers were informed, how the Commons in private murmur'd against them, and cried shame of them, they secretly consulted among themselves, how to save the last Stake: For they had no longer any Confidence in the People; and could never expect to find any Mercy from the Duke of *Normandy*, whom they had so highly offended. Especially he himself having lately sent word in general to all the Commons of *Paris*, that he would no longer be at Peace with them, unless he might have deliver'd up into his hands Twelve *Parisians* whom he should name, to do with them after his Pleasure: In which number the Provost and his chief Friends were sure to be reckon'd. Whereupon they all concluded, "That it was far "better for them to betray than to be betrayed, to kill than to be kill'd, and to live "under the Protection of Strangers, than to die by the Hands of their own Country-"men. Being thus resolved, they secretly made an Agreement with the *Englishmen* (those that made War against *Paris*, for the King of *Navarre* knew nothing of this Plot) that on such a Night the Provost with his Friends should be at the Gates of St. *Anthony* and St. *Honore*, at the Hour of Midnight, ready to let in the *English* and *Navarrois*, who were to be near at hand, well appointed to overrun, rob and utterly destroy the City, except only such Houses, as should have certain Marks agreed on between them; but in all other Houses, where such Tokens were not to be seen, to plunder and destroy Men, Women and Children.

[e] *Froiss. c.* 187.

To this height of Wickedness was the Provost by Degrees carried, proving at last a Diabolical Incendiary, instead of a good zealous Patriot, as at first he was; because his indiscreet Zeal for the People made him at the beginning too bold with his Prince, whose Patience when he had abused beyond all hopes of Pardon, not daring to trust the Rabble, for whose sake he had offended; he now resolves for the saving of his own Neck, to destroy all, even the Innocent with the Offenders, had not God blasted his unnatural Design.

For that same Night, on which all this was to have been done, *John Maillart* and his Brother *Simon*, with *Pepin des Essards*, and several other Honest and Loyal Burgesses of *Paris*, having (as some think) by means Divine, or at least Humane, received an Intimation, that on that Night the City was mark'd out to be destroyed, armed themselves secretly and informed their Friends of the Danger, that more might be in readiness upon Occasion; and so with a compleat Guard, being themselves upon the Watch, they went the Rounds. In their Progress a little before Midnight they came to St. *Anthonies* Gate, where they found the Provost of the Merchants with a small Company, having the Keys of the Gates in his hands. Then said *John Maillart* to the Provost, "*Stephen*, what do you here at this time of Night? The Provost answer'd, how he "was there to look to the safety of the City. "By God, quoth *Maillart*, you shall not "come off thus, for it is plain by the Keys there in your hands, that you are not here "at this time of Night for any Good. Said the Provost, *John*, you lie falsly in your "Throat. Nay, quoth *John*, 'tis thou *Stephen*, that liest like a false Traytor, and there-"withall offer'd a Blow at him, and commanded his Guard to slay the Traytors. At this the Provost turn'd about and would have fled, but *John Maillart*, althô he was his Godfather, knockt him down to the ground with an Ax, and never left till he had slain him. There died with him six more of his Friends, among whom were [f] *Simon Palmier* and *Philip Guyphart*, the rest being all seised and clapt in Prison. By this the People began to rise at the Alarm and come into the Streets; but *John Maillart* and his Company hasted to the other Gate of St. *Honore*, where they found the rest of the Provost's Friends, whom they accused of Treason, and having dispatched such as would not be taken, lead the rest away to Prison. After which they proceeded to take the Accomplices, such as had been confessed privy to the Design, by those whom they found at the Gates: And these they took in their Beds, and at their Houses with small ado, and sent them away to Prison.

[f] *Du Serres, &c.*

This is the best Account of several that I have met with. For *Du Serres* as may be seen, is a Man, that usually models the Circumstances of his Narrations more agreeably to his own Wit or Fancy than to Truth: But whoever is minded to compare his Relation with ours, may consult it both as he reports it, and as *Froisard* and [g] *Fabian*, from the *French* Chronicles, do more particularly declare the whole Transaction. We are unwillingly by

[g] *Fabian p.* 302.

these

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these Foreign Matters detained from the History of *England*: Thô not only what we have already said, but something more also is necessary to be spoken for the better clearing of what is to follow.

VIII. To be short therefore, [h] upon this Mans Death the *Parisians* made their Peace with the Duke of *Normandy*, who thereupon came to *Paris* with the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, and many other of the Nobility in his Company, and was lodged in the Palace of the *Louvre*. But yet not even here did the Domestick Troubles of *France* cease: For King *Charles* of *Navarre*, being highly displeased at the Death of his Friend the Provost, by advice of his Brother *Philip*, sent presently a new Defiance to the Duke of *Normandy* and his whole House, to the *Parisians*, and to the whole Body of the Realm of *France*. And now he began to retain Souldiers on all hands, as well *English* (under their Captains Sr. *James Pipe* and Sr. *Robert Knolles*) as *Germans*, *Brabanders*, *Hainalders*, *Luxemburgers* and Others; all who were called *Navarrois*, because they fought in *Navarre's* Quarrel. The Mony, which the Provost had so frequently and so largely sent him, stood him now in good stead; and he was no way sparing of it to his Souldiers; so that all Men were glad to serve him.

[h] *Froiss. c. 187. & 188. f. 101. Fabian & Mezeray, &c.*

The King himself held his principal Garrison at *Melun* on the River *Seyne*; and the Lord *Philip* his Brother, had Garrisons at *Mante* and *Meulan* on the same River; and every day their Forces encreased, because their Pay was so large and certain: And presently they reduced the strong Town of *Creil*, standing on the *Oyse*, into their Power. Being therefore Lords of the Rivers *Seyne*, *Marne* and *Oyse*, they soon won the strong Castle of *le Herelle*, which lies between *Compeigne* and *Amiens*, after which they took *Mauconsel* and St. *Valery*.

But we must beg the Readers Patience, if we are something more particular in this matter, not only because many *English* Captains were concerned herein (thô they acted now in the King of *Navarre's* Name only, and not by any Commission from King *Edward*, nor so much as his Consent) but also because the Actions themselves are well worthy of Memory for their variety and importance: And also the Sequel of our Story will be more clearly understood thereby.

Now therefore the Captain of *Creil* was the Lord *Fondregas* of *Navarre*, who so aw'd the Parts about him, that none could pass from *Paris* to *Compeign*, or to *Noyon*, to *Soissons*, *Laon*, or other Places without his safe Conduct; so that while he held that Garrison, he gat more than an 100000 Franks by granting of Pass-ports only. The Captain of *le Herelle* was the Lord *John Picquigny*, by Birth a *Picard*, but by interest a *Navarrois*, and a Rebel to his Lord the *French* King, who had entrusted the King of *Navarre* to his Keeping, but he not only let him have his Liberty, but embraced his Cause ever after. His Garrison very much straightned those of *Mondidier*, *Perone* and *Amiens*, and all the Land of *Picardy* along by the River *Soame*. In *Mauconsel* were 300 Men of Arms under these Captains, *Rabigois* of *Derry* an *Irishman*, *Franklin* and *Hawkins*, two Esquires of *England*, Sr. *Robert Knolles* his Companions: And these were Masters of the Country round about them: And all the Great Towns of those Parts that were not fortified, were fain to pay certain Sums of *Florens* weekly by way of Contribution-money for their Redemption; as also the Abbeys and other Religious Houses were fain to do, or else they had been utterly destroyed. In Saint *Valery* also there was a strong Garrison of five hundred *Navarrois* under Sr. *William de Bonmare* and Sr. *John Segar* an *Englishman*; and these were Lords of all the Country, as about *Abbeville*, the Ports of *Crotoy*, of *Rue* and *Montrevil*, even unto *Dieppe* in *Normandy*.

[i] *Froiss. c. 189.*

When the Duke of [i] *Normandy*, who was then at *Paris* understood, how these Garrisons ravaged about, and wasted the Country in the Name of the King of *Navarre*, and that their Strength and Numbers encreased dayly, being himself unable to raise any considerable Forces for want of Mony, he sent to all the Good Towns in *Picardy* and *Vermandois*, desiring, "That like good Loyal *Frenchmen* they would make a Purse among "themselves, and send as many Souldiers, as they could bear, into the Field against the "Common Enemy. The Cities and Good Towns very readily agreed to so just a Request, and set an Assessment among themselves according to every Mans Ability, to settle a Fund sufficient for so many Men of Arms, Footmen and Crossbows.

The Bishop of *Noyon* was the chief Leader of these Forces, being assisted with the Lord *Ralph de Coucy*, the Lord *Ralph de Rayneval*, the Lord of *Chauny*, the Lord of *Roye*, and Sr. *Matthew de Roye* his Brother, the Lord of *Coudun*, with many other Knights and Esquires of *Picardy* and *Vermandois*. Being all rendezvous'd near *Noyon*, they strait went and lay before *Mauconsel*; for they took that to be the weakest Garrison

son of all that belonged to the *Navarrois*, and yet it had been a great Nuisance to the Inhabitants of *Noyon* and *Vermandois*. Having invested the Place they made several Assaults, and gave the Besieged their Hands full: Wherefore the three Captains within sent by night a Messenger to the Lord *John* of *Picquigny*, who held Garrison at *le Herelle*, all the other *Navarrois* Garrisons in those Parts being subjected unto him. When he heard of their Condition, he took care to expedite their Succours; and besides a Detachment from his own Garrison, which he resolved to lead thither in Person, he sent very privately to the Lord *Fondregas* Captain of *Creil*, to send such a *Quota* of Men to joyn him in such a Place at such a time without fail: Which was done accordingly. Being all met they made a 1000 Spears and upwards, and so rode silently together in the Night by Direction of a good Guide, and early the next Morning they came before *Mauconsel*. That Morning there was such a Fog or Mist, that a Man could hardly see the breadth of an Acre from him, under favour whereof they came upon the Besiegers unseen, for they were nothing aware of them, but most of them asleep, and the Watch but thinly set, for they suspected nothing on that side. The *Navarrois* strack suddenly into the Host, and fell on with a Shout, slaying of Men, and beating down Tents and Pavilions at a prodigious Rate. The *Frenchmen* were so surprised, they had no time to Arm, wherefore in Despair they fled directly toward *Noyon*, which was next at hand, and the *Navarrois* after them in the Chace.

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Between *Noyon* and *Orcan* Abby, and between *Noyon* and *Pont l' Evesque*, was made a dismal slaughter of the *French*; their Dead lay on the ground by Heaps in the Ways, and among the Hedges and Bushes: For the Pursuit was made to the very Gates of *Noyon*. The City it self was in great danger of being lost: For it was said by several that were present on both sides, that if the *Navarrois* could have but dream'd of any such thing, they might have entred the Town without the least Opposition; for those within were so terrified, that they forgot to shut the Gate toward *Compeigne*. The Bishop of *Noyon* himself was taken at the Barriers, and sware himself Prisoner, or else he had been slain outright: With him were taken the Lord *Ralph* of *Coucy*, the Lord of *Rayneval*, the Lord of *Chauny* and his two Sons, the Captain of *Rouvray*, the Lord of *Coudun*, and two other Lords, besides an 100 Knights and Esquires: But there were slain above 1500, the greatest part of which Loss fell to the share of those of *Tournay*; for 'tis said, that of 700 who came from that City, scarce so many Dozen returned home; the rest being all either slain or taken. For those who had been besieged in *Mauconsel*, sallied out to second these their Deliverers, which made the Victory more entire. This Discomfiture happen'd on the [k] 22[d] of *August*, being the *Wednesday* next after the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, *Anno Domini* MCCCLVIII.

[k] Lit. Dom. G. *Froiss. c.* 189. *fol.* 102.

The *Navarrois* led the most part of their Prisoners to *Creil* on the *Oyse* for the more Security, because that was looked upon as one of the strongest Places. This their Victory over the *French* did greatly enrich them, as well upon the account of the Armour and Provisions they wan, as of the Ransoms of their Prisoners. As for the Burgesses of *Tournay* and other Towns, they remitted them all home, some for Money, and others for such things as they wanted most, as Spear-Heads, Axes, Swords, Coats, Doublets, Horses and the like. The Knights and Esquires were ransom'd for Gold and Silver, or good Horses for the Saddle; but of poor Gentlemen who had nothing to pay, instead of a Ransom they accepted of their Service, for one, two or three Quarters of a Year, as they could best agree. For as for Wines and other Provision they had Plenty enough, the Country afforded them sufficient: And nothing could be brought to the good Towns but by stealth, without a safe Conduct from some one of these Garrisons, which was sold dearly. But they always excepted in their safe Conduct three things, Good Hats, Estridge Feathers, and Spear-Heads: For these things they chiefly desired themselves.

The Abby of *Orcan* was almost quite ruin'd (thô against the will of Sr. *Rabigois*) by the Men of *Mauconsel*, who also with the help of one *Robert Scot* took the good Town of *Beaulieu* by *Scalado*, which they fortified and made a Garrison, leaving 400 Souldiers there, whom they paid by the Month. This and the other Garrisons of the *Navarrois* and *Englishmen* so bridled the whole Country, that they e'n did what they pleased; sometimes riding about in Armour, and sometimes going from Fortress to Fortress unarmed: For there was none to resist them; the Knights thereabouts having enough to do in Defending what they had left.

The young Lord *Ingleram de Coucy*, who was the Chief in those Parts on the *French* Side, caused his Castles and Houses to be so well kept, that the *Navarrois* could find no

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Advantage there. And the Lord *Canon Robsert* was so watchfull over them, that they feared him above all others: For many times he cut off several of them, as he could pick them up about the Country.

We spake before how the Lord *John* of *Picquigny* kept Garrison at *le Herelle*, not far from *Amiens* in *Picardy*, being a fast Friend to the King of *Navarre*, as who had not only against his Trust deliver'd him from Prison, but also openly affronted the *Dauphin* for his Sake. This Man dealt under-hand with *Firmin Cockerell* Mayor, and certain of the Burgesses of *Amiens*, and used so much Address, Subtlety and fair Language, that they were at last persuaded to introduce him into the City. For this purpose they had secretly conveyed into their Houses certain Armed Men, who were to joyn the *Navarrois* upon their coming thither. Accordingly one Evening the Lord *John* of *Picquigny*, the Lord *William* of *Granville*, he that had so subtlely taken the Castle of *Eureux*, the Lord *Fondregas*, and two or three more Persons of Quality, marched silently, and came with 700 Fighting Men to the Gate of *Amiens*, that looks towards *Herelle*, in confidence of their Friends within, who according to their Promise had left the Gate ready open for them. As they were entred, those Armed Men who lay expecting them in the City, being hid in Chambers or Cellars, came forth and assembling together, cried aloud, *Navarre*. At this frightfull Noise the Citizens awoke, and rose and went to Arms, crying Treason, Treason, making all speed toward the Gate where the Noise was, between the City and the Suburbs. These few made indeed some Resistance, but too inconsiderable, to beat the Enemy back: So that if the *Navarrois* had briskly push'd their first Advantage forward, they had most certainly carried the Place. But while they stood dallying to see, what number of Friends they had within, and how their Enemies were order'd to receive them, there came thither a timely Succour to the Town. For by a strange Chance, or rather some secret Impulse, the Lord *Moreau* of *Fiennes* Constable of *France*, and the Earl of St. *Paul*, who were at *Corbie* with a strong Garrison, took a Resolution to ride forth that Night to *Amiens*, and made such haste, that by another Gate they came into the City by that time the *Navarrois* had won the Suburbs, and were now contending to win the City also: Which surely they had presently done, but for this wonderfull and unexpected Obstacle. But these *French* Lords immediately upon their Arrival, drew to the Gate where the Medley was so hot, with their Banners display'd, and in good Order to receive them: But they offer'd not to issue forth at the Gate, because they saw the *Fauxbourgs* irreparably lost. The Inhabitants the mean while being hugely encouraged with their Presence, lighted up Torches and Links, and made Fires, that all things appeared as plain as at Noon Day.

[1] *James Meyer Ann.* Flandr. *l.*13.*p.*183.

When the Lord of *Picquigny* saw these unexpected Succours, doubting he might lose more than he could win; he caused the Retreat to be sounded, and so retired in very good Order; but they had already overran all the *Fauxbourgs*, which they plunder'd, and now in their Retreat set on Fire, sparing neither Houses (of which there were above 3000) nor Churches, nor any thing else: And so they return'd with their Plunder and Prisoners to their several Garrisons.

As soon as the Enemy was thus drawn off, the Constable and the Earl of St. *Paul* sent a Troop to every Gate of the City, commanding the Officers on pain of Death to suffer no Man to go out of the Town that Night. So early next Morning, taking to their Assistance several Aldermen of the City, they went to certain Burgesses houses, who were suspected of Treason. Of these they took seventeen with the Mayor, who were immediately convicted, and beheaded openly in the Market-place, the Chief whereof was the Abbot of *Gars*, who had, as it was proved, consented to the Treason, having lodged the greater part of the Armed Men within his House.

In the City of *Laon* also about the same time, were put to Death for a like Cause six of the Chief Burgesses; and the Bishop himself had been served in the same manner, if they could have got him: For Treason was laid to his Charge, of which he could never acquit himself: But He having a timely intimation of the Discovery, gat off in Disguise, and went straight to the King of *Navarre*, then at *Melun* on the *Seyne*, who received him joyfully.

IX. Such Miseries in those Days was the Flourishing Realm of *France* subjected to; insomuch, that althô the *Navarrois* and other Robbers by open Violence made such Havock abroad, yet were they also by secret Treachery in as great Danger at home: For as War and Desolation stood battering them without Doors, so Treason lay undermining them within. Wherefore all the Nobility and Gentry, and whoever had the Custody of Towns and Castles, stood upon their Guard and kept good Watch continually.

And

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And ſurely ſo it behoved them to do; for the King of *Navarre* had many Well-Wiſhers in that Kingdom; ſo that if a Wonderfull Providence had not been concerned to prevent the total Ruine of *France*, it had inevitably ſeen its laſt days then. For he being wholly tranſported with an irreconcileable hate againſt his Native Country, not content with theſe Miſeries, which he had already created, [m] began to ſollicite the King of *England* alſo, and to urge him inceſſantly to a War; repreſenting unto him, that now was the only time to make the Crown of *France* his own for ever. King *Edward* could not but obſerve a ready way to effect his Deſigns in this Confuſion; but knowing the Ambitious and Inconſtant Humour of the King of *Navarre*, he could not truſt him: And ſo either out of a juſt Reſpect to the Truce, or fearing that upon the appearance of his Forces, all theſe Domeſtick Parties would unite againſt him, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, he omitted, or rather ſcorn'd, to make uſe of this Opportunity. But ſurely, that which ſome *French* [n] Authors ſay, how by ſmall Succours ſent to *Navarre*, he deſign'd to ballance the Parties, to the intent to weaken them both, is abſolutely falſe and precarious: For 'tis confeſt by [o] *Froiſard* and the better ſort of the *French* Writers alſo, that during the Truce, King *Edward* was not at all concerned in *Navarre's* quarrel with *France*, and thô ſeveral *Engliſhmen* were notoriouſly engaged in theſe Wars, yet it was both [p] without the Conſent and againſt the Will of the King of *England*; as he himſelf ſolemnly [q] proteſted to the *French* Ambaſſadors, upon their Complaint of thoſe licentious Souldiers, ſaying, that they were Murtherers and Felons, and out of his Protection, and ſuch as he would by no means juſtifie; as we remember to have obſerved before. Althô afterward indeed, when the War was open again between the two Realms, the King in conſideration of their Valour and Abilities for his ſervice, gave them his Pardon.

[m] *Du Serres, &c.*

[n] *Mezeray & Du Serres, &c.*

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 202.

[p] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 166. *n.* 1.

[q] *Knighton p.* 2618. *n.* 60.

All this while the Duke of *Normandy* and his Brethren were at *Paris*, unable to ſteer the Veſſel of Government in ſuch an unruly Tempeſt, as might even diſcourage the moſt Expert Pilot. The [r] Merchants and Traders durſt not go forth of the City about their buſineſs; for whoever did ſo, was ſurely taken or ſlain, the Realm was ſo full of *Navarrois*; who were Maſters of all the plain Country, and of the Rivers, and of divers Cities and good Towns; ſo that the Lands were left Fallow and uncultivated by reaſon of theſe troubles, and whatever Fruits proſper'd and came to Maturity, were taken up by the Souldiers; whereupon ſo great a Dearth fell in *France*, that a barrel of Herrings was ſold for 30 Crowns of Gold, and other Proviſion both of Corn and Fleſh at a proportionable Rate; and this ſcarcity endured in that Kingdom more or leſs for almoſt four Years, ſo that the poorer ſort of People died for Hunger. But ſalt eſpecially was very Dear; for there was none to be had, but of the Duke of *Normandy's* Officers, and they ſold it at their own Rates; thereby to heap up Mony to pay the Souldiers. To ſay the Truth, whoever conſiders, how the *Frenchmen* themſelves were the firſt occaſion of all theſe Calamities, by not complying with thoſe juſt Propoſals, made unto them by the Regent, for the Defence of the Realm and their Kings Redemption, will either be apt not much to pity theſe their ſufferings, or to curſe the undutifull Proceedings of that Parliament for their ſakes.

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 191. *fol.* 103.

X. Now the Conſtable of *France*, [s] namely the Lord *Moreau de Fiennes*, and the Young Earl of St. *Paul*, who had in the midſt of ſo many Misfortunes happily ſucceeded in Relieving *Amiens* from the *Navarrois*, obtained general Thanks and Praiſe over all *Picardy*: So that all the Knights and Eſquires thereabouts reſorted to their Banners, deſiring to be employ'd by them about the Reſtoration of their Abuſed Country. The Conſtable encouraged hereby reſolv'd to lay Siege to St. *Valery*, and therefore ſent for a ſupply of Men to all the Good Towns of *Picardy*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*; as to *Tournay*, *Arras*, *Lille*, *Douay*, *Bethune*, St. *Omers*, St. *Quentin*, *Perone*, *Amiens*, *Corbie*, and *Abbeville*; each whereof ſent him their ſeveral *Quota's* accordingly. Many other Knights and Eſquires drew thither upon the Fame of the Conſtables good Beginning, eſpecially from *Hainalt*, becauſe of ſuch Lands, as they held in *France*; as the young Lord *Verchin*, Seneſchal of *Hainalt*, and Sr. *Hugh Dantoing* his Couſin with a goodly Troop along with them. When thus the Conſtable was furniſhed with an Army conſiſting of 2000 Men of Arms and 12000 others, he went and ſat down before St. *Valery*, on the Mouth of the *Soame*. But the Place was not eaſie to be taken, for there were two valiant and expert Captains Governors of the Place, namely Sr. *William de Bonmare*, and Sr. *John Segar*, with 500 tall Fellows in their Company; and they were well furniſhed with Artillery to offend their Enemies: And the Beſiegers ſent to *Abbeville* and *Amiens* for ſeveral Engines of Battery, wherewith they caſt huge Stones into the Town, to the great trouble and vexation of the *Navarrois*.

[s] *Froiſ. c. ibid.*

During this Siege there arrived at *Cherbourg* in *Normandy* the Noble Lord *John*

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Greilly Captal *de la Buſche*, and Couſin to the King of *Navarre*, under whoſe Pay he had been newly retain'd. Soon after his coming, he rode to *Mante* upon the *Seyne*, where he found the Lord *Philip* of *Navarre*. Having tarried a few days with him, he departed thence ſecretly with all his Men, and rode in one Night thrô *Vexin* and *Beauvoiſin*, till he came to *Clermont*, a great Town in thoſe Parts, but eaſily by him taken, becauſe without either Ditch or Fence. Early the next Morning he aſſaulted the Caſtle, and thô it ſeem'd impregnable, by the help of his *Engliſh* Archers he took it by Scalado; Sr. *Bernard de la Salle* being the firſt that enter'd it. For he having ſharp Spikes in his Greaves and Gantlets, would readily clamber up the higheſt Walls like a Cat, and had after that manner ſcaled ſeveral Fortreſſes before. Here the *Captal* kept Garriſon a long while after, and by help of the *Navarrois* in the Neighbouring Caſtles, as *Creil*, *Herelle* and *Mauconſell*, kept all the Country at his Devotion, none being able to oppoſe him.

XI. Thus was the Realm of *France* warred upon on all ſides in the Title and Name of the King of *Navarre*, and many other Cities, Towns and Caſtles were taken in *Brie*, *Valois* and the Biſhoprick of *Noyon*, about *Soiſſons*, and *Laon*, and *Pont ſur Seyne*. About *Provins* alſo in *Brie*, and *Troye* in *Champaigne*, *Auxerre* and *Tonnerre* in *Burgundy*, there was ſuch Havock made, that none durſt ſhew their Heads out of any of the Good Towns between *Châlons* and *Troye*, and between *Troye* and *Challon ſur Saône*. Now the Caſtle of *Beaufort en Champaigne* had been of a long time the juſt Inheritance of *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaſter*, [t] in Right of the Lady *Blanch* of *Artois*, Wife to *Edmund Crouch-back*, Younger Brother to King *Edward* the Firſt, and Grandfather to the ſaid Duke *Henry*. In this Caſtle Sr. *Peter Audely*, Brother to the Lord *James Audely* was Governour at the ſame time; and he alſo in favour of the King of *Navarre*, to whom the ſaid Duke his Lord, was nearly related, overran all the Country thereabout. And at *Pont ſur Seyne*, and ſometimes at *Nogent* upon the ſame River, was the Lord *Euſtace Dambreticourt* with 500 Men, who ravaged all the Country about him; and in another Fortreſs of *Champaigne* there was a Valiant and Hardy Eſquire of *Germany*, who did the ſame in his Station. Theſe three laſt mentioned, namely, the *Captal*, Sr. *Peter Audely*, and Sr. *Euſtace*, held in their Hands more than fourty Caſtles and ſtrong Houſes, and when they had a Mind to take the Field together, amounted to 2000 Men of Arms and upward. The whole Country was entirely ſubjected to them, and they robb'd, plunder'd and ranſomed where they pleaſed; as they did to the Good Towns of *Damery* and *Eſpernay*, to *Vertus*, and all the Towns along the River *Marne*, and all round the City *Rheims*: Moreover they took the Good Town of *Roſnay*, and the ſtrong Caſtle of *Hans* in *Champaigne*, and all other conſiderable Places thereabout, as far as to St. *Anthonies* in *Pertois*. Yet beſide theſe in *Burgundy* and *Pertois* there lay *Theobald* of *Chanfore*, and his Brother *John Chanfore*, who in the King of *Navarre's* Quarrel had taken a ſtrong Caſtle in the Biſhoprick of *Langres*, called *Monſaugeon*, where they kept their Garriſon conſiſting of 400 Men, who were not ſlack in doing their Part. And between *Laon* and *Rheims*, *Rabigois* of *Derry* held *Veilly* with 600 Men; he was ſo punctual in his Pay, that the Souldiery deſired above all to ſerve him. Under him was one *Robert Scot* an *Engliſh* Eſquire, who in *Chriſtmas-Time* went and wan the ſtrong Caſtle of *Roucy* with all its Proviſion and Ammunition, and robbed the Town: Here he made his Garriſon, whereby in time he much damnifi'd the Country; for he held the Place all that Winter and the Summer following. Together with the Caſtle he took the Earl of *Roucy*, with his Wife and Children, for whoſe Ranſom he had ſhortly after 12000 Florens of Gold, of the Coin called the Moton; every [u] Moton being valued at about Five Shillings Sterling. All this while the Duke of *Normandy* [x] durſt not ſtirr out of *Paris*, leſt that unconſtant People ſhould upon his Abſence invite thither the King of *Navarre*, who was too potent already: So that even an Enemy that was not too ungenerous, would pity the Condition of that flouriſhing Realm of *France*, which lay now untill'd and unmanur'd, thô too much fatned with the Blood of its Natives.

t *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 121.

u *Fabian p.* 236

x *Mezeray p.* 57.

XII. And yet the good Loyal *Frenchmen* had ſeveral times the better of their Enemies, as particularly the Lord *Canon Robſert*, who was the firſt, that after the Conſtable's Succeſs at *Amiens*, raiſed up a Light for his diſtreſſed Country. The Manner [y] was thus: One day the Earl of *Vermandois*, otherwiſe called the Lord of *Pynon*, rode forth with 60 Spears only in his Company, deſigning to go to a certain *French* Fortreſs: It happen'd at the ſame time, that from the *Navarrois* Garriſons of *Veilly* and *Roucy* about 300 Spears rode forth alſo to ſeek Adventures: But they had no Chief Captain with them. Being near the Town of *Creil*, they ſaw the Lord of *Pynon* riding

y *Froiſ. c.* 192.

ding in good close Order under his Banner, and taking the way toward *Creil*. Both Parties soon perceived each other to be Enemies, and the Lord *Pynon* found he could not well escape them without Battle: Wherefore he coasted by *Creil*, but when he observed the *Navarrois* to begin to cut short their way to him, then he fled upon the Spur, and the *Navarrois* followed him, crying St. *George*, *Navarre*. These last were better horsed than the former, so that within half a League riding they came up to the *Frenchmen*, at which instant the Lord of *Pynon* espied a great Sandpit, large and deep, surrounded about with a strong Hedge, and having but one Entrance, little and streight, which might easily be defended. When he saw the Advantage of this Place, and the present Necessity, because he could fly no further, he said to his Company, "Sirs, a "Foot, a Foot quickly: 'Tis better for us here to expect the Success, that God will "send us, good or bad, and the mean while to defend our selves couragiously, than to "be slain without Resistance, or be taken flying away. At this He and all his Men alighted to take the Pit, and the *Navarrois* also left their Horses, when they beheld what the *Frenchmen* did. Now in the Lord of *Pynon*'s Company there was a certain Esquire, who said to his Page, "Leap now upon my Horse and spare him not, but ride Post to "the Castle of *Pierre-Pont*, and desire the Lord *Canon Robsert* to come hither with all "expedition to our Rescue. Sir, (said the Page) thô I find him there, how is it pos-"sible he should come hither in any reasonable time, since he is at least five Leagues "from hence? Well (answer'd the Esquire) "Do you your part diligently, and leave "the rest to God. Away went the Page, as hard as he could for his Life, and left his Master and his Company preparing themselves for a Resolute Defence. The *Navarrois* of the Garrisons of *Veilly* and *Rouzy* assailed them with all the Art and Fury that might be; but the Lord of *Pynon* by extraordinary Courage, and the Advantage of the Pit, held out stoutly, from Eight in the Morning till after High-Noon.

The mean while the Page rode upon the Spur to *Pierre-Pont* in *Laonnois*, and there did his Message to the Lord *Canon Robsert*; he said, he would do his utmost for the Lord of *Pynon* immediately, for he had two or three Troops ready mounted, and he knew the Place well. Then he sounded his Trumpets, and mounted in the Head of sixscore Horse; at the same time sending a Page of his to *Laon*, which was hard by in his way toward *Creil*, to inform the Captain there of the Matter, and to desire his Assistance. He for his part would not tarry till those of *Laon* were ready, but rode forth a great Gallop, till he came to the Place, where the Lord *Pynon* and his Men were hard put to it by the *Navarrois*. He came just in the Nick, as his Friends began thrô wearines to decline; nor could they have subsisted half an Hour longer. Immediately he couched his Spear, and struck in among the *Navarrois*, three whereof he overthrew at the first Brunt; and then he fell to his Axe, wherewith he gave such Strokes, that none durst abide him. In like manner his Men prevailed, being fresh and lusty, against the weary *Navarrois*, insomuch, that they slew of them upon the Spot more than an 150; and those who fled away, were met with by the Captain of *Laon*, who was then coming thitherward to assist the Lord of *Pynon*; so that of 300 *Navarrois* there escaped clear away but 15, the rest being either slain or taken. The Lord *Canon Robsert* was highly applauded in *France* for this Act of his; He bare for his Arms in a Field *Vert* a Lion Rampant *Or*.

These are the chief Occurrences, that happen'd in the Realm of *France* this Year: For the Siege before St. *Valery* lasted still, that Place not being taken till about *Lent* in the Year following, as we shall shew hereafter.

XIII. As for Affairs at home in *England*, they were in a full Calm all the while; Riches, Peace and Prosperity, the Products of Success and Victory, being generally spread over the whole Isle. About the Feast of *All-Saints*, King *David* of *Scotland*, by the consent of his Nobility, came hither to visit King *Edward*, [z] unto whom he offer'd his Service, to go arm'd along with him in his Wars, where he pleased, "so that thereby his "Realm might in some measure be eased of paying the Ransom, which had been set "upon him: He further desired the King, that the Merchants of *Scotland* might freely "traffick here in *England*, as the *English* Merchants should also do in *Scotland*, as one "Nation and People, without any impediment or reproach; and that their Mony might "be current with Ours, and Ours with Theirs; and that their young Scholars might be "admitted to study in our Universities, whereby he hoped a mutual Love and Friend-"ship would be propagated between the two Nations. This pious and reasonable Request King *Edward* granted, but as for the Tender of his Service in the Wars, he said, he hop'd to have no more occasion of making War in *France*, there being now such a likelihood of a lasting Peace to be established between the two Nations.

[z] *Knighton p.* 2619. *n.* 2. *circa*

But

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But ſhortly after he heard, [a] how the *French* indeed were willing to pay unto him 600000 *Florens* in Part of the Three Millions, for the Redemption of their King, but they refuſed to deliver him ſuch Hoſtages as he demanded for his Security: Which when he underſtood, being extreamly incenſed, he ſent word to the Eſtates of *France*, that then they ſhould look to themſelves, and be ready to receive him, by the time wherein the Truce was to expire.

King *David* of *Scotland* tarried ſeveral Weeks with his Queen at *London*, having his Lodgings prepared in the *Gray-Fryers*, now called *Chriſt-Church*: During his Stay, there were many friendly Entercourſes, between him and the two Kings of *England* and *France*; King *Edward* feaſting and careſſing them in Royal Manner; for it was not till the next Year, that King *John* was cloſely confin'd, thô we have mention'd it before. Particularly this Year, he kept his *Chriſtmas* with them both at *London*; where he ſat between the two Kings at one Table, and not as ſome report, between the two Captive Kings in Oſtentation of his great Fortune; for as it appears, theſe two Kings were not Captives together in *England* during any one *Chriſtmas* at all; King *John* being brought Priſoner into *England* in *May*, and King *David* being releaſed the *September* following. But King *David*, as his Gueſt, might now be reaſonably expected to ſit at his Table: And King *John*, as *Davids* Friend and *Edwards* Couſin, to have ſo much Reſpect ſhewn unto him for that time at leaſt. Beſides, ſince Pride is ſo loathſome, eſpecially to them over whom ſhe inſulteth; it is not to be imagin'd, that theſe two Kings ſhould ever after ſo entirely love and reſpect King *Edward* as they did, had he entertain'd them with ſuch ſupercilious Haughtineſs at this time. That Monarch's Soul was elevated to ſuch a degree of Generoſity, that he abſolutely reigned in the Hearts of theſe two Princes, who came, after they were at Liberty, of their own Accord, to viſit him as a Friend, as we ſhall ſhew in due Place.

[a] *Walſing. Hyp. p.* 125. *n.* 10. & *Knighton p.* 2618. *n.* 60.

XIV. This [b] Year the Lady *Iſabella*, the Queen Mother of *England*, who was Daughter to *Philip* the *Fair*, King of *France*, and Siſter to *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* the *Long*, and *Charles* the *Fair* (all ſucceſſively Kings of *France*) departed this Life in her great Climacterical or 63[d] Year, after almoſt 28 Years Confinement, becauſe of her Concern in the Ruine of King *Edward* the II, her Lord and Husband. Her Puniſhment was eaſie and temper'd with Reſpect, for all the while ſhe had a liberal Allowance of 4000 *l. per annum*, and freedom enough, thô under the Eye of a Keeper; and the King her Son did once a Year at leaſt pay her a Viſit, and often ſhew'd her many notable Diverſions and Princely Recreations. *Alan Buchet* in his Annals of *Aquitain*, and from him [c] *James Meyor* ſays, that being big with Child by *Mortimer*, ſhe was preſently put to Death by her Son *Edward*; but the Notoriety of this Falſhood appears, not only from the concurrent Teſtimonies of all Authors and Records, but eſpecially from this, that beſides many others at divers times, we ſhall find Pope *Innocent* the IV to direct his Letters unto her, bearing [d] Date *Avin.* XIV Kal. *Julii An° Pontif. IV. i. e. An° Dom.* 1356. Wherefore let thoſe Authors look to their Credit as well as they can; 'tis certain they wanted Care or Honeſty; but to return. This Queen was married to King *Edward* the II in the 12 Year of her Age, was his Wife 20 Years, and his Widow about 31, being as was thought, a Widow of her own making. And yet truly I am perſuaded, partly from the Conſideration of her long and happy Life after, as well as from many other Circumſtances apparent from the Hiſtory; that upon her firſt coming with Armed Force into *England*, ſhe had no deſign in the World againſt the King her Husband, but only againſt the *Spencers*: But that *Mortimer* and Others, who were already obnoxious to the Law, upon the account of Treaſon, for their own Security drove her on ſo far by their Cunning, that ſhe was not able to retire: And afterwards when the King was depoſed, they ſo terrified her with making her believe, that if ever he recover'd his Crown, he would certainly burn her, that ſhe complied with the Deſign for his Deſtruction. However ſhe proved occaſionally almoſt Fatal to her Native Country of *France*, her Birth affording that Title to King *Edward*, which in thoſe Days produced a War of above Fourſcore Years Continuance; wherein, beſides many thouſand great Loſſes, that Realm ſuffer'd three Memorable Defeats, as at *Creſſy* and *Poictiers* under King *Edward*, and at *Agencourt* under King *Henry* the V. And even unto this Day the Kings of *England* are from her furniſhed with a juſt Pretence, whenever they ſhall pleaſe to reſume a Quarrel with that Kingdom. She died at the Caſtle of *Riſings* near *London*, on the *Wedneſday* before St. *Bartholomew's* Day, being [e] the 22[d] of *Auguſt*, *An° Dom.* MCCCLVIII. having firſt lived to ſee her Son the moſt Glorious Prince of all *Europe*, and the Right, which ſhe had convey'd unto him, to be in a manner aſſerted by the Deciſion of God Himſelf, in the Captivity of the *French* King, by the Valour

[b] *Sandford's Geneal. hiſt. p.* 146. *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 165. *Stow's Chron. p.* 264. & *Survey of* London *p.* 421. & *Knighton p.* 2618. *n.* 54.

[c] *James Meyors Annal.* Flandr. *l.* 12. *p.* 152.

[d] *Extant Tom.* 4. *Epiſt. Secret. p.* 158. *vid. Odor. Rainal. ad ann.* 1356. §. 4. & *aliàs.*

[e] *Hoc ann.* G. Dom. Lit.

of

of her Grandſon the Prince of *Wales*. She was moſt honourably interred on the 27th. of *September* following, being a *Thurſday*, in the Midſt of the Quire of the *Gray-Friers*, now called *Chriſt-Church*, in *London*, under a magnificent Tomb of Alabaſter: The Church not being yet dedicated. AN. DOM. 1358. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXII. *Franciæ* XIX.

Queen *Joan* alſo of *Scotland*, ſirnamed *Joan* of the Tower, Siſter to King *Edward* of *England*, and Daughter to Queen *Iſabel* aforeſaid, deceaſed toward the end of this Year without Iſſue: But that it is better to leave an Honourable Report than Children behind. And certainly if King *David* her Husband had never been oppreſſed with Adverſity, ſhe might have been accounted happy, but then ſhe had never been extolled with that Commendation, which her Vertue and Conjugal Affection doth claim from all Poſterity. For [f] during the ſeven Years Exile, which King *David* had formerly led in *France* (when he was expelled his own Kingdom by the *Engliſh* Forces) ſhe would by no means forſake Him or his Fortune; but faithfully and conſtantly adhered to him both then, and alſo all the time of his Impriſonment here in *England*, which was for the ſpace of Eleven Years more. She died at *Hartford* (the Court being there at that time) and was buried in the *Gray-Fryers* Church in *London*, hard by the Body of Queen *Iſabell* her Mother.

[f] *Holinſh. Scotl. p.* 244.

And laſtly the Great *Orchanes*, Son of *Ottoman*, the Second Emperour of the *Turks*, died [g] either in the end of this Year, or in the beginning of the next, in the 760th Year of the *Hegira* Current, after he had reigned to the great Dammage of *Chriſtendom* 32 Years. His Son *Morat* or *Amurath*, the firſt of that Name, ſirnamed alſo *Gazes*, ſucceeded him in the Empire; of whoſe Death we ſhall not ſpeak in this Hiſtory, becauſe he outlived our King *Edward*, reigning juſt the ſame Number of Years, as his Father had done before him. And thus as the Death of King *Edward* II was attended with the Funerals of a King of *Scotland*, a King of *France* and a *Turkiſh* Emperour: So his Dowager, Queen *Iſabell*, was immediately followed by *Joan* Queen of *Scots*, and *Orcanes* Emperour of *Turky*; not to mention that Politick Death of King *John* of *France*, whoſe Majeſty lay now buried in Impriſonment.

[g] *Labbe's Chron. Techn. ad ann.* 1359.

XV. About this [h] time there happen'd a great Quarrel between *Thomas Lylde* Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lady *Blanch Plantagenet*, Siſter to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Relict of *Thomas* late Lord *Wake* of *Lydel*. The Occaſion was this, the Biſhops Men had burnt a Mannor of the ſaid Lady *Wakes*, and ſlain one of her Men; whereupon ſhe made her Complaint to the King of this Grievance. The King ſent his Juſtices, *viz.* Sr. *Henry Green*, and Sr. *William Shareſhull* and Others, to make Inquiſition in the Caſe. And the Biſhop being cited before them, it appeared that he was altogether culpable, becauſe he had knowingly harboured the Murderer; *quòd eum poſt perpetratam Feloniam receptâſſet ſcienter*. Whereupon Judgment being pronounced againſt him, his Temporalities were ſeiſed into the Kings Hands, and he obliged to give Sureties for his forth Coming. He ſoon after made ſhift to get over the Sea to *Avignon*, where he complain'd to the Pope, how the King had ſeiſed his Temporalities againſt the Rights of the Church. His Holineſs hereupon by his Bull, cited to appear at his Court the Kings Juſtices and their Adherents, as Sr. *Henry Green*, Sr. *William Shareſhull*, *William Norton*, *William Thorpe* and Sr. *Simon Drayton*, whom for refuſing to appear he Excommunicated. This Bull was ſent to *John Synwell* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, to publiſh to the People, with an Injunction, that if any of the Excommunicate were dead, he ſhould cauſe them to be dug out of their Graves, and caſt them out of the Churchyard. He did ſo to Sr. *Simon Drayton*, who was then dead and buried, and took him out of his Grave, and drew his Body forth at a hole, which he had dug in the Church-wall, and caſt it forth out of the Churchyard. And hearing that the Lord *John Engain*, who had been concerned in the ſaid Affair, was alſo [i] then newly dead, he ſent to the Abbot of *Bury*, to do the ſame unto his Body; but the Lord *Thomas Engain* his Son hindred the execution by Force. When the King heard of theſe things, he was very much moved, and ſent word to the Pope, that nothing had been done but according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of his Realm; and ſo at laſt, thô not without ſome difficulty he obtain'd Abſolution for them. What ſome [k] obſerve, that the Original of this matter proceeded from the Biſhop of *Ely's* boldneſs in Reprehending the King for ſetting up an unworthy Perſon to be Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, is to be look'd on as an Errour; for that See was not void till almoſt two Years after this, whereas the [l] end of this Action is truly referred unto this Year. However, becauſe ſome of the Perſons Excommunicate had been of the Kings Privy Council, Proclamation was preſently made throughout the Realm, that hereafter no Man ſhould preſume on pain of Death to bring into the Realm, or to procure, or publiſh any Papal Letters, Citations, Excommunications

[h] *Knighton p.* 2620. *n.* 10. *vi. Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 165. *Godw. Catal. Biſh. p.* 269. *& Antiq. Britan. p.* 146. *&c.*

[i] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 467.

[k] *Antiq. Britan. & Godw. Catal. Biſh. ibid.*

[l] *Godwin ibid. Knighton ibid. Walſing. ibid. & Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an.* §. 4.

or

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or Censures: And some of the Bishop of *Ely's* Servants were clapt up in the Tower, and others in *Newgate* where they died, for presuming contrary to this Prohibition to deliver Letters to *John Stepney* Bishop of *Rochester*, then Lord Treasurer of *England*: But as for those threatning Letters, which the Pope is said to have written to King *Edward* hereupon, I believe nothing of them; because *Odoricus Rainaldus* is altogether silent as to any such thing.

Now was [m] also moved the famous Controversie between the Universities and the 4 Orders of Preaching Fryers, which was on the behalf of *Oxford* managed at this time by that Learned Prelate *Richard Fitz-Ralph* Archbishop of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, and Chancellour of the said University; the said *Richard* arguing against the said Fryers before the Pope, for that they were a Nuisance both to the Clergy and the two Universities, and trusting to their Privileges, by which they were admitted to receive the Confessions of dying Men, they used to entice away young Men, as well out of Publick Schools, as from their Parents Houses, whom having once brought into their Societies, they would never after permit them to return to their Friends: Whereby Men withdrew or kept back their Sons from the Universities, lest these Fryers should thus steal them away: So that, says he, [n] whereas in my own Time there were in *Oxford* 30000 Students, within a while after there were but 6000. And indeed, how excessively these Fryerly Swarms encreased in all Nations may appear from one Instance, [o] where the General of the *Franciscans* Order promised to the Pope (then about an Expedition against the *Turk*) to bring him into the Field 30000 expert Warriers out of the Number of St. *Francis* his Order, and yet that enough should remain at home to perform the requisite Devotions. But at this time the Pope made such use of those Fryers, that *Armachanus* prevailed not against them, thô he maintained his Cause in Nine Learned Propositions boldly and manifestly; [p] because the *English* Clergy stuck not to him as they had promised; and the Fryers had great store of Mony, whereby they were so far from losing Ground, that they procured at this time a new Confirmation of their Privileges. But those that desire more Particulars as to this Point, may refer themselves to the Authors quoted in the Margin of this latter part of the Chapter.

[m] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum §. 5. Walsingh. hist. p. 165. Gesta.* Innoc. VI. *apud Bosq. Antiq.* Oxon. *li. p. 181. Fox & M. S. Bib.* Vat. *Sign. n.* 3765. *& M. S. in Bibl.* Bodl. *& Speed p. 583.*

[n] *Fox Acts & Mon. p. 532.*

[o] *Sabell. Enne. ad. l. 6.*

[p] *Walsing. Hist. p. 165. n. 20. Speed p. 583.*

CHAPTER the Fourth.

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I. NOW on the Feast of St. *John Baptist*, or the 24th. of *June*, the Truce between *England* and *France* (which from the Battle of *Poictiers* had been continued till then, with expectation, that a full Peace should be established thereby) was wholly [a] expired. And thereupon all the Garrisons in *France*, as well *Navarrois*, as *English*, began to make War in the Title of King *Edward*, as before most of them had done in the Title of the King of *Navarre*; who was now again outwardly reconciled to the *Dauphin*. But least any way should be left untri'd for

[a] *Fro. f. c. 201. f. 107. b.*

for the prevention of those Miseries, which are necessarily attendant upon War. Some Months before the Expiration of the said Truce, King [b] *Edward*, with his Son the *Black-Prince*, and King *John*, with the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, held a friendly Treaty at *London* between themselves only; Where at last a Peace was consented to, and agreed on between both the Parties, on these Conditions, *viz.*

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1. That *Aquitain* should remain entirely to King *Edward* and his Heirs for ever, together with *Gascogne*, *Poictou*, *Touraine*, *Santogne*, *Perigort*, *Quercy*, *Limosin*, *Angoulesmois*, *Calais*, *Guisnes*, *Boulonois*, and the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, without any Resort or Homage, or Tribute to be paid therefore; even as Absolutely as he held his Kingdom of *England*.

[b] *Froiss. ibid. & Du Chesne p.* 681. *D. & Polyd. Virgil. l.* 19. *p.* 383.

2. *Item*, That King *John* should pay four Millions of Crowns of Gold for the Ransom of Himself, and the other *French* Lords, Prisoners, that is to say, three Millions for Himself, and the Fourth for the Lords of *France*.

In Consideration of all which King *Edward* would give over, and wholly remit all his Right in and to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, *Anjou* and *Maine*; and renounce and lay aside the Right, which he had to that Crown, and never after take upon him the Stile, Quality, or Title, of King of *France*.

This Agreement was Signed and Sealed by both the Kings on the 24 of *March*, and a Copy thereof sent into *France* to the Duke of *Normandy*, by the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, and the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, which latter was still a Prisoner, and lately before returned into *England*, having obtained leave to visit *France* upon Parole.

These Lords crossing the Seas landed at *Boulogne*, whence they rode to *Paris*, where they found the Duke of *Normandy* and his Council, together with the King of *Navarre*, unto whom they produced King *Johns* Letters. The Regent having perused them, asked Counsel of the King of *Navarre*, who remitted him to the Three Estates, who being assembled, it seem'd unto them, that the Conditions of the Agreement were too grievous to be born; whereupon with one Voice, the King of *Navarre* and the *Dauphin* also concurring, they returned this final Answer unto the two Lords; "That "the Contents of the Letters which they had brought, were so prejudicial to them and "to their Country, that they had much rather endure far greater misery, than they had "already done, than ever suffer so considerable a loss and empairment of the Realm of "*France*; and that they could not either in Honour or Conscience desire the Li-"berty of their King himself, when it could not be effected without Enslaving the "Kingdom.

When this Answer was brought to King *John* into *England*, he shook his Head for Anger and said, "Ah! Son *Charles*, Son *Charles*! You are lead by the King of *Na-*"*varre*, who is too cunning for you, and will deceive Fourty such as you are. And therewithall turning to King *Edward*, who was present, he said, "Sir, the fatal Obsti-"nacy of my infatuated People is providing another Trophy for your Victorious Arms; "You must again shew them the Effects of War, before they will understand the Ad-"vantages of Peace. But thrice-unhappy I, who cannot be at Liberty, till I see my "Subjects once more vanquished; nor can oblige them to their Duty, but by the Arms "of my Conquerour.

King *Edward* was of himself sufficiently enraged at this Dealing of the *French*, and sware, that when the Truce was expired, "They should see War in the Bloodiest shape "that he could dress it in. *Surely* (said he) *before next Winter be past over, I shall invade the Realm of* France *with such a Power, and shall tarry there so long, that I will either end the War to my Satisfaction, or make Peace to my Pleasure and Honour.* And then he sent Word to the *Dauphin*, "to look to Himself, for when the Truce "was out, he would most certainly give him a Visit at *Paris*, to see how able he was "for a War, which himself had thus pull'd upon his own Head. At which time he set about the greatest Preparations, that ever he had made before in all his Life: About which we shall now leave him for a while, and resume somewhat of those Matters, which we left unfinished in the preceding Year.

II. We then shew'd, as we remember, how the [c] Constable of *France* and the Earl of St. *Paul*, with the Lords and Knights of *Picardy*, *Artois*, *Ponthieu* and *Boulonois* had sat down before St. *Valery*, where they held a long and hard Siege, and made many brisk Assaults, employing at the same time Engines of Battery and other Instruments of War. Among other Chances that fell during this Siege, it happen'd, that the Lord of *Baugency* approaching the Castle one day in a Vessel to consider of its Strength that way, was stricken with a Springal and slain. Wherefore this Siege continued from the beginning of *August* 1358, untill *March* this Year, the besiegers designing to reduce the Place

[c] *Froiss. c.* 193. *f.* 104.

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by Famine, since they could not succeed any other way: So all the Streights and Avenues were well watched, that nothing could be conveyed to the Besieged either by Land or by Water. Hereupon by *Lent* their Provision being in a manner wholly wasted, when they found no hope of Subsistance from within, or of Succour from abroad, they advised to treat with the Constable, that upon yielding up the Fortress they might have their Lives and Goods saved, and liberty to march whither they pleased. All this was granted them, saving that they were not permitted to bear away any Armour or Weapons; thô the Earl of St. *Paul* was very loath they should have such easie Conditions; for he knew, that shortly they must of necessity have yielded up simply. But he little thought, that at that very instant the Lord *Philip* of *Eureux* the King of *Navarre's* Brother, was upon his March to raise the Siege, which he was resolved to attempt, at least, if the Castle had not been thus yielded up before, whereat he was infinitely displeased.

[d] *Froiss. c.* 194.

When the [d] *French* Lords had trussed up Bag and Baggage, and were upon the point of Departing from St. *Valery*, which they had now Garrison'd for themselves, they heard news of the approach of the Lord *Philip* of *Navarre*. Now this Lord *Philip* was Governour of all his Brothers Lands, especially in the Country of *Eureux*, and had at his Command all the Men of War, which were Enemies to the Crown of *France*. The Lord *John* of *Picquigny* had privately informed him, that the Garrison of St. *Valery* would infallibly be lost, unless he attempted a Rescue. Wherefore he resolved to go and raise the Siege. And so he secretly gather'd together about *Mante* and *Meulan* 3000 Men, among whom were the young Earl of *Harcourt*, the Lord *William Granville*, Sr. *Robert Knolles* of *England*, the Lord *John* of *Picquigny*, and several other Knights and Esquires. Prince *Philip* was within three Leagues of St. *Valery* with this Army, when he met with Sr. *William de Bonmare*, and Sr. *John Segar*, of whom he had the whole Account of the Siege and Yielding up of St. *Valery*, whereat he was extreamly displeased. The *French* Lords had news likewise of Prince *Philips* Approach, and resolved to meet him and give him Battle: But he hearing that the Enemy was at least 30000 Strong, had no mind to expect them, but with all speed turn'd off to the Right hand, and passing the River of *Somme* entred the Fortress of *Long* in *Ponthieu*, with all their Carriages and what else they had. They were scarce well entred, when the *French* Army who followed them, came thither also, about the time of Evening-Prayer, and still their Number encreased; the Foot coming by degrees after the Men of Arms, who rode on before in hopes to overtake the *Navarrois*. Wherefore the *French* Captains determin'd to rest for that Night before the Fortress till their Men might come up, and then all together to attack the Place the next Morning. The *Navarrois* who were within, finding they had little or no Provision for a Siege, left the Place about the hour of Midnight, and went away at a Back Gate, and marched as fast as they could toward *Vermandois*, having reached above two Leagues of their way before the *French* knew of their Escape: Then they presently went to Arms, and began to follow the *Navarrois* by the Track of their Horses. The *Navarrois* in the mean time passed on a great way before, till they came to *Thorigny*, a little Village standing on an Hill, in the middle way betwixt St. *Quentin* and *Perone* in *Vermandois*: So that from thence one might view the whole Country round about. Here they resolved to rest a while, and refresh themselves and their Horses, and if they must needs fight, there they had the best Advantage of Ground to deal with their Enemies. They had not been long here devising about their present Condition, when they might behold all the Country beneath them cover'd with the *French*, who were in Number more than 30000 Men. Whereupon they came forth of their Quarters, and ranged themselves in Three Battails on the Hill ready to receive them. The first Battalia was committed to the Care of Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Prince *Philip* himself had the Second, and the Third was lead by the young Earl of *Harcourt*, each of them consisting of 700 Choice Men, besides 300 Archers. Then they were all commanded to cut their Spears to a five Foot length, and in the hanging of the Hill they caused their Valets to set all their Spurs in the Earth, with the Rowels upward, to make the Enemies Ascent the more difficult. At which time Prince *Philip* made several Knights, the Chief whereof were the Earl of *Harcourt*, and the young Lord of *Granville*.

The *Frenchmen* being come up to the *Navarrois* made an Halt, and alighted on Foot, as indifferent for the present whether to give or take Battle: Some were for going up the Hill immediately, and so to have fought them. But those who had more Judgment said, "Our Men are almost tired with Travel, and many of them not yet come up, and "it will be late presently; so that considering all things, we had best tarry here this "Night,

"Night, and having the Day before us to ſet upon them to morrow freſh and with all "our Forces. This Reſolution prevailing, there they encamped for that Night, ſetting all their Carriages round them for their better Defence; which when the *Navarrois* perceived, and that they ſhould not be fought with as then, in the Evening they returned into the Town again: Where they kindled huge Fires and made great Smoke, thereby to perſuade their Enemies, that they deſign'd to lodge there that Night. But being before-hand reſolved what to do, when it was dark night they all mounted their Horſes, and left the Town in great ſilence, riding toward the River of *Somme*, which with the help of a Guide they paſſed at a little Village near *Bethencourt*. Then they rode toward the Wood of *Bouhain*, which they coaſted, and went that night above ſeven Leagues; thô of thoſe that had bad Horſes, or had loſt their Way, not being able to recover the Track of this ſilent Army in a Dark Night, ſome were taken Priſoners by thoſe of the Garriſon of *Bouhain*, and others were knockt on the head by the Bores of the Country. The *Frenchmen* knew not of their Eſcape till it was near Day-light, at which time they haſted as faſt as they might to St. *Quentins*, in order to paſs the *Somme* at the Bridge there, ſo to make a nearer Cut to intercept the *Navarrois*, whom they expected to meet coming back, in their Return toward *Normandy*. So they rode toward St. *Quentin*, which was but two Leagues off, and came thither by that time it was Day, the Conſtable and the Earl of St. *Paul* riding foremoſt. The Watchmen on the Gates of St. *Quentin* hearing a noiſe of Horſes and Men approaching, were in ſome doubt of themſelves, becauſe they knew the Enemy to be abroad in thoſe Parts; but yet they were ſomewhat more aſſured, becauſe the Bridge was drawn up: Wherefore they adventured to call aloud ſaying, Sirs, "what manner of Men are You, that approach our "Town at ſuch an unſeaſonable time? The Conſtable anſwer'd, "We are ſuch and "ſuch, who deſire to paſs this way, ſo to get before the *Navarrois*, who are ſtolen out of "*Thorigny*, and are fled from us; wherefore in the Kings Name we command you to "open your Gates and let us through. The Watchmen then told him, how the Keys were in the City with the Jurates, but they had ſent two Men for them who would ſhortly return. But to thoſe Men that went for the Keys, the Jurates anſwer'd, that no Gates ſhould be opened there without the Conſent of the whole Town; and before their Minds could be known the Sun was up. Then thoſe who were appointed to make anſwer to the Conſtable, went up to the Walls over the Gate, and look'd out and ſaid to the Conſtable, and to the Earl of St. *Paul*, "Lords, we deſire your Ex-"cuſe for the preſent, for the Commons of the Town are reſolved in this dangerous "Juncture not to open their Gates to any Armed Men: But they are pleaſed that five or "ſix of you may enter, if you are ſo minded; and as for the reſt they may go about "their buſineſs. The Lords of the Army were extreamly vext at this Mockery, and gave them many angry Words and horrible Threats, but for all that the Gates were kept ſhut; ſo that when the Conſtable ſaw, that after all theſe Delays he could never expect to overtake the *Navarrois*, he disbanded his Men in no very good Humour: But the Earl of St. *Paul* went to his Caſtle of *Bouhain* ſo vext and diſpleaſed at the People of St. *Quentin*, that no Body hardly durſt ſpeak to him.

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The mean [c] while the *Navarrois* rode on by great Journeys to *Veilly* upon the *Ayſne*, having alſo by help of a Guide paſſed the River of *Oyſe*, and there they reſted and refreſhed themſelves after their great Travel. And then finding themſelves paſt all danger, they returned thrô the Iſle of *France* and *Beauvaiſis* into *Normandy*, riding by ſmall Journeys from Fortreſs to Fortreſs; for they were Maſters of the Rivers and plain Country. So being ſafely arrived in *Coutantine* again, they made War as before in *Normandy*, the King of *Navarre* being then at *Melun* on the River of *Seyne* with conſiderable Forces.

[c] *Froiſ.c.*195. *fol.*105.

Now the Lord *Thomas Holland* [f] was Governour of the Caſtle and Fort of St. *Saviour le Vicount*, and of all the Caſtles and Places, which formerly belonged to the Lord *Godfrey* of *Harcourt*, having with him of his [g] Retinue the Lord *Nicolas de St. Maure*, *aliàs Seymor* and Others; But he being King *Edwards* Lieutenant in thoſe Parts, made no manner of War during the Truce.

[f] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*74.

[g] *Dugd. ibid. p.*89.

III. At the ſame time Sr. *Peter Audley*, Brother to the Valiant Lord *James Audley*, [h] was Captain of *Beaufort* Caſtle in *Champaigne* between *Troye* and *Châlons*, which Caſtle of old belonged to *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaſter*, as part of his Inheritance, in right of his [i] Grandmother *Blanch* Queen of *Navarre*, Counteſs Palatine of *Champaigne* and *Brie*, Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Artois* (Brother to St. *Lewis* King of *France*) and Dowager of *Henry de Champaigne* King of *Navarre*. This Sr. *Peter Audley* was a Man of great Valour and good Conduct; but his ardent de-

[h] *Froiſ.c.*195.

[i] *Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p.*105

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light in War rendred him leſs juſt, than Honour required; ſo that now he was not content to maintain and keep the Duke of *Lancaſter's* Caſtle, but he muſt alſo undertake Actions, that were no way warrantable, as long as the Truce was in being. He had already conſider'd with himſelf, [k] that if he could get over the *Marne* ſome Night a little above *Châlons*, and ſo come ſecretly to St. *Peter's* Abbey, he might eaſily thereby get into the Town. This purpoſe of his he delay'd to put in practiſe, till he underſtood the River of *Marne* was very low, and then with great privacy he aſſembled his Men; for he commanded at leaſt Five or Six Fortreſſes about him. Being therefore at laſt 400 ſtrong he began his March one Night as ſoon as it was dark from *Beaufort* Caſtle, and by Country Guides came to the place, where the *Marne* was Fordable; here they all alighted on Foot, and having deliver'd their Horſes to their Valets, waded over the River all in ſafety. Being got over, they Marched in good Order, fair and ſoftly toward St. *Peter's* Abbey; but as they went along, the Wind being on that ſide, ſeveral Watchmen, that were about in the Town next the Abbey (which was without the Walls, thô by a Gate it open'd into the Town) heard plainly the noiſe of their Armour, which clatter'd and made ſome noiſe upon their Motion. When firſt they heard it, they wonder'd what it ſhould be; for ſometimes the noiſe ceaſed, namely, when the *Navarrois* ſtood ſtill; and again it grew plainer and nearer, *viz.* when they moved forward. However upon the whole, one of them ſaid, "I believe there are ſome Thieves of *England* and *Navarre* coming "hither now to ſurprize the Town; let us ſearch out the Matter and Raiſe the City "betimes. And with that ſome went into the Town to give the Alarum; and others toward the Abbey, to ſee what was the buſineſs: But before theſe latter came thither, Sr. *Peter Audley* and his Men had got into the Abbey-Court (for the Walls thereof were not above Four Foot high) and immediately Marched forth at the Abbey Gate into the City by a great Street directly before them. At which time the Watchmen gave the Alarm, crying Treaſon, Treaſon. Whereupon the whole City haſted to their Arms, gather'd together, and came againſt Sr. *Peter*; but many of them were ſlain at the Firſt Brunt, and Sr. *Peter* by obſtinate Valour wan the firſt Town even to the Bridge over the *Marne*. But this mean while, the Citizens being very Numerous roſe in all places, and armed themſelves, and ſtood ſtiffly to it, to defend that Deſcent into the City. It happen'd unluckily for them that Sr. *Peter de Châlons*, who with an 100 Men of Arms, had been Captain there for above a Year before, had newly forſaken them, becauſe they did not pay him his Wages duly. So that they were in great Danger of being utterly loſt, had not another Captain by accident come in to their Aſſiſtance, now in the time of their greateſt Exigence. For the Lord *Otho de Grancey*, having had ſome inkling the day before, that Sr. *Peter Audley* prepared to ride abroad; ſuſpected, that his Deſign was upon *Châlons*; and becauſe he knew, there was at that time no conſiderable Captain there, he gather'd about 60 Spears, and rode great part of that day and the night following, till he reach'd the Place. Sr. *Peter* the mean while aſſaulted the Bridge, and the *Engliſh* Archers paſſed over on the Joiſts of the Bridge, and ſhot ſo fiercely together, that the Citizens began to deſpair of making good the Place much longer. While the Skirmiſh laſted thus, there came thither on the City ſide Sr. *Otho de Grancey* with four or five Captains of Quality, and 60 Men of Arms in his Company. Immediately upon his coming, being rightly informed of all things, he march'd ſtraight to the Bridge and diſplay'd his Banner, being very deſirous to meet the *Navarrois*. At [l] his coming the whole City was refreſhed, and followed his Banners gladly: But when Sr. *Peter Audley* ſaw theſe *Burgundians* ready to aſſiſt the Citizens, he retreated the ſame way he came, and finding his Valets with the Horſes in their expected Place, he and his Men remounted without any Impediment, and ſo return'd with ſmall winnings to *Beaufort* Caſtle. Of their Retreat the Citizens of *Châlons* were heartily glad (for they had been in a bodily Fear) and thanked God, and the Lord of *Grancey* alſo, for the Good-will he had ſhewn them; for which they made him an immediate Preſent of 500 Franks; beſides double Pay for a Month both for him and all his Men: And then they deſired Sr. *John Sars*, who was there preſent, and their Neighbour, to come thither by ſuch a time with ſo many Men to Counſel and Defend them. To this their requeſt he agreed for ſuch and ſuch Wages for himſelf and his Men, and then he fell to Repair the Fortifications of the City, where it needed; the Charges whereof the Town paid.

[k] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[l] *Froiſ. c.* 196.

IV. At the ſame time the Garriſons of *Veilly* and *Roucy* made among themſelves a ſecret *Rendezvous*, and went, and took by Aſſault the Fortreſs of *Siſſone*, where they

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ſet a good Garriſon conſiſting of ſeveral Nations: Over all whom they made Chief Captain, One *Hanekin Francois*, a lewd, barbarous Fellow of *Colen*, on the River *Rheyn*. He was a moſt bloody Butcher indeed, not knowing any Mercy for thoſe whom he overcame; for he burnt and ravaged in the Country thereabouts, putting to the Sword, without any juſt quarrel or provocation, Men, Women, and Children, if they paid not ſuch Ranſoms, as he asked. Now it happen'd, that the Earl of *Roucy*, who mightily laid to heart the loſs of his Town and Caſtle of *Roucy*, which the *Navarrois*, as we ſhew'd, had taken from him the laſt Year; apply'd himſelf ſo effectually to the *French* Knights and Eſquires about him, that at laſt he gat together an 100 Spears, beſides Fourty Men of Arms from the City of *Laon*; and the Earl of *Porcien*, the Lord *Gerard* of *Coincy*, the Lord *Montigny* in *Oſtervandt*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality in his Company. Theſe all riding toward *Siſſone*, found by the way certain *Navarrois* of the ſame Garriſon, who were burning of a Village, and prepared to ſet upon them. When *Hanekin* ſaw theſe new-Comers, he commanded all his Men on Foot, and placing the Archers in the Front, began the Battle boldly.

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At the firſt Brunt the Fourty *Laonnois* baſely deſerted their Friends, and ran away upon the Spur; however the other *Frenchmen* ſtood ſtill to their tackle, and fought long and couragiouſly: Yet Fortune was not for them; for the *Navarrois* were far more Expert, and at leaſt equal to them in Number. So that there the Earl of *Roucy*, being ſore wounded, was again taken Priſoner (this being the ſecond time he was ſo ſerved within the ſpace of leſs than a Year) and with him were taken the Lord *Gerard* of *Coincy*, the Lord of *Montigny* in *Hainalt*, and many others; the reſt, except a very few that fled, being ſlain in Battle.

V. Not long [m] after the yielding up of St. *Valery* in that manner, as we have related, the Duke of *Normandy* ſent three Thouſand Spears, beſides others to go and lay Siege to *Melun* on the *Seyne*, which was then held by the *Navarrois*. This Army was commanded in Chief by the Lord *Moreau de Fiennes*, Conſtable of *France*, and with him were the Earl of St. *Paul*, the Lord *Ingleram de Coucy*, the Biſhop of *Troye*, the Lord *Broquart* of *Feneſtrages* à *Lorrainer*, Sr. *Peter du Barre*, and Sr. *Philip* of *Dormois*, and others, who came and ſat down before *Melun*. There were then preſent in the Place three Queens, two of them being Queen-Dowagers of *France*, namely *Jane*, formerly Conſort to King *Charles* the Fair, and Aunt to the King of *Navarre*, and *Blanch* late-Conſort of King *Philip de Valois*, and Siſter to the King of *Navarre*, and the Third was the Queen of *Navarre* her ſelf, Siſter to the Duke of *Normandy*. The *Navarrois* themſelves were not a little ſurpriz'd, when they beheld the Place formally Beſieged by ſo conſiderable an Army: But the Three Queens were extreamly affrighted at the Engines and Springalls, which being brought thither from *Paris* play'd upon the Fortreſs continually. Wherewith, together with the frequent Aſſaults, the Ladies were ſo terrified, that they deſired at any rate to be rid of that trouble, whatever it ſhould coſt the King of *Navarre*, their Kinſman; and earneſtly entreated the Captains, who were the Lord *James Pipe*, and Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, *Engliſh* Natives, to yield up the Place. But they comforted the Ladies all they could, and told them how they had no need to fear any thing; for within a few days they ſhould ſee the Siege happily Raiſed: "*For* (ſaid they) *the King of* Navarre, *who is now at* Vernon, "*and Prince* Philip *his Brother*, *have ſent us word, that they have gather'd a great Ar-* "*my about* Mante *and* Meulan, *and will ſhortly bring them hither to raiſe the Siege*; "*and that rather than fail, they would drain all their Garriſons for that purpoſe.* On the other ſide, the Duke of *Normandy*, who knew all this to be true, entertain'd in his pay Souldiers from all Parts; whom daily he ſent to reinforce the Siege at *Melun*. So that in all probability, it muſt have come to a bloody Battle, each Party ſending their utmoſt ſtrength that way: But that the Cardinals of *Perigort*, and St. *Vitalis*, being aſſiſted by other well-diſpoſed Perſonages on either Part, laboured now ſo effectually, that at laſt they obtain'd a temporary Truce, between the Parties, in order to the carrying on of a Treaty at *Vernon*. Thither on a day appointed came the Duke of *Normandy* and his Council, and the King of *Navarre*, with his Brother *Philip* and his Council. In ſhort there was now a Peace made between theſe two Princes, the King ſwearing for the future to be true to the Crown of *France*, and the Duke obliging himſelf to pardon 300 Knights; althô yet ſome few were excepted from the Peace, whom the Duke would not Pardon by any means. But Prince *Philip* of *Navarre* would not concern himſelf about this Peace; but rated the King his Brother ſmartly; telling him, "how he was enchanted with theſe Flattering Overtures, and "proved very forgetfull of the King of *England's* Favours, to whom he was by Oath

[m] *Froiſ. c.* 197.

"and

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"and Covenant engaged, and who had always ſhew'd himſelf ready to ſuſtain his "Quarrel.

With theſe Words he left the King, his Brother, in an Huff, and with four Perſons only in his Company, rode Poſt to St. *Saviour le Vicount*, which was, as we have ſhew'd, an *Engliſh* Garriſon, under the Command of the Lord *Thomas Holland*, a great Baron of *England*, and [n] afterwards in Right of his Wife, Earl of *Kent* and Lord *Wake*, who received him very gladly, and ſaid, how he had acquitted himſelf with commendable Loyalty and Honour towards the King of *England*.

[n] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 74. Mill's *Catal. Honour p.* 765.

However [o] by this Treaty of Peace the King of *Navarre* had the quiet Poſſeſſion of certain Towns and Caſtles in *Normandy*, and on the Borders thereof, beſides *Mante* and *Meulan*. And now a Reconciliation was made between the Duke of *Normandy*, and the young Earl of *Harcourt*, chiefly at the Interceſſion of the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, who was of the Duke's Council, and of his Houſhold: So that the Duke gave in Marriage unto the ſaid Earl, the Daughter of the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was Siſter to his own Dutcheſs.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 198.

Upon this Peace the Siege before *Melun* brake up, the Place becoming thereupon of the *French* Intereſt: Thô the Realm of *France* gain'd little eaſe or reſpite by all this; for the Truce between *England* and *France* being ſoon after expired, thoſe who before in the King of *Navarre's* Title had made War in *Normandy*, *Beauvais*, *Picardy*, *Champaigne*, or *Brie*, now began to make War as hotly in the ſaid Places in the Title of King *Edward* of *England*.

VI. Now the young Knight Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, had been for more than a Year ſignally Notorious for the Injuries he did to *France* in theſe times of Confuſion; for [p] in *Champaigne* he had no leſs than 700 Fighting Men under him; by whoſe Aid he wan great Riches, as in Plunder, Ranſoming, and ſafe Conducts. So that at laſt no fewer than Twelve good Fortreſſes were at his Command; and as then he was in the Flower of his Age, a luſty, young, amorous Batchelour. And the Year [q] after this he Married the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the Marqueſs of *Juliers*, but now Counteſs Dowager of *Kent* in *England*; althô upon the Death of *John Plantagenet*, late Earl of *Kent*, ſhe had vow'd Chaſtity, and was ſolemnly Veiled a Nun by *William Edingdon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, at *Waverley* in that Diœceſe. For this Noble young Nun, upon report of Sr. *Euſtace's* great Renown in Arms, began, without having ſeen him, to ſet her Love about this time upon him, and often ſent him choice Geldings, and Horſes of Service, with Love-Letters and other Favours; wherewith Sr. *Euſtace* was ſo elevated in his Courage, that every day he grew more Notable: So that all his Men thought themſelves happy, they gain'd ſuch Riches under his Conduct. But the Duke of *Normandy*, who had heard of all his outragious Violences, upon the breaking up of the Siege of *Melun*, deſired the Lord *Broquart* of *Feneſtrages*, a *Lorrainer*, who had 500 Companions at his Command, to go into *Champaigne*, and help to expell this Sr. *Euſtace* and his *Engliſhmen*, that made War in thoſe Parts; on which account he undertook to pay him for himſelf and his Troops, ſuch a certain Sum of *Florens*. Upon this Sr. *Broquart*, having encreaſed his Forces with the Aſſiſtance of the Biſhop of *Troye*, the Earl of *Vaudemont*, the Earl of *Joinville*, the Lord *John* of *Châlons*, and others from *Champaigne*, *Lorraine*, and *Burgundy*, to the Number of 3500 Men in all; they began to ſet forward againſt the Enemy. Firſt they came to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Hans* in *Champaigne*, which had been held by *Engliſh Navarrois*, a Year and an half; but now it was taken at the Third Aſſault, and fourſcore *Engliſhmen* ſlain, even every Man in the Caſtle; there was none had any Mercy ſhewn him.

[p] *Froiſ. c.* 198. &c.

[q] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 94. & 95.

After this hot Service the *Frenchmen* went to *Troye* to refreſh themſelves; and within two or three days, they ſent out a ſtrong Detachment of 1200 Spears, and 900 others, under the Lord *Broquart* of *Feneſtrages*, who took the way directly toward *Nogent* on the River *Seyne*. Early that Morning Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, having heard of the *Frenchmens* being about in the Country, choſe out of his Garriſons 400 Spears, and 200 Archers, and with thoſe Troops marched forth of the Caſtle of *Pougny* to find his Enemies. He rode on a ſtately Gelding, Armed at all Points, except his Headpiece, which an Eſquire carried after him, his War-Horſe being led by his ſide. He had hardly paſſed the *Seyne* at *Mery*, when he heard tidings of the *French*, as they alſo by this had heard of him. But ſurely had he known the Number of thoſe, who came againſt him, he would have deſired the Aſſiſtance of his Neighbour, Sr. *Peter Audley*, and the Lord *de la Bret*, who could well have ſpared him 400 Fighting Men; if they had not come to his Aid in Perſon. Upon the Firſt certain knowledge of his Ene-

Enemies, and of the way they took, he gather'd his Men together without the Town of *Nogent ſur Seyne*, and took the height of a little Hill among the Vines; and ſet his Archers ready before him. When the *French* Men of Arms came up in ſight of him, they ranged themſelves in Three Battails: The firſt was led by the Biſhop of *Troye*, and the Lord *Broquart* of *Feneſtrages*, the Second by the Lord *John* of *Châlons*, and another good Captain, the Third by the Earl of *Vaudemont*, and the Lord *Joinville*; beſides a Fourth Battail of 900 Foot, which was not yet come up. The mean while Sr. *Euſtace* ſpake aloud to his Men, "Gentlemen, let us Fight with a "good Courage, for if this day be ours, we ſhall be Lords of all *Champaigne*, which "was once an Earldom. And I hope this day by your Valiant Aſſiſtance to do ſuch a "piece of Service for the King of *England*, whom I account the Rightfull King of "*France*, that he will beſtow this Earldom upon Me: And you ſhall all be the bet-"ter for my Advancement. Then he called unto him certain Young Gentlemen, as the *Couragious Manny* (who being his Couſin, and Nephew to the Lord *Walter Manny*, was conſtantly Honoured with the Epithet *Couragious*) *John de Paris*, and *Martin* of *Spain*, with ſome others, whom then, and there he Knighted: And all his Men being placed on Foot in a ſtrong Battail (his Archers a little forward on the left hand) he himſelf ſtood in the Front of his Men of Arms, his Standard waving before him, which was *Ermin*, three Hameds *Gules*.

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When [r] Sr. *Broquart* of *Feneſtrages*, who was both very expert and couragious, ſaw, that Sr. *Euſtace* deſigned not to come down to him; and that he had wiſely placed his Archers to gall them on the right ſide, where they had not their Shields, he ſaid aloud, "Let us firſt of all fall on, whatever happens, changing our Shields to the Spear Hand, "till we have paſt the Archers. And in this manner his Battail conſiſting of 400 Men of Arms, marched up towards the *Engliſh*. They pretty well eſcaped the Archers, by that ſudden Device, but Sr. *Euſtace* received them ſo ſharply, that at the firſt Brunt he ſlew of them more than Threeſcore, and had well-nigh totally diſcomfited the whole Body, when of a ſudden the ſecond freſh Battail, of equal Number with the former, came on with great Reſolution; and at the ſame time the third Battail came on a Wing at their Left hand, both a Defence and Comfort to the other two. The *French* were almoſt Four to One, *viz.* 1200 Spears againſt 400, and 900 Foot againſt 200; but however the *Engliſh* played their Part gallantly, and Sr. *Euſtace* preſently with his own hands ſlew four of the moſt Hardy among his Enemies. When Sr. *Broquart* beheld this his Proweſs, he ſtrack at his *Vizor* over other Mens heads, till he beat out three of his Teeth; but Sr. *Euſtace* left not off fighting for the pain, he then began to make his Enemies feel more ſevere effects of his Anger. And ſtill the *Engliſh* were ſo united in a cloſe *Phalanx*, that the *French* could as yet make no Impreſſion upon them; and the Archers of *England* ſhot ſo thick on the Enemies left Flank, that they durſt not approach to break them. Then the *French* Men of Arms began to wheel about to the Left, and as they went the *Engliſh* Battail faced them without once breaking their Order: For all the File-leaders and Bringers-up were the Choiceſt Men in Front, Flank and Reer. But at that inſtant the 900 *French* Infantry came into the Field well covered with broad Targets, who marching directly againſt the Archers, wholly brake their Array, for their Shot gave them but little trouble, they were ſo well protected with the mutual Defence of their Shields. When thus the Archers were broken, the ſecond Battail of the *French* Men of Arms rode in among them, and took or ſlew moſt of them, but a very few eſcaped. After which they went againſt the *Engliſh* Valets, and won all the Horſes, except thoſe which the Valets carried away upon the Spur. The mean while the two remaining Battails of Men of Arms entertained the *Engliſh* on one ſide, and the Fourth Battail of Footmen (after they had beaten the Archers) on the other ſide; ſo that at laſt all their Array was broken, and Sr. *Euſtace* his Standard beaten down and torn in pieces, and moſt of his Men taken or ſlain. The Lord *Euſtace* himſelf fell into the hands of a worthy Gentleman called Sr. *Henry de Quingey* a *Burgundian*, who had much ado to ſave his Life; for the Commons of *Troye* would fain have had him ſacrificed, becauſe of the terrible Havock he had made among them in the Country of *Champaigne*. With him were taken alive Sr. *John* of *Paris* and Sr. *Martin* of *Spain*, with many other Knights and Eſquires; and thoſe that eſcaped gat into the Fortreſs of *Nogent*, but they were not many, the greater Part not being able to quit the Field in any time, becauſe their Horſes were all taken. The *Couragious Manny* was left for dead among others in the Field, but a while after the Battle, when the Enemy was marched off, thô grievouſly wounded, and almoſt exhauſted for want of Blood, he chanced to open his Eyes, and then being ſomething re-

[r] *Froiſ.* c. 199. &c.

viv'd

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viv'd with the fresh Air, he lifted up his Head a little, but saw nothing about him except Dead Men lying on the Ground. By and by he enforced himself so far, as to rise as well as he could half way, and so sat down a while and look'd about, and found he was not far from the Castle of *Nogent* which was an *English* Garrison. Hereupon he never left creeping by little and little, till at last with much difficulty, and much danger of Relapsing he came to the Foot of the Tower: Where making signs to them that look'd down, that he was a Friend, he was received into the Fortress, and had his Wounds presently dressed, and carried himself so regularly and temperately, that within a few Weeks he was perfectly healed. This Battle was thus fought [t] in the Year of our Lord MCCCLIX, on the Vigil of St. *John Baptist*, or the twenty third of *June*.

[t] *Froiss. ibid.*

VII. After this Discomfiture of the *Englishmen* near *Nogent sur Seyne*, the *French* Lords and Men of Arms return'd to the City of *Troye* with all their Booty; but they durst not bring thither any of their Prisoners for fear of the Common People, who sought to kill them; wherefore they sent them to be kept in other *French* Garrisons. But when Sr. *Eustace Dambreticourts* Men, whom he had left in the Garrison of *Pougny*, heard of this their Loss, they presently trussed up Bag and Baggage, and marched off into better Quarters; for they were not enough to maintain the Place. The same did those who held other Fortresses, which depended on the Lord *Eustace*: For they greatly doubted the Bishop of *Troye*, and the Lord of *Fenestrages*: But Sr. *Peter Audley*, thô he had lost a good Neighbour of Sr. *Eustace*, held his Garrison still at *Beaufort*, Sr. *John Segar* at *Nogent*, and the Lord *de la Brett* at *Gye* upon the *Seyne*. About that time some of Sr. *Peter Audley's* Men rode forth and took a Neighbouring Town called *Rosnay*, and plunder'd it. Here [t] while the Curate was at Mass, an *English* Esquire is said to have gone into the Church, and to have taken the *Chalice*, wherein the Priest should have consecrated, from the Altar: Which Wine he poured out on the ground; and being therefore with much *Christian* Gravity blamed by the Priest, he struck him over the Face with his Gauntlet, that the Blood gush'd out upon the Altar; and so went his way with the Chalice and Patine along with him. It is affirmed (and I dare not omit so memorable an Instance of God's Judgments, thô it displease never so many) that this same Esquire being presently after mounted in the Field, his Horse began suddenly to turn about, and flounce, and curvet so fiercely, that none durst come near him: Till at last he and his sacrilegious Master fell both together Dead on the ground, and soon after they crumbled away to Powder. Whereupon all the other Souldiers, that were eye-witnesses of this dreadfull Judgment, were so terrified, that they vow'd never more to violate any Church or Holy Place while they lived.

[t] *Froiss. c.* 200.

VIII. In these days, as if it pleased Almighty God to afford some short Breathing to the afflicted Realm of *France*, before King *Edward* came over to add to her Afflictions, the greater part of these licentious Plunderers of a sudden fell to decay, and declin'd so fast that it was miraculous. And first [u] in the strong Castle of *le Herelle* within four Leagues from *Amiens*, the Lord *John* of *Picquigny*, who had been so perfidious to his Lord and Master the *French* King, was now in God's just Judgment repaid by his own Servant, his Chamberlain, by whom, as was said, he was strangled in the Night, together with *Lucas de Bequesy* one of his chief Counsellors; whereupon the terrour of that Garrison was much diminished. Those that were in *Mauconsell*, thrô meer want of Provision, were enforced to sell their Fortress to the People of *Noyon* for 12000 [x] *Moutons* of Gold, and licence to march off with their Arms, Bag and Baggage. The *Noyonnois* were glad to be rid of them at any Rate, and upon their Departure rased the Castle to the ground, lest it should again fall into the hands of any such ill Neighbours: But of the Garrison some went to *Creil*, others to *Clermont*, to *Veilly*, *Pierpont*, *Roucy* or *Sissonne*, as they thought best. But Sr. *John Segar* had not so good Fortune in selling his Fortress of *Nogent* to the Bishop of *Troye*: Thô the Bishop gave him a Bond for the Payment of such a Summ of Florens, and his safe Conduct to come and receive it. Sr. *John* trusting to the Conduct went to the City of *Troye*, and alighted at the Bishops Palace, who desired him to stay three or four days, promising his Money by that time; and to this Sr. *John* agreed in Confidence of the Bishops Protection. But when it was known among the Rabble, that the Captain of the Garrison of *Nogent*, who had done them so much Mischief, was come now to receive more of their Money, for selling what he had before stole from them, they said among themselves, "What means our Bishop to trifle and mock us thus, since he entertains in his House the most notorious Robber and Plunderer in all *France*, and would

[u] *Froiss. c.* 200.

[x] *Cotgrave dicit hoc Numisma non factum ante an. Dom.* 1371. *sed errat, ut ex Froiss. & aliis.*

"would have us supply him with our Money? Nay rather, now we have him here, let "us make him pay dearly for what he has already forced from us. To this Resolution all the Common People agreed; for Interest and Revenge together are too great Incentives to be resisted by any, but those whose Reason is well grounded, and to whom Justice and Natural Honour are not indifferent. Presently some flew to the Gates of the Town, that he should not escape them, and others to the Number of about 6000 went armed to the Bishops Palace to kill him. When the Bishop heard the Reason of this Uproar, he said, "Certainly Friends, Sr. *John* is come hither under my safe Con- "duct, and you all know the Terms of the Treaty and Bargain made between us, for "'twas not done without your Consent. Why will ye now retract what you have en- "gaged, and desire to prove both Cruel and Perfidious, as you must needs be, if you "do any harm unto this Man. Thus the Bishop began to argue, but Reason is seldom heard by an enraged Multitude; wherefore let him say what he would, they rushed by him into the Hall by force, and thence into several Apartments, and sought so narrowly, that at last they found him, and immediately cut him all to pieces. And thus ended Sr. *John Segar*, a Man to be commended for his Valour, had he taken care to have employ'd it on just and lawfull Occasions only: But Vertues ill used prove Vices; and therefore, thô he was an *Englishman*, we allow him no Rank among the truly Honourable.

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About the [y] midst of *August* the Archbishop of *Rheims*, with the Help of the *Parisians* and others of the Vicinage, Knights and Esquires from *Rhetel*, *Laon* and other Places, went and laid Siege to the Castle of *Roucy*, which having held out five Weeks, was then by the Besieged yielded up, on Condition they might have their Lives and Goods saved, and Liberty to go whither they would: Of all which they had Letters Patents sealed by the Archbishop, and the Earls of *Porcien* and of *Brayne*. But for all that, when they were without the Castle, the Common People fell upon them, and maugre all the Lords and Captains could do, slew most of them. They had much ado to save the Captain *Hanekin Francois*, who perhaps deserved that favour least of any, if we consider the Barbarous Cruelties wherewith he had been delighted: But however the Earl of *Roucy* now at last in this manner recover'd his Castle.

[y] *Froiss. c.* 201. *fol.* 108.

IX. After [z] the Taking of *Roucy* Sr. *Peter Audley* fell sick, and died in his Bed within the Castle of *Beaufort*; for whom all the Garrisons of the Companions in those Parts were extreamly sorry. At last the *Englishmen* and *Almains* thereabouts (since now they made War in the King of *England's* Name) thought no Man fitter to be their Captain than the Lord *Eustace Dambreticourt*, who was then perfectly healed of his Wounds, but was still a Prisoner. Then they send an Herald, called *Faulcon*, to the Earl of *Vaudemont*, and to Sr. *Henry de Quingey*, who had taken him in the Battle of *Nogent*, to treat about his Redemption. His Ransom was set at 22000 Franks, and yet the *English* Garrisons in *Champaigne* made a Purse, and paid it down for him gladly, not doubting but by his Conduct to win ten times as much in a short time. So Sr. *Eustace* was set at Liberty, and had restored unto him again his War-Horse and his Gelding, that were taken with him at the Battle of *Nogent*, and which he valued next his own Liberty; because they were sent him from that Fair Nun, the young Lady *Elizabeth* Countess Dowager of *Kent* in *England*. When the *English* had Sr. *Eustace* among them, they made him their Chief Captain; and all Men of War drew to him, for the Renown which he had purchased in the Field. And he soon after to give them an Hansell of his Valour, about the time that King *Edward* of *England* besieged *Rheims*, fell into the Country of *Rhetelois*, where none of the Companions had been before, and surprized the good Town of *Attigny* standing on the River *Aisne*, where he found an hundred Pipes of good Wine of *Champaigne*, most whereof he sent as a Present to the King his Master, as we shall shew hereafter: And here he made his chief Garrison, from whence he overran all the Country about *Rheims*; and spoiled *Espernay*, *Damery*, and the good Town of *Vertus*, where they found great Riches, and made another Garrison. The Garrison of *Vertus* overran all the Country about the River *Marne*, up as far as *la Fert Millon*, and that of *Attigny* ran dayly to *Mezieres* on the *Meuse*, to *Donchery* and other good Towns thereabout.

[z] *Froiss. c.* 202. &c.

Now the Lord *Broquart* of *Fenestrages*, who had won the Battle of *Nogent* against Sr. *Eustace Dambreticourt*, and by that, and other Successes prov'd not a little instrumental in ridding *Champaigne* of those Garrisons of the Companions, was but ill requited by the Duke of *Normandy* for all his Services, there being still due unto him 30000 Franks. Frequently by his Messengers he called upon the Duke for this Money, but could never get any agreeable Answer, for they always return'd without the Money or

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Bills of Receipt either. Hereupon the Lord *Broquart* being juſtly provoked, ſent his Defiance to the Duke and to the whole Realm of *France*; and preſently enter'd a good Town called *Bar ſur Seyne*, containing above 900 Houſes, all which having plunder'd and burnt, becauſe he could not take the Caſtle, he carried off all his Prey and Priſoners to his own Garriſon. And beſides this, he left not till he had done more Miſchief in *Champaigne*, than either the *Engliſh* or the *Navarrois* had done: And after all that, the Duke was fain to agree with him, and pay him much more than he had at firſt demanded. Whereupon he went into his Country of *Lorrain*, leaving behind him a ſevere *Memento* for Princes to be juſt to their Mercenaries, and not to provoke them when they have no power to reſtrain them.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 203. *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 166.

X. In theſe days [a] Sr. *Robert Knolles* of *England*, who by his great Valour and Fortune in the Wars, aroſe from a ſmall beginning to vaſt Wealth and Power, made an Expedition from the Marches of *Bretagne* with a ſmall Army of 3000 Men, and rode along by the River *Loire*, till he came into *Berry*; where he paſſed on, burning, deſtroying, and ravaging the Country. Of his Acts in *Bretagne*, together with the Lord *James Pipe*, Sr. *Otho Holland* and Sr. *Thomas Fowkes*, we ſhall here forbear to ſay any thing; becauſe ſuch a Diſcourſe would be now unſeaſonable; wherefore we refer the Reader to the [b] Authors in the Margin, and only for this time ſhall ſhew, how he proceeded in this his Expedition.

[b] *Fabian p.* 236. & *Knighton p.* 2619.

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 203.

It is thought, [c] he deſign'd to march thrô *Auvergne*, and ſo to viſit the Pope and his Cardinals at *Avignon*, and to finger ſome of their Florens, as *Arnold Cervoles*, the Arch-Prieſt, had already done. And ſurely he made great Havock, whereever he went, deſtroying Towns, Caſtles, and Cities, in ſuch manner and number, that long [d] after in Memory of him, the ſharp points, and gable ends of overthrown Houſes, Chappels and Minſters, were called *Knolles his Miters*. Before his Paſſage into *Berry* [e] he burnt and plunder'd the Suburbs of *Orleans* on the *Loire*, none daring to come forth of the City againſt him, his Name was ſo dreadfull at that time. And before that, when he took the Town of *Ancenis* in the Marches of *Bretagne*, the Inhabitants were ſo ſurpriſed at the terrour of his Name, that many of them leaped into the *Loire* and were drown'd, and not a few brake their Necks from the Walls for fear; ſo that being at laſt come within 12 Leagues of *Avignon*, the Pope and the Cardinals were in a wonderfull Conſternation for doubt of him; and ſome Clergy-men made theſe Rhymes of him,

[d] *Weevers Fun. Monum. p.* 436. & *Lamb. Peram.*

[e] *Knighton p.* 2619. &c.

Roberte Knollis, per te ſit *Francus* mollis;
Ipſius tollis prædas, dans vulnera Collis.

Sr. Robert Knolls, *All* France *controls*;
He takes their Prey, And them doth ſlay.

But as he was approaching towards the Court of *Rome*, he heard that the *French* Lords were making themſelves ſtrong to encounter him about *Clermont* in *Baſſe Auvergne*; wherefore he alter'd his Reſolution of Viſiting *Avignon*, and turn'd back with a Deſign to look upon his Enemies, till being within one Days journey of them, he [f] took the Advantage of an Hill and fortified himſelf there, while his Spies rode forth to diſcover the *French* Army. In the Evening they brought back Word, that their Numbers were more than Treble to thoſe of Sr. *Robert's*, and that they were all well Armed, and ſeem'd to be order'd diſcreetly.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 204.

The next Day the *French* Army came and encamped on a Mountain near the *Engliſh*, ſo that each might ſee the others Fires: And the Morning after they began to draw nearer, till about Noon they came to another Mountain right over againſt Sr. *Robert*; there being only a low Meadow of about 12 Acres of Land between them. Upon this appearance of the Enemy, the *Engliſh* preſently made ready their Battails to fight, and ſet their Archers in the hanging of the Hill before them. Againſt them the *French* diſpoſed themſelves in two great Battalia's, each of them containing 5000 Men; the Firſt was lead by *Berault* or *Beroaldus*, the young Earl of *Clermont*, Dauphin of *Auvergne*, who having juſt then received the Order of Knighthood from his Uncle the Lord *Robert Dauphin*, firſt that Day reared his Banner, which was *Auvergne* and *Martegues* Quarter'd: Beſides this young Earl and his Uncle, there was in this Battail the Lord of *Montaign en Combraille*, the Lord of *Taraſcon*, the Lord of *Rochefort*, the Lord of *Sorigniac*, the Lord *Godfrey* of *Boulogne*, and divers other Knights and Eſquires of *Limoſin*, *Quercy*, *Auvergne* and *Rovergue*. The ſecond Battail had theſe Prime Leaders, the Earl of *Foreſtes*, the Lord *John* of *Boulogne*, Earl of *Auvergne*, the Lord *D' Archy* and his Sons, the Lord *Dachon*, the Lord *Duzes*, and Sr. *Reginald de Foreſtes* Brother to the Earl, with many other Gentlemen; all who were very deſirous to

come

come to a Battle. As on the other side Sr. *Robert Knolles* and his Men seem'd no less willing to receive them; thô the *French* amounted to 3000 Men of Arms, besides 7000 Others, and Sr. *Roberts* Company made not up full 3000 Men in all. An. Dom. 1359. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIII. *Franciæ* XX.

In this Order both Armies stood facing each other, till 'twas almost Night, without any Proffer on either hand to come nearer, saving that certain young Gentlemen descended down on each side to skirmish in the Meadow, and to break a Lance or so for Love of their Ladies; and whosoever wan his Antagonist had him for his Prisoner. In the close of the Evening they both drew to their Lodgings, having set a good Watch for fear of Surprise: But the *French* Lords held a Council of War, where 'twas resolved, that at the hour of Midnight they should all march down the Mountain on that side, which was fartheſt from the *English*, and fetching a course of two Leagues, come up at the back of the Mountain where the Enemy lay, and so give them a Camisade: For on that side, the Hill was much more easie of Ascent, and they supposed to come upon them so early, as to find them unready and out of order.

However this Device was not carried on so privately, but that Sr. *Robert* had knowledge thereof by an *English* Prisoner, who stole out of their Camp and brought him word of it: Then Sr. *Robert* advis'd with his most experienced Captains, who thought, all things consider'd, that it was not best to abide the Power of the *Frenchmen* at that time; especially because they were so far outnumbred, and in an Enemies Country. So immediately they trussed up their Baggage, and by help of Guides, marched away with great silence. At Midnight the *French*, pursuant to their late Order, ranged themselves in Battle Array, and so fetch'd a Course about to come upon the Backs of the *English*; and by that time it was Day light they were at the Mountain, where contrary to their expectation they found no Body. With that they sent certain Horsemen to go up to the top, and look about and see, if they could view any thing of them; and after a while these Men came down and told them, "how they saw them marching towards "*Esgurande* and *Milvaches*, and believ'd they design'd for *Limoges*. The *French* Lords at this News being out of hopes to overtake them, brake up their Expedition for that time, and disbanded their Men: Soon after which there was a Match made up between the young Lord *Beroald* Dauphin of *Avergne*, and the Earl of *Foresles* his Daughter, which he had by the Duke of *Bourbons* Sister.

After this Expedition Sr. *Robert Knolles*, who by these unlawfull Wars in time of Truce was [g] risen to the Wealth of an Earl, began to reflect upon himself, how heinously he had offended the King his Master, and thereby was become outlaw'd; and now that the Wars were open again between *England* and *France*, being very desirous to recover his Royal Favour, that so he might be admitted to bear Arms upon a more just Account, he began to make Friends in the Court of *England*, and sent great Presents to the Prince of *Wales*, and other the Kings Sons, earnestly entreating them to move the King in his Behalf; and unto the King himself he [h] absolutely offer'd "whatsoever he had any way acquired in *France*, whether Castles, Towns, Goods or Chattels, or any other thing, he willingly submitted them all to his Liege Lord to dispose "of at his Pleasure, only desiring his full and gracious Pardon; and if it should please "his Majesty to permit him to hold any of his Acquests, as a Royal *Demesne*, and "only *Durante Bene placito*, he should think himself happy in being thereby somewhat enabled to serve his Majesty according to his Hearts Desire. This handsome and humble Submission extreamly pleased the King and his Sons, and so he not only obtain'd a full Pardon, but also a Grant of many Castles and Lordships in Consideration of his Abilities for the War, and because he had so entirely put himself upon the Kings Goodness. Yet that same Year he fell into the hands of his Enemies about *Michaelmas*, but as they were leading him away, he had the good Fortune to be rescued by his old Friend *Hanekin Francois*, who by chance rode that way; and not only saved his Friend so opportunely, but overcame his Enemies, of whom he took Fourty good Prisoners.

[g] *Walsingh. hist.* p. 166.

[h] *Knighton p.* 2619. *n.* 65. *&c.*

XI. This mean [i] while the Commons of *Flanders* being wrought upon by the *French* King, and their own Earl *Lewis*, rebelled against King *Edward*, whom before they had acknowledged for their Supream Lord, and drove away the Merchants of *England* into *Brabant*, and refused to admit the Easterlings to traffick within their Precincts; and all those Citizens of *Bruges*, whom they found firm to the *English*, they either banish'd or imprison'd; not a few of them being beheaded at the Command of the Earl of *Flanders*. Whereupon King *Edward* issued out his Royal Proclamation, commanding that all *Flemmings*, of what Condition soever, except only the Kings Farmers, should be ready to take the Sea, so as to void the Realm by the Feast of [k] St. *Margaret* then next ensuing,

[i] *Knighton p.* 2620. *n.* 56.

[k] 20 July.

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suing, on pain of Death without any more Delay. And becauſe the War was now open between *England* and *France*, the *Frenchmen* were alſo envolved in the ſame Penalty with the *Flemmings* at the ſame time.

XII. Now was King *Edward* buſie in providing for the War, which he deſign'd in his own Perſon to carry beyond the Seas, and had already ſent his peremptory Command over all the Realm to his Commiſſioners of Array in all Counties, toward the Equipping of a Royal Army worthy to attend him, who reſolved now wholly to reduce *France* to his Devotion, or to die in the undertaking. Nor yet was this Magnificent Prince ſo abſolutely taken up with this grand Affair, but that his Active Soul was as much at liberty as in the moſt *Halcyon* Days of Peace: For in the [l] *Rogation* Week, being the latter end of *May*, a ſolemn Juſt was proclaimed to be held at *London* for [m] three Days together, in which Proclamation *John* [n] *Luffin* Mayor, *John Barnes* and *John* [o] *Bury*, the Sheriffs, with their Brethren, the other one and twenty Aldermen as Challengers, undertook to hold the Field againſt all Comers. But at the time appointed, in their Name and in their Stead came the King privily with his four Sons, *Edward* the *Black-Prince*, *Lionel*, *John* and *Edmund*, which latter was then in the 18 Year of his Age, together with 19 other Great Barons of *England*: The King repreſented the Mayor, the *Black-Prince* bore the Perſon of the Senior Sheriff *John Barnes*, Prince *Lionel* acted the Part of *John Bury* the other Sheriff, and ſo the whole Corporation of *London* was perſonated by the Royal Family and Nobility of *England*, in Preſence of the Kings of *France* and of *Scotland*, and an infinite number of Spectators. They were not now armed as Princes or Barons; but the King and his Sons, and the reſt of the Challengers bare the City Arms both on their Shields and Surcoats, and held the Field the whole three Days with great Honour, eſpecially to the ſatisfaction of the Citizens, while they took them really for what they ſeem'd; but they were extreamly raviſh'd with joy, when they underſtood that the King himſelf and his Children had done them the Honour to fight ſo gallantly under their Cogniſance.

[l] *Paſcha* 21 April. Lit. Dom. F.

[m] *M.S vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.*230. *Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p.* 963. *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 165. *&c.* The Names of the Mayor and Sheriffs *vid. apud Fabian p.* 236. *Stows Survey of* London *p.* 553. *& Sr. Rich. Baker p.* 147.

[n] *Aliàs* Louſkin.

[o] *Aliàs* Buris.

XIII. The *Sunday* before *Rogation-Sunday*, being the [p] 14 of the *Kalends* of *June*, that is, after our Account the 19 of *May*, the Lord *John Plantagenet* (from the Place of his Birth ſirnamed alſo of *Gaunt*) who was the Kings Third Son, and Earl of *Richmond*, being now in the 19 Year of his Age, took to Wife by Vertue of a ſpecial Diſpenſation from the Court of *Rome*, the Lady *Blanch* his Couſin, Second Daughter to *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaſter*: The Solemnity of the Marriage being kept at *Reading* in *Barkſhire* about 16 Miles from *Windſor*, a Week before the Tourneament, which we have juſt now mentioned.

[p] *Walſing. hiſt. p.*166. *& M.S. vet. Ang. in Bib. C.C.C.* Cantabr. *c.*230. *&c.*

XIV. About this time King *Edward* and the Prince his Son, in great Devotion viſited moſt of the Shrines, and other Holy Places in *England*, offering up their Prayers every where for a Bleſſing upon their Arms, or for an happy, laſting and honourable Peace. And one day among the reſt, while the King was in the famous Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, viſiting the Ancient Monuments of his Predeceſſors, he [q] choſe a Place for his own Sepulture and Burial in the Chappel of St. *Edward* hard by the Shrine of that Royal Saint and Confeſſor: Commanding his Son the Prince, and his other Children upon his Bleſſing, when it ſhould pleaſe God to call him out of this tranſitory Life to a better, to lay his Body there and no where elſe. And thô the Prince his Son died before him, yet we find the reſt of his Sons were not forgetfull of this his Fatherly Injunction; for there he lies buried to this Day, as we ſhall ſhew more particularly, when we come to treat of his Death, which happen'd 18 Years after.

[q] *M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.*230.

CHAPTER the Fifth.

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bemont, French, *and the Lord* Reginald van Boulant, Engliſh. V. *The Lord* Bartholomew Burwaſh *takes the* French *Maſter of the Croſsbows: King* Edward *lays Siege to* Rheims. VI. *The Lord* Euſtace Dambreticourt *ſends Relief to the* Engliſh *Army:* Cernoy en Dormois, *and other Places taken by Detachments from the Camp before* Rheims. VII. *The King of* Navarre *breaks with the* Dauphin *again: The Lord of* Gomegines *taken Priſoner by the* French. VIII. *The Lord* Bartholomew Burwaſh *takes* Cormicy *and raſes it.*

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I. ALL this while the whole Realm of *England*, and the Dominion of *Ireland* were hot in Preparations for War; and King *Edwards* Friends wherever they were, reſolved at this time to embark with him in this bold Enterpriſe; eſpecially ſuch Lords and Knights of the Empire, as had ſerved him before. Theſe Men [a] made great Proviſion of Horſe and Arms, and other Neceſſaries according to their Degrees and Qualities; and when they were ready, they all came together by the way of *Flanders* to *Calais*, and there waited till the King ſhould come from *England*: But he did not come thither ſo ſoon as was expected, becauſe he had ſo many weighty Matters to ſettle, before he could leave his Kingdom. During therefore this time of their Stay, many more Strangers flocking thither, there was hardly room in *Calais* for Lodging, or Stabling for the Horſes; and beſides Bread and Wine, Hay, Oats, and other Proviſion was very ſcarce, ſo that they could hardly be got for Gold or Silver; wherefore there [b] were ſome inſolencies committed by the Strangers, as is uſual in ſuch caſes: But ſtill the general Comfort was, King *Edward* would preſently come thither, and the News ran always that he would be there the next Week. And yet if he had been there, all things would have been much dearer, and Lodgings harder to be got; onely indeed then 'twas expected, that the King would draw off preſently into the Field. Thus the Lords of *Almain*, *Bohemia*, *Brabant*, *Flanders* and *Hainalt*, tarried there at their great Charges from the beginning of *Auguſt* till *October*; ſo that many of them were fain to ſell the beſt part of their Jewels, and ſome had ſpent almoſt all they had. Whereupon ſome Quarrels aroſe between them and their Hoſts, and ſome Miſchief was done, and more had been, if the King, finding now that his Affairs would not be ripe till after the time he had appointed (which was the 8 of *September*) had not ſent over the Great *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* with 400 Men of Arms and 2000 Archers, to lead theſe Strangers forth, leſt they ſhould eat up the Town of *Calais*: For he had heard, [c] that many more were come, than either he expected or deſired, hoping belike to enrich themſelves by the Spoils of *France*. The Strangers received the Duke upon his Arrival with great Joy, and asked him News about the King, and when he would follow; and complain'd a little how they had been diſappointed. The Duke excuſed unto them the Kings Delay, by telling them that it was not poſſible ſo ſoon to furniſh ſo great an Army as the King deſign'd to bring over, with all manner of Neceſſaries for ſo long a time, as he intended to ſtay in thoſe Parts. "And ſays he, ſurely Gentlemen, to lie here idly till then is neither "honourable nor profitable. I am therefore reſolved to ride forth into *France*, and "do ſomething the mean while: Only I deſire of you ſo much Money as will pay off "your ſeveral reckonings here at your Quarters, and I'll furniſh you with Proviſion of "Victuals to carry on your Sumpters. Theſe Gentlemen were aſham'd to deny the Duke, what it ſeems they had deny'd their Landlords, and ſo they all ſatisfied their Hoſts punctually, and new ſhod their Horſes, and truſſed up their Baggage, and rode forth with the Duke, and went to St. *Omers*, being in all 2000 Men of Arms, beſides Archers and other Footmen. St. *Omers* they paſſed by without Medling, and ſo they went to *Bethune*, which they left likewiſe, and rode forward about 6 *French* Leagues further, till they came to *Mount St. Eloy*, a large and rich Abbey within two Leagues of *Arras*. Here they tarried four Days to refreſh themſelves and their horſes, for they found Proviſion enough in the Abby, and then they marched about ten Leagues further, and paſſed the River [d] *Somme*, and began to aſſault *Bray ſur Somme* a conſiderable Town in *Picardy*, where the Duke cauſed his Men to wade up to the ſhoulders that they might get to the Walls, and ſo a fierce Attack was made, in which Sr. *Thomas Murrers* an *Engliſh* Banneret was unfortunately ſlain with a ſhot from the Walls, and ſeveral others wounded: For the Inhabitants made a good Defence by the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of St. *Paul*, and the Lord of *Rayneval* and other Gentlemen, who a little before came into the Town at a back-Gate with 200 Spears. The Duke of *Lancaſter* therefore failing here, went along by the River *Somme* in great want both of Bread and Wine, till he came to *Ceresy*, a Town on the ſame River between *Bray* and *Corbie*,

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 205. *fol.* 99.

[b] *Knighton p.* 2621. *n.* 10.

[c] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[d] *Leland Collect. Vol.* 1. *p.* 824. & *Dugd. Bar.* 1 *Vol. p.* 788. *Froiſ. ibid.* & *Knighton p.* 2621. *n.* 40. &c.

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bie, where he found good Plenty of both, and having ſupplied himſelf therewith, he repaſſed the River in the ſame place (for the Bridge was not broken) and went to *Chipilly*, where he tarried to refreſh his Men the remainder of that Day and all Night, it being then the Feaſt of *All-Saints*. On that very Day he had notice, that King *Edward* was arrived with all his Forces at *Calais*, and commanded him on ſight of his Letters to draw thitherward to meet him.

II. Now [c] before the King had left *England*, he gave command, that all the *French* Priſoners ſhould be ſeparately put in divers ſtrong Caſtles, and that the *French* King himſelf, and his Son *Philip*, ſhould be ſurely kept in the Tower of *London*, without any ſuch liberty, as he had before. And the Lord *Thomas* [f] of *Woodſtock*, the Kings Youngeſt Son, being then ſcarce Five Years of Age, was now conſtituted his Fathers Lieutenant and Lord Warden of *England*, during this his intended Abſence in *France*; ſeveral of the moſt Politick Pre'ates and Counſellours of the Realm being appointed to act under his Authority. There were alſo ordained certain Lords, Knights, and Eſquires, with their ſeveral Retinues, to look to the Defence of the Realm, and to be ſtill ready to defend the Marches, Caſtles, and Havens of the ſame. And things being thus ſettled at home, the King himſelf, with his Four Sons, rode forth to *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where he intended to go on board with all his Army. The Kings Summons at this time had been particularly ſevere; for except ſuch and ſuch, none were permitted to ſtay at home [g] between the Age of Twenty and Threeſcore: So that after many Thouſands had been turned back for ſome fault or other, there remain'd at leaſt an [h] 100000 of the moſt choſen Men, and the beſt Arm'd throughout the whole Iſle of *Brittain*. And to receive them and their Proviſion there lay ready rigged at *Sandwich* 1123 Sail of Ships, the latter [i] 123 Sail being thoſe very Ships which had already convey'd the Duke of *Lancaſter* to *Calais*, with an infinite Quantity of Proviſion to be laid up in Magazines againſt the Kings coming.

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 206.

[f] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 166. *& Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 169.

[g] *Knighton p.* 2623. *n.* 10.

[h] *Mezeray & Matt. Villani l.* 9. *c.* 53. *p.* 539. *& Walſing. hiſt. p.* 166.

[i] *Matt. Villani l.* 9. *c.* 53 *p.* 539.

King *Edward* therefore being come to *Sandwich*, and having ſeen all his Men Muſter'd between *Sandwich* and *Dover*, declared aloud to all his Chief Captains, and cauſed to be proclaim'd thrô the Army, [k] "That it was his Reſolution to go over "into *France*, and never to return again alive, till either by War, he ſhould have "ended the Controverſie, or elſe obtain a Peace both to his Honour and Advan"tage; otherwiſe, that he would looſe his Life in the Attempt. *And therefore* (ſaid "he) *if there are any among You, that is not very willing to partake with me in what*"*ever God ſhall pleaſe to ſend us, Honour, or Diſhonour; Peace, or War; Life, or* "*Death; that Man hath now my Free leave to depart.* But of this ſort of Men there was not one found in this Army: For they all anſwer'd, "*They were reſolved to live* "*and die with their Warlike King.* Hereupon the King took ſhipping at *Sandwich* in the *Dertmouth* the 28 day of *October*, being the Feſtival of St. *Simon* and *Jude*, and a *Monday, inter auroram diei & ortum Solis*; as the Words of the Record expreſs, and landed that Evening at *Calais*, [l] about the time of Evening Prayer. Being thus happily arrived, order was given to empty the Ships of all the Horſes, Armour, and Proviſion; and the next day the King held a Council of War, to conſider what Courſe to take. Some were for adviſing him firſt to invade *Flanders*, and Revenge all the Injurious and Unfaithfull dealing of the *Flemmings*: But He, who came over with a Deſign to reduce *France* to equal terms, or to waſte it with Fire and Sword, rejected that Counſel, as not ſo convenient for the preſent, and commanded, that all Men ſhould be ready within five days, ſaying, "that he intended to ride after his Couſin, the Duke of *Lancaſter*. So early in a Morning [m] on the Fourth of *November*, being a *Monday*, he left *Calais* with all his Men and Carriages, in the beſt Order, that ever was us'd by any Army, marching out of a Town. The mean while the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who according to his Orders was returning toward *Calais*, being now within four Leagues of that Place, met with ſuch Multitudes of Souldiers, that they ſeem'd to cover the Face of the whole Country; all ſo richly beſeen, with Feathers in their Creſts, their Arms bright and ſhining, and their Banners and Enſigns waving in the Air, that it ſeem'd to him the moſt Delightfull thing in the World, to behold them marching all in Battle Array, fair and ſoftly. When the Duke and the *German* Lords met the King, he received them very graciouſly, and feaſted them Royally: But after Dinner the Lords Strangers, as *Almains*, *Brabanders*, *Hainalders*, and other Mercenaries, came all together before the King, and told him, "how they had ſpent all their Mo"ney, and pawn'd and ſold all their jewels, and other Goods, except only their "Horſes and Armour: So that little or nothing was left them, wherewithall to do "him any Service, according to the Deſign of their coming; nor yet had they e-

"nough

[k] *M. S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C. C. C.* Cantabr. *c.* 230. *& cæteri omnes.*

[l] Circà horam Veſperarum. *Clauſ.* 33. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 9. *Dorſo vid. Aſhmole p.* 669.

[m] *Froiſ. c.* 207. *Holinſh p.* 964.

"nough left to bear their Charges home into their own Countries, if they ſhould now "go home. Wherefore they humbly entreated his Majeſty, that of his Royal Boun- "ty; he would pleaſe to take their caſe into conſideration. The King told them; "how their Propoſal being unexpected, he could not at that preſent give them a full "and final anſwer, but, ſaid he, Gentlemen, I think you are ſufficiently wearied at "this time; wherefore go and refreſh your ſelves and your Beaſts at *Calais* for three "or four days, and to night or to morrow, when I have adviſed with my Privy Coun- "cil, I will take Care to ſend You ſuch an anſwer, as may in reaſon content You. With that they took their leave of the King and of the Duke, who now joyn'd him, and ſo rode forward toward *Calais*; by that time they had ridden about half a League farther, they met with a vaſt Number of Carriages, after which came the Prince of *Wales* in the Head of his Great Battail, Arm'd moſt gloriouſly at all Points; His ſhield of Arms, which were *France* and *England* quarter'd, over all a Labell of Three points Argent, was richly diapred with Gold; the ſame being curiouſly emboſſed and depicted with Embroidery on his Surcoat and the Capariſons of his Horſe, and on his Creſt was a Lion gorged with a Labell, as afore. All his Men likewiſe were gallantly Armed, and for Multitude ſeem'd to overſpread the whole Country. Thus the *Black-Prince* rode fair and ſoftly, ready ranged in Battle Array, as thô he had been to engage immediately, being ſtill diſtant a League or two after the King his Father (for the Carriages took up the ſpace between) and having a Wing both of Horſe and Foot on each ſide: Which Order the Strangers were extreamly taken with.

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But when they had view'd this gallant Appearance, and Reverently ſaluted the Prince and his Lords, and were likewiſe received graciouſly of the Prince, juſt upon their taking leave, they declared alſo unto him their great neceſſity, to which their long ſtay in thoſe parts had reduced them; Deſiring, that his Highneſs would pleaſe to conſider their Condition: And he promiſed to do them what kindneſs he could. Whereupon they all rode on to *Calais*-ward, and the Prince marched after his Father. Within two days the King ſent three Knights to the Strangers then at *Calais* with this Meſſage; "That he had not brought with him Treaſure enough to fulfill their "Deſires, and to anſwer his own Deſigns too. But if they would bear him Com- "pany, and partake with him in what ſhould happen at a venture; then if good For- "tune ſhould fall, they ſhould have their proportion, on condition they demanded no "Wages, nor Reparation for any loſs or damage: For (ſaid the Meſſengers) you know "your ſelves, that more than Three Parts in Four of you, came hither of your own "heads only; and the King our Maſter hath brought with him enough of his own "Subjects to ſerve for this Expedition. This anſwer was not over-pleaſing to the Strangers, who had taken much pains, and ſpent their Money, and ſome had engag'd to leave their Horſe and Arms for ſatisfaction in their Quarters. But more than this they could not now obtain of the King; except that he ſent them indeed as much Money, as might ſuffice to carry them home into their own Countries. Yet for all this ſome of thoſe Lords went again to the King to ſerve him on his Conditions: for they thought it diſhonourable to turn home again after ſuch Preparations, without doing any thing.

III. Thus King *Edward* marched forward with this great Army, conſiſting of above an 120000 Men in all; his Conſtable *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* Earl of *March*, the ſecond of that Name, riding on before him with 500 Men of Arms, and 2000 tall Archers; Then followed the King with 3000 Men of Arms, and 5000 Archers on Horſeback, beſides *Welchmen*, and others on Foot; after him were 500 luſty Pioneers with Mattocks and Pick-axes to level the ways, and make them fit for the Carriages. Then came all the Carriages conſiſting of [n] 6000 Chariots, Carts, and Waggons; every Cart having to it at leaſt Four good Horſes, brought out of *England*, to carry Proviſion for the Army, and many other uſefull things, ſome ſuch, as had been ſeldom ſeen before in any Camp, ſuch as Hand-mills to grind their Corn, Moveable Ovens, and Forges, the one to bake their Victuals, and the other to make ſhoes for Horſes, and the like. After all the Carriages, came the Prince of *Wales* with his Three Brethren, and their ſeveral Retinues, of whom were 2000 Spears, and 4000 Archers on Horſeback; beſides the Infantry, Bill-men, and Bow-men; all ready ranged for Fight: But they marched not above Four Leagues a day, becauſe of their Footmen and Carriages. In this manner it was that they were met by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lords Strangers in a fair Plain between *Calais* and the Abbey of *Liques*, and immediately, as I ſaid, joyn'd by the Duke and thoſe *Germans*, and other Strangers, whom the King of *England* had retain'd. And here I ſhall take leave to preſent unto the

[n] *Froiſ. c. 216. & Holinſh. p. 965.*

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the Reader the Names of the moſt eminent Leaders in this Army (than which a Fairer never paſſed the Sea out of *England*, either before or ſince that time) as well ſuch as came over with the King, as thoſe, who went with the Duke of *Lancaſter* before him. Firſt the moſt Magnificent and Invincible Monarch EDWARD the Third, King of *England*, and *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*; Then his Four Sons, *Edward* of *Woodſtock* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter*, Sirnamed the BLACK-PRINCE, *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, Earl of *Ulſter*, and afterwards Duke of *Clarence*; *John* of *Gaunt*, Earl of *Richmond*, and *Edmund* of *Langley*, afterwards Earl of *Cambridge* and Duke of *York*; theſe were the Kings Four Sons, the *Fifth* being a Child was left in *England*; There was alſo *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Kings Couſin-German; *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Conſtable of *England*, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, Marſhals of the Hoſt, *Ralph Stafford* Earl of *Stafford*, *William Montagu* Earl of *Salisbury*, and King of *Man*, *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, and *William Bohun* his Brother, Earl of *Northampton*, and *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, [o] who indeed went not over with the King, by reaſon he had not made his Will; but that being done, he followed him ſoon after. Beſides theſe Princes, Dukes and Earls, there were theſe Lords, that follow, Dr. *John Synwell* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Dr. *Thomas Hatfield* Biſhop of *Durham*; the Lord *Henry Piercy* and his Eldeſt Son, Sr. *Henry*, who was afterwards the firſt Earl of *Northumberland* of that Name, the Lord *Ralph Nevill* of *Raby*, the Lord *Edward Spencer*, Nephew to the late Lord *Hugh le Deſpencer*, the Grandchild, a moſt Noble and Warlike young Gentleman; the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *John Grey* of *Codonore*, the Lord *John Moubray*, the Lord *Roger de la Ware*, the Lord *Thomas Felton*, the Lord *John Willoughby*, the Lord *James Audley*, the Lord *Ralph Baſſet* of *Drayton*, the Lord *John Charleton* the Kings Chamberlain, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, the Lord *John Fitz-Walter*, the Lord *Edmund Pierpoint*, the Lord *John Botetourt*, the Lord *William Huntingfield*, the Lord *Robert Morley*, the Lord *John Touchet*, Sr. *Richard Pemburge*, Sr. *Nele Loring*, Sr. *Stephen Coſſington*, Sr. *Hugh Haſtings*, Sr. *William* [p] *Truſſel*, and many others, too Long to Name, beſides the Lords and Gentlemen Strangers, among whom were Sr. *Henry Eam* of *Flanders*, with 200 Spears in his Retinue, Sr. *Frank van Hall*, with as many more; Sr. *Reginald Boulant* with 60 Spears; beſides 500 *Germans* under the Marqueſs of *Nuys*; and others, whoſe Names, I had rather omit, than ſet them down, as I find them, unorthographically.

[o] *Dugd. 1. Vol. p. 193. vid. eund. ad ſingulorum nomina in ſuo Baronagio.*

[p] *Dugd. Warw. p. 538.*

The Army rode thrô *Artois*, paſſing by the City of *Arras*, and took the ſame way, which the Duke of *Lancaſter* had gone before: But they found nothing to live on in the plain Country; for what had been left undeſtroy'd, was gather'd into ſtrong Towns. Thô beſides the Continual Depredations made about in the Country by the Men of War, the Earth had lain in a manner untill'd for three Years together: So that if Oats and Wheat had not been brought out of *Hainalt* and *Cambreſis*, to ſupply thoſe parts, the People of *Artois*, *Vermandois*, *Laonnois*, and *Rhemois* had died for Hunger. Nor was King *Edward* ignorant of all this, before he came out of *England*; wherefore he made ſuch wonderfull Proviſion of all things neceſſary, except only of Oats, Hay, and Straw, for which he made as good ſhift as he could. But that which made the want of Litter more grievous, was, that ſoon after his coming the Weather was very Rainy, and the Ways began to be deep, which prov'd a great trouble both to Horſe and Man. But becauſe ſuch Matters were not ſtrange in the declining of the Year; the King encouraged himſelf with Patience, reſolving to bear, what he could by no means prevent.

[q] *Froiſ. ibid. c. 207.*

However the King rode thus by [q] ſhort journeys, till he came into a dryer Country to *Bapaume* in *Artois*; about which Place there happen'd an adventure, between a Lord of *France*, and a *German* Lord of the *Engliſh* part, well worthy a particular Relation. Only it is to be premiſed, that all the Towns, Cities, Caſtles, and Paſſages in *Picardy* and *Artois*, where the King was ſuſpected to paſs, were well guarded with Souldiers, partly ſuch, as the *Dauphin* and Parliament had ſent thither, and partly alſo ſuch, as the Great Towns had themſelves hired for their better ſecurity. In the City of *Arras* was the Earl of St. *Paul* with 200 Men of Arms; the Conſtable of *France* was at *Amiens*; the Lord of *Monſault* at *Corbie*, Sr. *Edward* of *Renty*, and Sr. *Ingram* of *Heſdin* at *Bapaume*, and Sr. *Baldwin Danequin*, Maſter of the Croſsbows at St. *Quentin*; and the like Proviſion was made for other Places: For by this it was generally noiſed about, that King *Edward* deſign'd to go and lay Siege to *Rheims* in *Champaigne*, intending when he had won the Place, there to be [r] anointed with the Holy Oyl, & Crowned King of *France*.

[r] *Mezeray p. 58.*

IV. But

IV. But now the Inhabitants of *Perone* in *Vermandois*, which lay directly in the King of *Englands* way, were wholly deſtitute of an able Captain and Commander to defend them, and that City being ſcituate upon the River of *Somme*, when they underſtood it was King *Edwards* Cuſtom to march along by Rivers, they expected the *Engliſh* to be upon them every Day, and were infinitely perplexed on that account. At laſt they bethought themſelves of a Valiant Captain, called Sr. *Galahaut de Ribemont*, who was now unengaged in the City of *Tournay*, being a Baron of high Courage and Conduct, and Couſin to the Lord *Euſtace Ribemont*, who fell in the Battle of *Poictiers*. To him therefore now they ſend very kind Letters, inviting and requeſting him to come and be their Captain with ſuch a certain Number of Men of Arms, they promiſing to allow him 20 Franks *per diem* for himſelf and ten for every Knight in his Company; and for every other, one Frank a Day. The Lord *Galahaut* was a Knight of great Courage and Experience in the Wars, and very deſirous to be employed in any Hazardous Attempt for Glory: Wherefore he accepted the civil Propoſals of his Neighbours of *Perone*, and ſent them word, that he would not fail to be with them the ſecond Day after. So he rode preſently from *Tournay* with no more than 30 Spears in his Company, but ſtill as he went on his Number encreaſed: And particularly Sr. *Roger* of *Coulogne*, to whom he had ſent to come and joyn him in ſuch a Place, came to him accordingly with 20 Men of Arms more. So that now Sr. *Galahaut* being fifty Spears ſtrong, beſides others, as he was marching towards *Perone*, came and took up his Lodgings within two Leagues of the *Engliſh* Army, in a little Village in the Fields, which was quite void of Inhabitants; for all the People of the Country were fled into ſtrong Holds for fear; and he deſign'd the next morning for *Perone*, near unto which this little Village ſtood. Now after Supper when they had ſet their Watch, and diſcourſed of ſeveral things relating to the preſent Juncture, the Lord *Galahaut* ſaid to his chief Captains then in Council with him, "To morrow early we ſhall be at *Perone*, but yet before we go thither, I would adviſe, "that we ride a little nearer toward our Enemies, for I believe there are thoſe among "them, who to get Honour or Booty, will ride abroad in the Morning; ſo that we "may chance to meet with ſome or other of them, who may help to pay our Shot. To this Advice his Council agreed, and kept it private in their own Breaſts; being all ready for that purpoſe by break of Day with their Horſes ſadled. Then they mounted and rode forth in good Order, leaving the Road to *Perone*, and coaſting the Woods to ſee if they could find any good Adventure. At laſt they came to a certain Village, where the People had fortified the Church for their Security, and there Sr. *Galahaut* alighted; for he was ſure to meet with Bread, Wine and other Proviſion in this Place; and thoſe within offer'd him to take what he would, for they knew him to be a Friend. While they tarried here to refreſh themſelves, Sr. *Galahaut* called two Eſquires unto him, one whereof was named *Bridol* of *Talmond*, whom he commanded to take their Horſes and ride forth into the Field and diſcover the Country about, whether they could meet with any thing of Moment, and ſo to come back, and bring him word thither, for he would ſtay there for them.

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Now on the *Engliſh* Part the Lord *Reginald* of *Boulant* a *German*, of the Duke of *Lancaſters* Retinue, had ridden forth the ſame Morning, and finding no Adventure was now returning to the Army again; at which time he met with theſe two *French* Eſquires about a League from Sr. *Galahaut's* Station. The Eſquires at firſt took them to be ſome *French* Men of Arms, who had laid an Ambuſh thereabouts; but when they perceived them to be *Germans*, they agreed to pretend to be of their Party; for otherwiſe they could not eſcape them. At this Sr. *Reginald* of *Boulant* demanded of them in High *Dutch*, who they were, and to whom they did belong; to which Eſquire *Bridol*, who was skill'd in that Tongue, anſwer'd, "Sir, we are *Engliſhmen* of the Retinue "of the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*. Why, where is the Lord *Bartholomew* ſaid Sr. "*Reginald*? Sir, ſaid the Eſquire, He is now in yonder Village. What means he to "tarry there ſaid the Knight? Sir, ſaid the Eſquire, he expects our Return: For he "ſent us abroad to ſee if we could meet with any Forage hereabouts in the Country. "On my Word ſaid Sr. *Reginald*, here is none, for I have been abroad all this Morning "and can find nothing: Wherefore go back and bid him come away, that we may "both ride together toward St. *Quentin*, to ſee if ſo at leaſt we may mend our Mar-"ket. Sir, ſaid Eſquire *Bridol*, who are you then, that would have our Lords Com-"pany? They call me, ſaid the Knight, *Reginald van Boulant*, only ſay ſo much to "my Lord *Bartholomew*, that's enough. With that the two Eſquires returned upon the Spur to the Village to their Maſter, who asked him what Tidings? "Sir, "ſaid they, we have ſeen enough, for in yonder Wood there is the Lord *Regi-*

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"*nald* of *Boulant*, who hath been riding about this Morning with 30 Spears, and he "desires your Company to ride with him toward St. *Quentin*. How (said Sr. *Gala-*"*haut*) what is that you say? Sr. *Reginald de Boulant* is a Knight of *Germany*, and re-"tained under the King of *Englands* Pay. All that (said the Esquires) we know ve-"ry well; but we pretended to be *Englishmen*, and told him that you were the Lord "*Bartholomew Burwash*, whereupon he desired your Company, as we said before. At this Sr. *Galahaut* studied with himself a little, and then asked Advice of his Friend Sr. *Roger* of *Coulogne* and other his Captains, what they would have him to do in this Case. "Sir (said they) since of your own Accord you always sought out for Ad-"ventures, now they fall into your Hands, you may well afford to take them: For by "Right of Arms a Man ought to offend his Enemy when once so declared, either by "Stratagem or open Force, as Opportunity serves best. To this Sr. *Galahaut* readily a-greed, and presently leap'd on his Courser, and clapt on his Helmet with the Visor down, because his Face should not discover him, and the same did all his Company. So they left the Village and took the Fields, having already determin'd what to do, and rode forth on the Right hand toward the Wood, where Sr. *Reginald* waited for them with not above [f] 30 Men of Arms in his Company; whereas Sr. *Galahaut* had about 70 by this time. When Sr. *Reginald* saw them he displayed his Banner before him, and rode forth fair and softly to meet them verily taking them for *Englishmen*. Being come up he raised the Visor of his Helmet, and saluted the Lord *Galahaut* by the Name of Sr. *Bartholomew*. Sr. *Galahaut* thought not to discover himself yet, till he had train'd them further off; wherefore he only answer'd faintly in *English*, "Let "us ride on; and so set himself among his Men on the one side, as Sr. *Reginald* was with his, on the other. When Sr. *Reginald* saw this their Manner, and how Sr. *Galahaut* rode sometimes near him without exchanging a Word, shewing his Face or unfolding his Banner, then he began to suspect the matter. So that after he had rode thus about the space of a quarter of an Hour he made an Halt, and stood still under his Banner among his Men, and said aloud, "Sir Knight, I am not well assured what you "are, I think you are not Sr. *Bartholomew Burwash*, for I know him well, and he would "have been more familiar with me. So that I see you are not the Man, and therefore "you are like to tell me your Name before I ride any farther in your Company. Then Sr. *Galahaut* lifted up his Visor and made towards him, thinking to have laid hold on the Reins of his Bridle, and crying aloud, "our Lady of *Ribemont*, while his Fellow Sr. *Roger* of *Coulogne* cried, "*Coulogne* to the Rescue. When Sr. *Reginald* saw this, he was not in the least dejected, but drew out his Sword, and just as Sr. *Galahaut* endeavour'd to have seised his Bridle, ran him clear through the Body, and drew out his Sword again, and immediately clapping spurs to his Horse took the open Field, and left Sr. *Galahaut* grievously wounded. But several of Sr. *Galahaut's* Esquires, pursued after him so hotly, that seeing he must either turn again, or incurr Reproach, he faced about like a Valiant Gentleman as he was, and stood the formost, and gave him such a warm Reception, that he had no more desire to follow him, and in this manner he served three or four of his Pursuers, wounding and bruising them all; and if he had had a good Ax in his hand, he had surely slain a Man at every Blow. By this Means and the goodness of his Horse, he made shift to escape himself without the least harm. His Friends received him gladly, and his Enemies and all that heard the Action applauded his good Presence and Courage for coming off so well: Thô most of his Men were either taken or slain, but a very few enjoy'd their Masters Fortune. For when Sr. *Galahauts* Men saw their Captain wounded in that manner, they fell upon the *Germans* with all the Fury imaginable, till they had slain, taken or routed them every Man. The Sword had not penetrated any of Sr. *Galahaut's* Vitals; wherefore they dressed up his Wound and bore him carefully to *Perone*. But he never perfectly recover'd that hurt, for he was a Man of such indefatigable Courage, that he would by no means spare himself in time of War, althô his Case required it; wherefore he lived but a little while afterward.

[f] *Froiss. c.* 207. *fol.* 102.

V. The mean while King *Edward* [t] marched thrô *Artois*, where he found a poor Country, and little or no Provision; but being entred *Cambresis*, he met with plenty of all things; For there nothing was taken care of, because that Country, as holding of the Empire (since the Death of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*) and not of *France*, took it for granted, that the *English* would not hurt them; but King *Edward* was not of that mind. He was now lodged at *Beaurevoir* bordering on *Cambresis*, where because of the Goodness of the Country he tarried four Days to refresh his Men and Horses; many great Detachments the mean while overrunning the whole Country, as well of *Cam-*

[t] *Froiss. c.* 208. &c.

bresis

bresis as *Vermandois*. Whereupon *Peter* Bishop of *Cambray*, and other Lords of that Country with the Burgesses of the Good Towns, having obtained safe Conduct, sent their Deputies to the King of *England* to expostulate with Him, and to know by what Title and for what Cause he committed those Hostilities. Answer was return'd, that "it was because heretofore they had been Confederates with *France*, and Enemies to "*England*, of which as yet they had given no sign of Repentance: But had since "that also received *Frenchmen* into their Towns and Castles, and had rebelliously held "out against *England*: On all which Accounts they thought it lawfull to use them "now as Enemies. This was all the Answer they could have, and they were fain to be content therewith. After this King *Edward* marched forth into *la Tierasche*, foraging the Country about on all sides, and bringing in Prey to the Army. One day the Lord *Bartholomew Burwash* rode before St. *Quentin*, where by chance he met with the Captain of that Place, [u] Sr. *Baldwin Danequin* Master of the Crossbows, between whom began a terrible Medley, wherein many were overthrown on both sides; but the *English* obtain'd the Victory without the loss of one Man, and Sr. *Baldwin* himself was taken Prisoner by the Lord *Bartholomew's* own Hands: But soon after paying his Ransome he had his Liberty, and thereupon [x] went to defend the Town and Castle of *Tonnerre* in *Burgundy*. With this Success, which was obtained on the 26 of *November*, Sr. *Bartholomew* return'd to the King, whom he found at the Abby of *Fenney*, where was good store of Provision both for Horse and Man. Thence the Army removed, and went into *le Rhemois*, or the Marches of the City of *Rheims* in *Champagne*, the King taking up his Station at St. *Vall* beyond *Rheims*, the Prince of *Wales* at St. *Thierry*, and the Duke of *Lancaster* and other great Lords in other Villages about the City, which the King now design'd to block up. Within the Place at that time was the Lord *John de Craon*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, the Earl of *Porcien*, and Sr. *Hugh Porcien* his Brother, the Lord *de la Bonne*, the Lord of *Carency*, the Lord of *Annore*, the Lord of *Lore* and divers other Captains, Knights and Esquires of those Parts. King *Edward* intended after his manner to offer them the choice of his Favour before he gave them a tast of his Fury; and many times [y] he proffer'd them by his Heralds to exalt and magnifie their City above all others in *France*, if they would give their Consent that he should there receive the Crown of *France*, promising to use them all most graciously. But when he saw that he was not heard, believing that they did thus, because they were ashamed to surrender without having received any Loss, he began to threaten them with a long Siege and the Desolation of their Land, if they refused to do what he demanded. But neither fair Overtures nor foul did avail any thing: For by Common Assent this was their Answer, "That they had their Lawfull "King, to whom they intended, whilst they had Breath in their Bodies, to be loyal, "true and faithfull; and if he used Force against them, they design'd to defend themselves by Force. Nor were these Mens Deeds disagreeable to their Words, for they maintain'd their Loyalty so well, that the Place suffer'd no great Dammage during the whole Siege, which lasted from the Feast of St. *Andrew* till the beginning of *Lent*. For besides that the City was very Defensible and well provided of all things, the King would not suffer any Assault to be made, because he would preserve his Army entire for a greater purpose. And truly the Lords of *England* wanted a little Rest at that time, for they began their Siege in the Heart of Winter, and there were high Winds and much Rain about St. *Andrews*, and they wanted Litter for their Horses, for the Country had layen in a manner waste for well nigh two or three Years before; so that little Forage was to be got abroad, under 10 or 12 Leagues off, whereby there fell many dangerous Rencounters, wherein the *English* sometime wan and sometimes also lost.

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[u] *Froiss. ibid. sed Knighton vocat pro* Danequin, *Bald.* Barton. *p.* 2621.

[x] *Froiss. c.* 210. *fol.* 103.

[y] *Matt. Villani l.* 9. *c.* 67. *p.* 549.

VI. During this Siege several strong Detachments were sent abroad from the Army, especially into the Country of *Rhetelois* in *Champagne*, to *Warcq*, to *Mazieres*, to *Donchery*, and to *Mouson*; some whereof would absent from the Camp three or four Days together, ravaging and plundering the Country, and then return again to the Camp before *Rheims*. At that same time Sr. *Eustace Dambreticourt* being newly redeem'd from Prison, had begun to manifest by his Hostilities in *France*, that he was at liberty. He had lately won [z] by Surprize the Town of *Attigny* on the River *Aisne* in *Retelois*, where he found plenty of Provision of all sorts, but especially of good Wines, whereof he sent the greater part to the King of *England* and his Son the Prince, then lying at the Siege of *Rheims*, who received it very kindly at his Hands.

[z] *Vid. l.* 3. *c.* 4. §. 9. *p.* 561.

Among the divers Adventures, which fell during this Siege, it happen'd, that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Earls of *Richmond* and *March*, the Lord *John Chandos*, the

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Lord *James Audley*, the Lord *Bartholomew Burwash*, the Lord of *Mucidan*, and Sr. *Richard Pountchardon*, rode forth about the Fields of *Châlons* in *Champaigne*, where 'tis believed, that [a] *Attila* King of the *Hunns* was overthrown with the Loss of an Hundred and Eighty Thousand Men, by the joynt Forces of *Merovee* King of *France*, *Theodoric*, or *Therry* King of the *Gothes*, and *Ætius* the General of the *Roman* Empire: Thô *Jornandes* makes this Battle to have been fought near unto *Tholouse*, and not to *Châlons*. However in these Fields the foresaid *English* Lords ranged, till they [b] came to *Cernoy en Dormois*, a fair and strong Castle; which upon view, they resolved to attempt: For it was a place of considerable moment. In this Castle there were two Valiant Knights, Captains, the Chief whereof was Sr. *John Caples*, who bare for his Arms, *Or*, a Cross Ancree, *Sable*. The *English* assaulted the Castle vigorously, till the Lord *Mucidan*, being among the foremost, was slain with a stone from the Walls, to the infinite regret of the *English* Lords, and especially of his own Men, the *Gascogners*, who loved him entirely for his winning Carriage and resolute Conduct. So that upon his Death, all the Lords sware, that they would not stir a foot thence, till they had taken the Place, and revenged the blood of so worthy a Gentleman: And then the Assault was renew'd with all the Fury imaginable. The *Gascogners* especially, being enraged at their Loss, plunged into the Ditches like Madmen, without any care of themselves, and approached the Walls, and mounted up with their Targets over their heads; while the Archers of *England* sent their Arrows so thick together, that the Enemy durst hardly appear upon the Walls at their Defences, and whoever did but presume to peep over, was in evident Danger of their shot. By this means, thô not without the loss of many Men, the Castle was at last taken by force, and the two Captains only with some few Esquires received to Mercy; all the rest were put to the Sword, as Sacrifices to the Ghost of the Lord of *Mucidan*.

[a] *Anno. Dom.* 453.
[b] *Froiss. c.* 208. *Knighton p.* 2621. True use of Armory *p.* 54. *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 788, &c.

Thence they [c] marched about two Leagues farther to *Autry en Dormois*, lying on the River *Aisne*, which was accounted stronger than *Cernoy*, but before they came thither, the Inhabitants fled. Thence they went back to St. *Menehou* in *Champaigne* (a fortified Town also) whence upon their approach the Inhabitants fled likewise; whereupon they all returned to the Camp before *Rheims*, and related to the King what they had won, and whom they had lost.

[c] *Knighton p.* 2621. *n.* 20. & *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 788.

VII. Near this [d] time the inconstant and turbulent King of *Navarre* fell off again from the *Dauphin*, without any known cause or provocation, and leaving *Paris* of a sudden, retired to *Mante* on the River *Seyne*, whence he sent his Defiance to the Duke and his Brethren, who wonder'd upon what Pretence or Title he thus renew'd his Hostilities. Under pretence however of his Quarrel an Esquire of *Brussels*, named *Walter Ostraste*, surprized the strong Castle of *Rolebois* on the *Seyne*, about a League from *Mante*, where he kept a Garrison, which did afterwards very much incommode the *Parisians*, and the Vicinage.

[d] *Froiss.* 208.

While the Siege [e] before *Rheims* lasted, the Lord of *Gomegines*, an *Hainalder*, who went to *England* with a Message to the Queen from King *Edward*, when he sent the Lords Strangers back to *Calais*, repassed the Sea now again, and rode into *Hainalt* with certain Knights and Esquires of *Gascogne*, and of *England* in his Company; intending from thence to repair to King *Edwards* Camp before *Rheims*. These Men (the young Lord of *Gomegines*, being inflam'd with a desire to advance his Reputation in War) encreased to the Number of 300 Men of Arms, and then set forth in the Head of them from *Maubeuge*, and went to *Avesnes* in *Hainalt*, whence he proceeded to *Terlon*. Now the Lord of *Roye*, who lay in Garrison at *Roye* in *Picardy*, with a sufficient Number of Knights and Esquires, heard of these Preparations of the Lord of *Gomegines*, and that he was going to serve King *Edward* in the Siege before *Rheims*, and must of necessity (as he also knew) pass through *Tierasche*; and being exactly inform'd at what time he was to set forward, sent word thereof to certain Captains, his Friends, of the *French* party: But especially to the Lord *Canon Robsart*, an Experienced and Valiant Gentleman, who then menaged the young Earl of *Coucy's* Lands, and lay at the Castle of *Marle* in *Tierasche*. The Lord *Robsart* at the time appointed joyn'd the Earl of *Roye* with 40 Spears: But the Earl was Commander in Chief of the whole Enterprise, not only in consideration of his Quality, but because he had been the first Deviser thereof. So he led forth in all 300 Men of Arms, and went and laid an Ambush, where he knew the Lord of *Gomegines* musts needs pass, who suspecting nothing of this Matter, was already enter'd *Tierasche*, taking his way toward *Rheims*, where King *Edward* lay. On a morning he came to a certain Village, called *Hercigny*, where he thought to refresh his Men a while, and so to proceed: But as his Men were setting up

[e] *Froiss. ibid.*

up their Horſes, he himſelf, being young, luſty, and deſirous of Honourable hazards, ſaid, that for his part he would ride a little way out of Town, to ſee if he could meet with any forage, and thereupon ſelecting out 50 Men, he marched out of the Village, a Valiant Eſquire of *England*, named *Chriſtopher Moor*, bearing his Banner before him. AN. DOM. 1359. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIII. *Franciæ* XX.

Now the *Frenchmen*, who knew all their Motions, were not far off from the ſaid Village, in a cloſe Ambuſh, thinking, becauſe the other equall'd them in Number, not to ſtir till Night, and then by ſurpriſing the Town, make their Advantage: For they were fully informed of their being there. But it ſeems the Lord of *Gomegines* thruſt himſelf now into their hands, before they had hoped for ſuch fortune themſelves. When the *Frenchmen* ſaw him at firſt with ſo ſmall a Company, they wonder'd, who it ſhould be, and ſent out a couple of light Horſe to view them, who returning, brought word, that they were a party of thoſe they had expected.

At this they all brake out of their Ambuſh, crying *Roye* in the Name of the Lord of *Roye*, who rode foremoſt with his Banner diſplayed before him; and the Lord *Flamone* of *Roye* his Couſin, was with him, together with Sr. *Lewis* of *Robſart*, and the Lord *Canon Robſart* his Brother, Sr. *Triſtram* of *Bonroy*, and others. When the Lord of *Gomegines* ſaw what a caſe he was in, like a reſolute Gentleman he ſtood ſtill to receive them, and ſcorn'd to flinch a Foot. But at the very firſt brunt he was overthrown, Horſe and Man, and finally there taken Priſoner, and with him two Eſquires of *Gaſcogne*, who had fought with ſingular Valour, as did alſo *Chriſtopher Moor* Eſquire, who bare the Standard; but at laſt together with that fell into the *Frenchmens* hands. To be brief, all on that ſide, were either ſlain, or taken; except the Valets, who eſcaped by running away; the Enemy ſlighting to purſue them, eſpecially ſeeing they took not the way to the Town, where the reſt of their Men lay, to diſcover unto them what had been done.

But the Field being [f] now clear'd, the Conquerours took their Horſes and rode into the Village upon the ſpur, crying *Roye*, in the Name of the Lord *Roye*; whereat thoſe in the Town were extreamly ſurprized, to ſee their Enemies ſo near them, they not knowing, what was become of their Captain, and beſide moſt of them were unarmed and ſcatter'd abroad in the Town. Wherefore being out of hope to make any tolerable Defence, they began to yield themſelves, and the *Frenchmen* beſtow'd them about in their Lodgings: The Lord *Canon Robſart* had a great many Priſoners, becauſe he was beſt known to the *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners* by his Banner; with which they had been acquainted. But ſome fled into a little Houſe of Defence, at the end of the Town, which was moated about, and might perhaps have proved a Refuge at that time, had they been all of one mind; but ſome ſaid, it was beſt to make good the place, becauſe it was ſtrong enough to ſecure them, till they might ſend word to the Army before *Rheims*; from whence they ſhould doubtleſs have a ſpeedy Succour: Others ſaid, 'twas difficult to ſend, now the Enemy was there, and impoſſible to defend it, till the return of an anſwer. While thus they were concerting of Reaſons, the Lord of *Roye* with one deciſive peremptory threat commanded them to yield up immediately: For if they put him to the trouble of taking them by force, they were all no better than dead Men. At theſe Words the ſtouteſt of them all began to miſdoubt the Event, and ſo they preſently agreed to yield only on ſecurity of their Lives. After this all the Priſoners were ſent to the Caſtle of *Coucy*, and other *French* Garriſons, to be kept, till their Ranſoms ſhould be paid: But when King *Edward* heard of the Matter, he was greatly diſpleaſed; but was obliged to digeſt it as well as he could: For the only cure for irreparable Afflictions, is Patience. And this Adventure happen'd in the latter end of *December*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCLIX; the Siege then enduring before *Rheims*.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 209, &c.

VIII. On the 20 [g] of the ſaid Month the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, went with a Detachment from before *Rheims*, and laid Siege to the Town and Caſtle of *Cormicy*; which was near unto his Quarters; for all the Great Lords were diſpoſed about in ſtrong Bodies abroad in the Country, as well for Conveniency of Quarters, as to ſtop up all the Avenues; that no Proviſion ſhould enter the City. This Fortreſs belonged to the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, and was now by him ſo well furniſh'd, that it ſeem'd far enough out of all Danger: For therein was a ſquare ſtone Tower, with Walls of a Wonderfull thickneſs, and at all Points ſufficiently provided for a Siege; and moreover the Town it ſelf was fenced with a Double Ditch and High Walls. But againſt this Place came the

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 209. & *Knighton p.* 2622. & Lord *Montagne's* Eſſays. *c.* 5. *l.* 1. *p.* 11.

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the Lord *Burwaſh*, together with the Lord *John Botetourt*, and other Knights, as well of his own Retinue, as belonging to the Prince of *Wales*, to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Richmond*: Theſe Men with unſpeakable Boldneſs preſently upon their coming aſſaulted the Town, paſſed the Ditch, mounted the Walls, and took it the firſt Night. When immediately the Lord *Bartholomew*, who commanded in Chief, knowing the ſtrength of the Caſtle, ſet a good Number of *Pioneers* at Work, promiſing them Large Wages, if they haſted to finiſh their Task effectually. Theſe Men, encouraged thus by their Lord, began to Work night and day, till at laſt with much obſtinate labour they had gone far under the Great Square Tower, ſtill ſetting up huge Props of Oak as they went along, and carrying the Earth out in the night: So that the Beſieged knew nothing of their being undermin'd. In about ſixteen days, the Miners having done their Work, ſo that the Tower was ready to fall, when they pleaſed, their Captains went to Sr. *Bartholomew*, and aſſured him of their Succeſs; whereat he was well content, but commanded them to proceed no farther, till they heard from him: For he was reſolv'd in his Mind to try all fair means to reduce the Place, before he would fire the Mine, *as thinking it more Honourable for a* Chriſtian *Captain to overcome his Enemies, than to deſtroy them.* Wherefore taking along with him the Lord *John Botetourt*, he went toward the Caſtle, and made offer to ſpeak with ſome of thoſe within. The Chief Captain there at that time was one Sr. *Henry de Vaulx*, a Knight of *Champaigne*, who came to the Battlements of the Caſtle, and demanded what they would have? Sr. *Bartholomew* anſwer'd, "Captain, I would, that You "forthwith yield your ſelves, and all You have into my Hands, for elſe You are "no better than Dead Men upon my Word. "Pray, how ſaid Sr. *Henry?* That's "a pleaſant Matter indeed! And therewith he began to ſmile; We are proof a-"gainſt the hardeſt Siege, and You ask us to yield up ſimply: But ſurely Sir, We "are not ſo low either in Wit or Courage, as You take us to be. Well, ſaid Sr. "*Bartholomew*, then your Blood muſt lie upon your own Heads: For if You knew "in what Danger You are at this time, You would yield up ſimply without any "more adoe: *But if You have no Faith, You cannot be ſaved.* Why? Quoth "Sr. *Henry*, what Danger are We in? I ſee none: Unleſs it be, that We are "like to loſe your good Company, becauſe You deſpair to take us. "Sir, ſaid the "*Engliſh* Captain, that You may then underſtand your Condition, come forth your "ſelf with ſo many more, as You pleaſe; and I'll ſhew You, how I have You all "at my mercy: And after that, if You ſhall be minded to hold the Caſtle, upon "my Honour, You ſhall have liberty to return back unhurt, and there to take your "Fortune. Sr. *Henry* with three more of his Captains came forth in confidence of the *Engliſh* Knight's Word, and went to him, and there he ſhew'd them all the Mine, and how their great Tower ſtood only on Stages and Props of Timber. When Sr. *Henry* ſaw this moſt imminent Danger, in which both He and all his Men were, he ſaid with much Submiſſion, "Honourable Sir, it is true, We were all at your "Diſpoſe, when we thought our ſelves moſt ſecure: Surely this Favour of yours "extended to us, proceeds from a Noble and Generous Spirit. We therefore hence-"forth yield our ſelves, and all We have to your pleaſure. Then Sr. *Bartholomew* took them as his Priſoners, and all the Reſt within the Caſtle, and ſent in Men to take all the Goods, and what was of any Value; and that done, he cauſed Fire to be put into the Mine to burn the Props; and at laſt the Tower clave inſunder with an hideous Noiſe, and fell ſuddenly into Ruines. "Look You now, ſaid Sr. *Bartholomew* "to Sr. *Henry*, and mark, if I did not tell You the Truth. Sir, reply'd He, We thank "You for this great Courteſie: For if ſome other had ſuch an Advantage over us, "We ſhould not have fared ſo well. Thus was the ſtrong Caſtle of *Cormicy* taken, and overthrown, and the Priſoners brought to the Camp before *Rheims*.

CHAP-

CHAPTER the SIXTH.

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I. IF any Man ſhould ask me, what the Duke of *Normandy*, what the Lords and the Captains of *France*, and what the Three Eſtates of that Kingdom did at this time, now that they had ſuch an Enemy in their very Bowels: Why ſurely, the Parliament being alarum'd with this Publick Danger began to be at Friends among themſelves; all the Lords and good Captains of *France* roſe up vigorouſly in their Country's Defence, and the Duke of *Normandy* with the Lords of his Council, and other his Friends and Allies gather'd together a vaſt Number of Men of Arms to the *Metropolis* of that Kingdom, and ſet ſufficient Garriſons (as we have partly intimated before) in moſt of the other Cities and Fortreſſes, where they ſuſpected King *Edward* had an Eye. But being warn'd by the late ill Succeſs of his Father, and the great Loſſes of his Grandfather; the Duke reſolved no more to give the King of *England* Battle, but rather to hold him ſhort by removing all manner of Proviſion into ſtrong Places, and in the mean while to ſtand only on the Defenſive Part, well knowing, that Hunger and Delay would ſoon cool the Fury of the moſt Valiant Souldiers, and that the mightieſt Treaſures of the Richeſt Kings would eaſily be exhauſted by ſuch a tedious War.

The [a] mean while, as well to divert the War from his own Doors, as to repay thoſe Inju-

[a] *Knighton p.* 2522. *n.* 40.

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Injuries he felt, he had gather'd together into the Ports of *Normandy* a mighty Navy, which had Orders to sail into *England*, and exercise there all manner of Hostility. Some of these Souldiers, to the Number of 240 Lances, were met about *Honfleur* by Sr. *Thomas Fowkes* an *English* Captain, who with 27 Lances only, and about an 100 Archers, set upon them, overthrew them, and took of them Prisoners no less than 120 Men of Arms, among whom were the Lord *Lewis Harcourt* Lieutenant of *Normandy*, for the Regent, the Lord *John Bigott* Marshal, the Lord *Baldwin de la Huse*, with two of his Brethren, the Lord of *Bracquemont* and his Brother, the Bailiff of *le Caulx* and another Baron his Kinsman.

But this was too small a Wound to be felt by the Navy of *France*, who notwithstanding consisted of no less than [b] 120 Sail, and [c] 20000 Armed Men, under the Conduct of the Earl of St. *Paul*, who made for *England*, and coasting about the [d] Borders of *Kent* and *Sussex*, landed at *Rye* and *Hastings*, where they spoiled the Towns, slew the People, and did much harm to the poor Fishers. But especially on St. *Mathias* his Day they suddenly took Land at *Winchelsea*, [e] where they slew all they met with, sparing neither Age, Sex, nor Order, but only such Matrons or Virgins, whose Youth and Beauty made them desirable, were cruelly reserved for a Life far worse than Death. Among many abominable and execrable Deeds done at this time by this Piratical Sort of Villains, one most horrid and diabolically impious is related, namely, that upon their first Landing, hearing that most of the Inhabitants were at Church, it being time of Mass, they ran immediately thither, where without any Regard to the Place, having committed many Murders, and robbed the Altar and the Vestry, at last they found there a very comely young Gentlewoman of exact Shape and Beauty, who came thither with her Neighbours to hear Mass. Her these unchristian Villains abused there in the very Church, making use of her Body so long one after another, till the unhappy Woman died under their hands. An Abomination like [f] that of the wicked *Gibbeathites*, whose intemperate and barbarous Lust had well nigh occasion'd the total Extirpation of one of the Tribes of *Israel*.

But while these ungodly Wretches were thus busied in Spoiling, Robbing, Murdering, and worse Matters, the Townsmen, who had fled, had raised the Country [g] in such Multitudes, that the *Frenchmen* durst not stand them. Yet before they could reach their Ships, they fell so foul upon one another, thrô the precipitant haste they made to the Water, that what with those, who were killed, and those, who were drowned, they lost above 400 Men. Besides, while the greater part of the Fleet was thus busied in the Plunder, some of our Mariners came upon the rest, and contended with them so well, that they wan of them 13 Vessels laden with Wine and other Provision, and carried them away. Thô now at last the *French* also, having set fire to the Town of *Winchelsea*, which yet was presently quenched, carried away great Spoils and many Prisoners, among whom [h] were Nine very Beautifull Women, whom they so filthily abused, that 'tis shamefull to relate or think it.

II. All *England* [i] was so alarum'd at this Action of the *French* (especially because it was reported, how they had a wonderfull strong Navy at Sea, ready to do the like at other Places, besides the perpetual infesting our Merchants) that a Decree came forth from Prince *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, King *Edwards* Son and Lieutenant in *England*, by Advice of his Council; that all Laymen whatsoever between the Age of sixteen and sixty should be arrayed for the Wars, and of these the lustiest and the best Armed, and the tall Archers should be sent to the Cinque Ports to the Kings Admirals for defence of the Kingdom. The Archbishops also and Bishops thrô their respective Dioceses granted great Indulgences to all those, who went to Sea against their Enemies; particularly, that every of them might choose his Confessor at his pleasure. The Bishops also themselves, the Abbots and Priors, Rectors, Vicars, Chaplains and all Men of the Church, were ready on the Land to defend the Country against the Common Enemy; some as Men of Arms, and others as Archers, by injunction of the Church. And all Persons Beneficed, who could not serve in their own Persons, were bound to maintain one in their stead able for the War; all to be ready whenever the *French* should land, and Necessity require them to march against the Enemy. At which time the City [k] of *London* rigged forth a Navy of 80 Sail, consisting of 14000 Men of Arms and Archers, to revenge upon the Coasts of *France* the Mischief done at *Winchelsea*. Thô [l] Others say, how this Fleet was commanded by the Kings Admiral, and consisted of an 160 Sail, which passing from *London* up the *Thames*, scoured the Sea to *Boulogne*, and after that to *Harfleur* in *Normandy*, where they made great Spoil, even over all the Region called *le Pais de Caulx*, which is a Part of *Normandy*, lying between the Rivers *Seyne* and

[b] *Matt. Villani l.9.c.83.p.558.*
[c] *Knighton ib.*
[d] *Fabian p.234.*
[e] *Walsing. Hist. p.166. n.30.* Dom. Lit. E D.
[f] Judges c. 19. & 20. &c.
[g] *Knighton p. 2622. n.60.*
[h] *Knighton p. 2623. n.1.*
[i] *Knighton ib. n.10. & Walsin. hist. p.166.*
[k] *Walsing. hist. p.167. n.20. & M.S. vet. Angl. in Biblioth. C.C.C.* Cantabr. c. 230.
[l] *Knighton p. 2623. n.30.*

and *Breſle*, and terminated by the *Brittiſh* Ocean on the one ſide, and by the Biſhoprick of *Rouën* on the other. AN. DOM. 1360.

III. Now had King *Edward* lain before *Rheims* above [m] ſeven Weeks, all which time he never offer'd to attack the Place: For he knew well, it would have been either wholly in vain, or very expenſive of his Subjects Blood. But by this time being wearied out with this tedious way, eſpecially becauſe Forage was ſo difficult to be got, that his Men began to loſe their Horſes, and to want Victuals themſelves, he reſolved now to riſe from before the Place, and marched forth in good Order, the way that leadeth to *Châlons* in *Champagne*, which paſſing by he proceeded toward *Troyes*, and encamped about *Mery ſur Seyne*, all his Hoſt covering the Face of the Country for above 8 Leagues together. While the King lay here, the Conſtable went with the Vantguard to attempt St. *Florentin*, where Sr. *Edward Renty* was Captain; but after a great Aſſault made in vain he gave it over: About which time the King came up to him, and departed thence to *Tonnerre* in *Burgundy*, which City he took by Aſſault, but the Caſtle he could not win: For the Lord *Moreau de Fiennes*, Conſtable of *France*, and Sr. *Baldwin Danequin* Maſter of the Croſsbows, were there in Garriſon with a great Number of choſen Men. But becauſe the King found here 3000 Veſſels of Wine, he was pleaſed to tarry there five whole Days to refreſh his Army, in which time thô he gave many Aſſaults to the Caſtle, he was yet never the nearer. Thence paſſing over the River *Armancon* he refuſed the way on the Right Hand, and went a little declining to the Left to *Noyers*, which he took without any Aſſault; for their Lord and Captain was ſtill a Priſoner in *England* ever ſince the Battle of *Poictiers*. Thence [n] he marched to *Mont-Real*, and ſo to *Avallon* on the River *Couſſon*, where he tarried from *Aſhwedneſday* to *Midlent*, becauſe of the great Opportunity he found thereabout of receiving Supplies of Proviſion for his Army from a valiant *Engliſh* Eſquire, named *John Argentine*, who bore for his Arms *Azure*, an Eſcutcheon of Pretence, *Argent*. This Man had won the Town of *Flavigny*, not far thence, wherein he found ſufficient Proviſion of all Sorts to ſerve the whole Army for a Month; and accordingly he conſtantly ſupplied the King therewith: Beſides which his Marſhals and Van-currours overran the Country, waſting and ravaging all about, and they alſo brought in much prey daily.

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[m] *Froiſ. f.* 103. *c.* 209. §. 3. *Knighton ibid. & Du Cheſne p.* 682. *& Guil. Paradin Annal. de Bourgogne l.* 2. *p.* 345.

[n] *Froiſ. Holinſh. Aſhmole p.* 660. *&c.*

During the Kings ſtay here, namely on the 26 of *February*, [o] being the *Thurſday* in *Quadrageſima*, there departed this Life at the Town of *Rouvray* on the *Couſſin* near *Avallon* in *Burgundy*, the Noble and Valiant Young Lord *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, and Conſtable of the *Engliſh* Army, leaving behind him one onely Son named *Edmund*, then about nine Years of Age: Upon whoſe Death we find, [p] that the King made the Lord *John Beauchamp* Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, Conſtable of the Army, as alſo of *Dover*-Caſtle, and of the *Cinque*-Ports, the Letters Patents bearing Date, *apud Avallon in Burgundiâ Primo Martii.*

[o] Lit. Dom. ED. *Paſcha* 5 April.

[p] *Rot. Franc.* 34. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 45. *vid. Aſhmole's Garter p.* 695. *& p.* 692.

IV. Now the [q] King and his Chief Lords had with them in this Expedition, as we ſaid before, beſides the uſual Carriages, Hand-Mills to grind their Corn, Ovens to bake Bread, Meat or Paſties; Spits and Cauldrons to roaſt or boil, and Forges to make Shoes for their Horſes: And over and above all this there were brought in Carts a ſort of little Boats made artificially of Leather, every one being able to hold Four Men to row on Ponds or in Rivers, and to fiſh in them at their Pleaſure: Which Device proved both pleaſant and very convenient to the Lords of *England* during the ſeaſon of *Lent*. The King had alſo for his Diverſion thirty Faulconers on Horſeback, with Hawks, and ſixty Couple of Hounds, and as many Grey-hounds, beſides thoſe Hawks and Hounds, which his Sons and the Chief of the Nobility had, wherewith they hunted and hawked by the River at their Pleaſure. And during all this Expedition, from the time they left *Calais* till their coming to *Chartres*, where the famous Treaty for Peace was ſet on foot; the whole Army was divided into three Great Battalia's, every Battalia ſubdivided into three Bodies, each whereof lodged a-nights, well-nigh a League from each other. The Duke [r] of *Lancaſter*, and the Earls of *Northampton* and *Salisbury* were in the firſt Great Battail, the King Himſelf in the Second, and the *Black-Prince* with his Three Brethren in the Laſt.

[q] *Froiſ. c.* 210. *f.* 103. *b.*

[r] *Knighton p.* 2623. *n.* 50. *& Matt. Villani l.* 9. *c.* 85. *p.* 559. *&c.*

V. While King *Edward* lay thus at *Avallon*, [s] *Philip* the young Duke of *Burgundy*, by Advice, and at the Requeſt of all the Country, ſent unto him in order to a Treaty, Sr. *Anſelme de Saulieu* Chancellour of *Burgundy*, Sr. *John de Vienne*, who had defended *Calais* ſo worthily againſt King *Edward*, and Sr. *Hugh de Vienne* his Brother, Sr. *John Derie*, Sr. *William de Thoraiſe* and Sr. *John de Mont-martin*. Theſe Lords found King *Edward* in ſo good an Humour, that they preſently obtained this Compoſition; "That

[s] *Froiſ. ibid. & Paradin Annales de Bourgogne l.* 2. *p.* 346. *& Mezer. & Holinſh. p.* 965. *Fabian p.* 238. *Speed & Matt. Villani l.* 9. *c.* 82. *& 84. p.* 557. *&c.*

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"the King of *England* giving Security for Himself, and all his Subjects, not to ravage, "rob or commit any Hostilities within the Territories of *Burgundy* for the space of three "Years then following, in Lieu whereof the Duke should pay unto the King in ready "Money the Summ of [t] 200000 Florens of Gold, which amounts to 35000 *l.* Ster-"ling. Besides which the *Burgundians* were to administer to the King and his Peo-"ple whatever Provision of Victuals or other things they wanted for their Money. Some suppose [u] that the *Burgundians* having little Love at this time for the House of *France*, and verily believing, that King *Edward* would attain the Crown of that Realm, entred a Secret Alliance with him, on Condition that then the Duke of *Burgundy* should be the First Peer of *France*.

However when this Agreement between the King and the Duke was sealed and engrossed, and mutual Security given, the King of *England* decamped from before *Avallon*, intending directly for *Paris*; and so he passed the River of *Tonne* at *Coulogne* beside *Vezelay*, and the Army spread along by the River, almost to *Clamecy* at the Entry of *Nivernois*: Which [x] Country also compounded with the King as *Burgundy* had done. But he laid waste all the Country in *Gastinois* and *Brie*, thrô which he marched toward *Paris* with an high Hand. In this [y] March the Prince of *Wales* passed with his Battalia by a little Town on the *Loing* in *Gastinois*, called *Moret*, till he came to a strong Fortress, named *le Plessis aux Tournelles*, near the Forest of *Provins*, which was then an *English* Garrison, but had been beleaguered by the *French* for some time; who having fortified their Camp with a strong Tower fenced with Ditches, gave many fierce Alarms to the *Englishmen*. And thô now they heard for certain, that the Prince of *Wales* approached that way, they had such Confidence in their Works, that they would not stirr from the Place: But yet they were deceived, for the fifth day after the Princes Coming their Tower was won, and most of them within put to the Sword, no more than 47 who were the Chief among them being taken alive, of whom were the Lord of *Bonneville*, the Lord of *Angreville*, Sr. *John de Barrois*, and Sr. *William du Plessis*.

[t] *De hac Summâ variant Authores; Knighton & Du Chesne & Froi.* 200000 Motons: *Mat. Villani* 100000 Motons: *Paradin* 200000 Florens: *Walsingh & M. S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. 70000 Florens: *Paul. Æmyl.* 100000 *numm. Aureos: Polyd. numerum non definit; sed Mezer. Holinsh. Speed, aliique mecum sentiunt.*
[u] *Matt. Villani l.9.c.82. & 84. p.557. & 558.*
[x] *Mezeray ad hunc ann p.59.*
[y] *Fabian p.238.*

VI. Thus at length King *Edward* succeeded so in his Victorious Progress, that on the last [z] Day of *March*, being the *Tuesday* before *Easter*, he [a] came with his Army before the City of *Paris*, and took up his Quarters at *Bourg la Reine* within two little Leagues of *Paris*, the Army being encamped all along at *Longemeau*, between *Mont-lehery* and *Chastres*, and in the Towns thereabout even to *Corbeil*. At sight of this Formidable Army, *Charles* Duke of *Normandy*, and Regent of *France*, began to think of some Offers towards a Treaty, especially because King *Edward* [b] in reverence of the approaching Festival of our Lords Resurrection forbare all Hostilities, intending not formally to lay his Siege till after *Easter*. Hereupon [c] by the especial Intercession of Father *Simon de Langres*, Provincial of the *Jacobin* Fryars, and Legat from Pope *Innocent* VI, King *Edward* yielded to admit of a Treaty, to be seriously held at the *Maladerie* or Spittle of *Longemeau* on the *Good-Friday* following, the Solemnity of the Day being look'd on as an Enforcement of so *Christianlike* an Undertaking. At the Time and Place there appeared for King *Edward*, *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *William Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *Walter Manny* and Sr. *William Cheney*; and for the Regent of *France*, there appeared the Lord *Moreau de Fiennes* Constable of *France*, the Lord *Bouciquault* Marshal, the Lord of *Garenciers*, the Lord of *Vignay en Vienne*, Sr. *Simon Bucy* and Sr. *Guischard D' Angle*: But we pass by the Debates of this Treaty, because they came to no good Effect. Wherefore King *Edward* the rather to quicken the *French* to a sincere desire after Peace, on [d] *Easter-Tuesday* removed something nearer to the City of *Paris*: Whereupon on the *Fryday* following, being the Tenth of *April*, at the earnest Importunity of the foresaid *Simon de Langres*, and of *Androine de la Roche* Abbot of *Cluigny*, who was then newly come from the Pope for that Purpose; another Treaty was appointed to be held, but neither yet could Matters be brought to any good issue: So that again they parted, leaving the Breach as wide as ever. Wherefore on the *Sunday* following King *Edward* drew down his whole Army before *Paris*, and embattail'd them in a Field by St. *Marcels* in three Great Battalia's, each Battalia being divided into Three Bodies, and then he forthwith sent the Duke of *Lancaster* with his Heralds to the Regent of *France*, who was within the City with a great Army, to demand Battle of him, assuring him, [e] that if now King *Edward* should lose the Day, He would never after claim or assume any Right or Title to the Crown of *France*: But for all this the Cauteous Regent declin'd to answer his Desire. While the Messengers were about this Demand, the King honoured no less than [f] 400 Esquires and Young Gentle-

[z] ED. Lit. Dom. *Pascha* 5. April.
[a] *Vid. Froiss. c. 210. Fabian p. 238. Mat. Villani l.9.c.85. & 86. p.559. &c.*
[b] *Knighton p. 2623.n.40.*
[c] *Fabian, Holinsh. &c.*
[d] 7 April.
[e] *Walsing. hist. p.167.n.10. & M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c.230.*
[f] *Speed p.583. & M.S. id. ibid.*

Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood, among whom [g] were *John* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, *Robert* Lord *Vavasour*, *Thomas Spencer*, *John Nevil* and *William Torceaux*; but *Collart Dambreticourt*, younger Son to Sr. *Sanchio Dambreticourt*, and Esquire of the Kings Body declin'd the Honour at that time, by saying, that he could not find his Headpiece and Corslet: For he had made an Oath to do some notable piece of Service, before he would accept the Order of Knighthood. But when upon the Return of the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Heralds, the King heard how he should not have Battle, he was wonderfully displeased, and upon the Lord *Manny's* Request, sent him forth with all the new-made Knights, and such others as were thereto appointed to skirmish at the Barriers, and to burn what they could of the Suburbs, so to [h] provoke the *Frenchmen* to come forth, or at least to offer more ample Conditions. The Assault was vigorous, and lasted from Morning till Noon, and the *French* defended their Post at the Gate and Barriers with Valour becoming their Circumstances; nor would they have been content to have stood so long on the Defensive Part only, for there were many Noble and Resolute Knights and Gentlemen within the City at that time: But it was the Duke of *Normandy's* peremptory Command, that no man on pain of his Head should presume to issue out of the Barriers without his Order: So well had that Prince (afterward sirnamed the *Wise*) learn'd how to deal with this *English Hannibal*, not only by the Example of the old *Roman Fabius*, but of two nearer Relations, even of his own Father and Grandfather, whose frequent and great Losses proceeding from their too forward Courage, taught him now to oppose a Shield to this Conquering Sword, and not easily to put his last Stake to the Fortune of a Battle.

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[g] *Froiss. c.* 211.

[h] *Mezeray ad hunc an. p.* 59.

But however one [i] says, that after Noon, when the Lord *Walter Manny's* Skirmish was over, about 30 of these new-dubbed Knights went to the Barriers, requiring a few Courses on Horseback according to the Law of Arms in those Days: Against whom (says he) came forth 60 *Frenchmen* (if the Number is not mistaken for Thirty, as I rather believe) and between these there arose an hot Skirmish. But in the end the *English* by the Grace of God had the better, having slain some, grievously wounded others, and obliged the rest to retire.

[i] *Knighton p.* 2623. *n.* 60.

It is said, that while the King stood before *Paris*, the [k] Day being very dark and misty, together with a great quantity of Hail, there happen'd so bitter a Cold, that several Men died as they sat on their Horses; wherefore unto this time, says my Author, that Day is called the *Black-Monday*. But this no doubt is a mistaken Relation of that horrible Storm and Cold, which the King met withall afterwards, as we shall shew in due Place. These Actions being over, the Lord *Walter Manny* returned to the Army, which tarried still in those Fields all that Day and the Night following: But the next Morning being a *Monday*, and the 13 of *April*, seeing no Provocations could bring the *Dauphin* to a Battle, and that it was morally impossible to force, otherwise than by Famine, so great a City (which was not only now well fortified, but [l] furnished with great plenty of Souldiers, besides the vast Numbers of Inhabitants) the King therefore resolved to rise from thence, till a more favourable season; and the mean while to go forth with Fire and Sword through *Beauce* and *le Maine*, till he came into *Bretagne*, where having refreshed his Army, he intended to return to the Siege of *Paris* in *July* or *August* at the furthest, and so to famish them by a long Siege. For as we shew'd before, He had made a Vow, never to return into *England*, till he had brought *France* to his Terms, either by Fair means or by Force. Accordingly on the *Monday* after *Easter* [m] he raised his Camp, and began to march towards *Mont-lehery*.

[k] *Stow p.*264. Where he says, this happen'd on the 14 of *April*, and the Morrow after *Easter*-Day: Whereas *Easter*-Day that Year fell on the 5 of *April*; and on the 13 of *April*, which was the *Monday* after *Easter* K. *Edward* left *Paris*. Thô Mr. *Ashmole* thrô haste passes over this Fault of *Stows*.

[l] *Fabian p.*239. *ex Chron. Franc.*

[m] *Froiss. c.* 211. *fol.*104.

VII. The mean while certain Knights of *England* and of *Gascogne*, having found a convenient place, determin'd with themselves to lie in Ambush: For they expected, that among so many Valiant Lords and Gentlemen then in *Paris*, some of them would not fail to follow the Army; thô only to cut off straglers, and such as lag'd behind. Accordingly by the Kings Order the Ambush was laid in an empty old house, about 3 Leagues from *Paris*, consisting of 200 chosen Men of Arms, *English* and *Gascogners*, under these Captains, the Lord *Nevill*, the Lord *Moubray*, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon*, the Captal *de Busche*, Sr. *Edmund de Pamiers*, and the Lord of *Courton*; the Three first of *England*, and the other of *Gascogne*. Now when the *Frenchmen* within *Paris* had seen the Decamping of the *English* Army, it was thus discoursed among certain young Knights and Gentlemen there; "Surely it would be well worth "our while to make a sally, as secretly as we may, and to follow the *English* Army "at a distance; for its more than probable, we may happen to win some notable Ad- "vantage. Hereupon the Design was embrac'd by the Lord *Ralph de Coucy*, Sr. *Ralph*

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de Ravenal, the Lord of *Monsault*, the Lord of *Helay*, the Chastelan of *Beauvais*, the Begue of *Vilaine*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, the Lord *Flamone du Roye*, Sr. *Peter* of *Savoy*, and others, to the Number of an [n] 150 Spears in their Company. They sallied out in good order, all very well Horsed, taking the way of *Bourg la Reine*, till they had passed beyond the *English* Ambush. With that the Ambush brake forth from behind them, and follow'd after them, crying, "St. *George*, *England*! The *Frenchmen* look'd back in great surprize to be so taken tardy; but when they saw there was no flinching, they stood their ground with a ready Courage, setting themselves in the best Order, to receive them on the points of their Spears. The Rencountre was very rough, and many on both sides were reversed on the Earth; for they were all well Horsed: Such as could, mounted again, and after this brunt with Spears, they drew their Swords and fell in among one another, giving and receiving several rude stroaks; so that the Action deserved more Spectators: For many Noble Deeds of Arms were performed at this time, and the Battle lasted for a while doubtfull. On the *English* part the Captal of *Busche* is said to have approved himself most eminently that day; as also on the *French* side, the Lord of *Ravenal* fought like a truly Valiant Knight, for he gave many gallant proofs of his Skill and Courage, under his own Banner, till his Standard-Bearer being slain, he himself was taken Prisoner: For now the *English* and *Gascogners* prevail'd; so that the Victory was clearly theirs: Thô indeed they exceeded the *French* in Number about one Fourth Part. The other seeing the Scales turn against them, fled away directly toward *Paris*, thô continually they were fain to face about, and fight as they fled, they were so closely pursu'd. And if the *English* had not doubted a Rescue from *Paris*, now that their Horses began to be weary, every Man of them had been either taken or slain: But upon that account they were content to follow the Chace no farther than *Bourg la Reine*, where they took Nine Knights and Esquires more, and having by this Success a little secur'd the Reer of the Army from the *French* Pursuers, they return'd with what they had got to *Mont-lehery*, where the King lay that Night, and then very courteously set their Prisoners to their Ransom, permitting them to go that same Night, whither they pleased, only engaging their Faith to pay them by such a time at the utmost. On the *English* part [o] we find about this time, that the Lord *Roger de la Warre* was taken Prisoner by Monsieur *John Haubert*; but that it was in this Action, I have no warrant to affirm: Thô this was the very last, that we hear of, till the Gates of *Janus* were shut in that Kingdom.

[n] *Vid. Froiss. c. 211. fol. 104. b. lin. 22.*

[o] *Dudg. Bar. 2 Vol. p. 16. ad an. 34. Ed. 3. m. 12. ex Autogr. penes Cler. Pell.*

Now King *Edward's* [p] Design, as we have already intimated, was to march for the present into *Beauce*, and so keeping along by the River of *Loire*, to go into *Bretagne*, [q] to the end he might subdue it wholly on the behalf of the young Earl of *Montford*, his Son in Law; for him to hold it of the Crown of *England*, and the mean while to refresh his Army; for now that Country had enjoy'd a long respite from the Wars. Which done he thought to return about *August* at the time of Vintage, and lay a formal Siege to *Paris*; because of the Oath which he had made, before his Departure out of *England*; namely, that he would never return alive, till he had reduced *France* to terms agreeable to his Honour.

[p] *Froiss. c. 211. &c.*

[q] *Pol. Virg. l. 19. p. 383. n. 40.*

VIII. And over and above the great Army, he led along with him, [r] he had sundry Garrisons in *Champaigne*, and *Brie*, in *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and almost over all the Realm of *France*, besides those of the good Towns and Cities, who took his part, either for Conscience, or hopes of Preferment, or of their own good Wills; not to mention the King of *Navarre*, who at this time also made War in the Marches of *Normandy*. And over and above all this the Lord *Eustace Dambreticourt*, [s] who still held Garrison at the Fortress of *Attigny* on the River *Aisne*, made great havock in those parts, and found no opposition. All his imagination night and day, was only to lay stratagems, how to surprize Towns and Castles, and to win Prisoners, and rich booty, and to purchase a Name, that might sound Famous in the Ears of his Lady, the Countess Dowager of *Kent*. One Night among others, he rode to a strong Town and Castle in *Laonnois* near *Montegu*, which was called *Pierrepont*, and because it was very strong, and scituated also in a Marish ground on the River of *Serre*, all the Country thereabout had brought thither the very best of their goods for security. Hither came Sr. *Eustace* with part of his Garrison in the Night, and not scrupling to pass the Dangerous Marishes by such Guides, as he had, but going in great silence, his Men assisting one another quite thorough them, he came unperceived to the Walls, and finding the Watch asleep, mounted, slew them, enter'd the Town, and wan it without any Resistance. Here they found more Rich Booty, than ever before they had

[r] *Froiss. c. 211. fol. 104.*

[s] *Vid. l. 3. c. 4. §9. p. 561.*

had met with at one time; all which they took away with them, and so having burnt the Town (thô they could not hurt the Castle) the next morning they return'd home again, laden with Spoil and Booty. AN. DOM. 1360. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIV. *Franciæ* XXI.

About this time also, the [t] Earl of *Armagnac*, then of the *French* side, gave Battle to *Gaston Phœbus* Earl of *Foix*, who was reputed a Friend to King *Edward*, in the parts of *Gascogne*, in which Battle the said Earl of *Armagnac* was overthrown with the loss of 15000 Men by the said Earl of *Foix*, who himself suffer'd very little, or no Damage. But I will not dissemble, that however so great a Loss of *Frenchmen* might be accounted some gain to the *English*; yet the Earl of *Foix* was not at this time on the *English* part, as will manifestly appear to those, who shall consider, that within a page or two following, in the very first Article of the Peace, the Earl of *Foix* together with the Earl of *Armagnac*, and others, is reckon'd among the Friends of the *French* Crown. There was [u] indeed a Quarrel of some continuance, and of very ill Consequence, between these two Great Lords, transmitted unto them by Inheritance, concerning the Purparties of the Estate of *Gaston de Bearn*; but that related nothing to the Quarrel of *England* or *France*, and besides was again renew'd, even when both the Parties were Friends to *England*; till, as we shall see in due place, it was fully made up by the BLACK-PRINCE, when he came to *Bourdeaux*, to his Government of the Principality of *Aquitain*.

[t] *Knighton p. 2624. n. 10.*

[u] *Vid. Mezeray p. 63. & 64. ad an. 1362.*

Thus was the Famous Realm of *France* with Civil Dissentions and Foreign Enemies, streightned on all hands; so that without a very particular Providence, it had been impossible for King *Edward* to have failed in an absolute Conquest of that Crown: [x] Thô *Matthew Villani* attributes his failing therein, rather to the Animosity, Hate, and Disdain, which the *Frenchmen* bare against the *English* Nation; insomuch that they could not endure to hear of them; but had them ever in despite, as a Vile and Base People. Perhaps this might have been his judgement, but I think not, that it was ever a Popular Opinion in *France*, or however, that it was ill-grounded and senseless, will appear to those, who know, how [y] both the Ancient *Franks*, and the *English Saxons* had one and the same Original.

[x] *Matt. Villani l. 9. c. 82. p. 558.*

[y] Antiqui *Frãci*, ut & *Saxones*, à *Getis*, sive *Gothis*, oriundi: Qui in *Cimeriâ* vocabantur *Cimerii*, in *Sarmatiâ Sarmatæ*, in *Thraciâ Thraces*; & sic *Cimbri*, *Germani*, *Saxones*, *Celtæ*, *Franci*, qui & *Galli*, pro locorum varietate. Vid. *R. Sheringham* de *Anglorum* Gentis origine. *p.* 164, &c.

In these days [z] there lived a certain Fryar Minor, a Man well seen both in Sacred and Profane Letters, whose Name was *John de Rochetailladée*; in Latine, *Joannes de Rupe-scisâ*: He had preached of a long time in the City of *Avignon*, with a Life answerable to his Doctrine: But of late Pope *Innocent* VI. had clap'd him up close Prisoner in the Castle of *Baignols* in the Territory of *Nismes*, between *Avignon* and *Mompellier*. The occasion of his Imprisonment was, because he seemed a little too bold with the Clergy, taxing them of many enormous Sins, and denouncing sundry heavy Judgements, shortly to fall upon them, especially on the Prelacy, for their great Pride and Sensuality. Particularly he secretly touched the outragious Ambition of the Church of *Rome*, with this pretty Apologue or Moral, making use of an old Fable to a new purpose: [a] *Once on a time all the Birds under Heaven made their Assembly in a certain place, where, when all the Rest appear'd in good plight, decently deck'd with Plumes and Wings, both for Use and Ornament, there was one only, of shape indeed Majestick and Divine; but all callow, and wholly destitute of Feathers: So that she could neither fly abroad, nor consequently sustain her self with Nourishment. Then the whole Assembly being moved with respect and pity, agreed from their own Bodies to supply this Bird with Feathers, that she might provide for her self and fly about, as well as others. But in process of time, when this Bird beheld her self so finely adorned, and perceived the Universal Respect she had among the Winged Nation, she grew so proud and Insolent, that in the end she provoked the Birds in a General Council, to demand every one his own Feathers back again: And so she was left to her former Poverty, Shame, and Nakedness;* This Fryar also in his various Discourses and Sermons, foretold many things, that he said should come to pass within the Realm of *France*, and among the Grandees of *Christendom* in general, for their grievous Oppressions of the Poor. And particularly he doubted not by Letters to rebuke the sins of the *French* Court, [b] and before the Battle of *Poictiers* to threaten King *John* himself with the approach of some heavy Calamity. And [c] oftentimes he spake confidently of many wonderfull things, averring, that he would prove all his words by the Authority of the *Apocalipse*, and other Canonical Books of the Prophets and Inspired Men; the true Understanding whereof was open'd unto him by the Holy Ghost: Upon which account, he said, he spake not as a Prophet, but only, as one, who had the Gift of expounding those Ancient Prophecies, and from them to shew unto all *Christian* People the very Years and Times, when such and such things should happen. According

[z] *Froiss. c. 211. Paul. Æmyl. p. 299. Ashmole p. 660. Fox Acts & Mon. p. 359, &c.*

[a] *Paul. Æmyl. ibid. &c.*

[b] *Paul. Æmyl. p. 299. C.*

[c] *Froiss. c. 211. fol. 104.*

to

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to which his Expoſitions, many wonderfull and unexpected Accidents did really fall out in thoſe times, which he had limited. He wrote many Books full of much Learning, one whereof came forth in the beginning of the Year 1346; wherein were written ſuch marvellous Predictions, that they almoſt exceed Belief; thô the Event declared them to be reall: As for Example, propounding therein a Queſtion to himſelf; "What was to be the Iſſue of theſe Wars and Commotions in *France*, he anſwers; *That all, which had been already, was not to compare, to what ſhould be ſeen hereafter. For*, ſays he, *the Wars in* France *ſhall not be ended, till the Realm be in a manner wholly exhauſted and left Deſolate; and that from the Years* 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, *unto the Year* 1360, &c. *The Princes and Gentry of the Land ſhould be afraid to ſhew their faces among the People of low Condition, aſſembled out of all Countries, without any great Head or Captain, who ſhould do in* France *after their pleaſure.* Which ſaying we have already ſeen moſt evidently fullfilled, as well in thoſe Robberies and Inſolencies of the Companions, as in the Riſe and Progreſs of the *Jaquerie*; not to mention the Wars of King *Edward*, and the Seditious Tumults raiſed by the *Pariſians* and the King of *Navarre*; whereby that Kingdom ſeem'd to be reduced to the laſt Extremity.

[d] *Froiſ. c.* 211. *fol.* 104. *b.*

IX. Upon all which Conſiderations the [d] Duke of *Normandy*, who was ſtill at *Paris* with his two Brethren, and their Uncle the Duke of *Orleans*, began now with his Council to weigh the Matter more maturely: They all well knew the Courage and fierce Reſolution of the King of *England*, and that he daily added to the already-inſupportable Miſeries of *France*; whereby it evidently appear'd, that it was impoſſible for the Realm to ſubſiſt much longer, without ſome conſiderable Reſpiration. For all the large Rents and Revenues both of Church and State, were already either quite loſt, or hugely impaired: So that the moſt Wealthy in Lands could make little or no Advantage of them. And moreover it was known, how King *Edward* intended before Autumn to return to the Siege of *Paris*, having ſworn never to leave *France*, till he had brought her to his Dovotion. Wherefore it was reſolved by the Duke of *Normandy*, and his whole Council, that King *Edward* muſt be apply'd to for a Peace, and ſome advantagious Offers in order thereunto be made unto Him.

There was now in Court at *Paris*, a Reverend and Diſcreet Perſonage, the Chancellour of *France*, named *William Aiſcelin de Montegu* Biſhop of *Teroüenne*, by whoſe Direction moſt of the Publique Affairs had lately been Order'd; for his Advice was always found both ſound and faithfull: With him were aſſociated two other Sage Prelates, *Androine de la Roche*, Abbot of *Cluigny*, and Father *Simon de Langers*. Theſe Reverend Perſons upon their Remonſtrance of the neceſſity of Affairs at that time, went from *Paris* by Conſent of the Duke and his Council, and together with Sr. *Hugh de Geneve* Lord of *Autun*, followed after King *Edward* with certain Articles of Peace, whom they found in *Beauce* riding toward *Gaillardon*. Immediately they addreſſed themſelves unto him with all humility, deſiring him for the Love of God to permit them once more to hold a Treaty, in order to a Peace between *France* and Him, and their Allies. The King expecting now more large Offers, granted their Requeſt; and ſo a Treaty was enter'd upon between them and the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and others; but ſurely thoſe Authors, who make *Roger* Earl of *March*, one of their Number, are widely miſtaken; for he died, as we have ſhewn at leaſt above a Month before, *viz.* on the 26 of *February*, at *Rouvray* in *Burgundy*, being then Marſhal of the Kings Army. This Treaty was [e] held cloſely for ſome time; but all the while King *Edward* kept on his March, as he thought fitting; yet ſtill the *French* Commiſſioners would by no means leave him; but rode along after him, and proſecuted their buſineſs with all the application imaginable: For they ſaw the King, their Maſter, was in Priſon, and his Realm ſo haraſſed on all hands, that there was no hope left, without a Peace could be purchaſed. On the other ſide, King *Edward* is ſaid to have demanded ſuch high things, and ſo prejudicial to the Realm of *France*, that the Regent's council could not in Honour admit of them. So that all the while of the Treaty, which laſted for about 17 days, the Commiſſioners ſent every day Poſt to the Duke of *Normandy*, who lay then at *Paris*, an account of the Progreſs they had made, ſtill deſiring an enlargement of their Powers. And this account of theirs was always ſecretly inſpected and canvaſſed in the Regents Chamber, and their Commiſſions further enlarged and ſent unto them in writing, Witneſſed and Sealed by the Regent and his Council.

[e] *Froiſ. ibid.*

Now was King *Edward* come near to *Chartres*, the Ambaſſadors ſtill following him with their Propoſals, and then again, as frequently before, they made large offers,

there-

Honoratiss.o Viro Dn.o IOHANNI PEAKE, Militi, Orphanotrophij apud LONDON: Hospitij Christi dicti Præsidi Meritiss., nec non Dignissimo Dn.o Nathanaeli Hawes, Armigero, Ejusd. Hospitij Thesaurario, Reliquisq; illius Gubernatoribus Dignissimis, Colendissimisq; Hanc EDWARDI Tertij Figuram, veluti Θεσπεσίου & Educationis olim præbitæ Monumentū Gratus dicat Iosua Barnes.

Thus arm'd fierce EDWARD *did his Troops advance,*
Resolv'd to Wast ye Stubborne Realm of France:
But Gracious Heaven stops his enraged Hand,
And loudly pleads in Thunder for the Land.
EDWARD *obeys his Great Creator's Will:*
To yield to Heaven is but to Conquer still.

thereby to obtain a final Concluſion of the War, and to ſettle a firm and laſting Peace between the two Nations. But the King ſtill rejected all their Offers, being, as is ſaid, reſolved now to be Crowned King of *France*, and to live and die in that Eſtate. AN. DOM. 1360. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIV. *Franciæ* XXI.

But God who holds the Hearts of Princes in his Hands, and turns them like the Rivers in the *South*, having alſo limited the bounds of all Succeſs, began to make King *Edward* know at this time, that it was in vain to endeavour to reſiſt his Will; before whom Horſe and Armour are but as Stubble, and the Strength of the Mighty as a Thread of Tow, when it toucheth the Fire. For when the Duke of *Lancaſters* Perſwaſion could not mollifie his Mind, there fell a miraculous Adventure, which was judged no other than the Finger of God himſelf, and that wholly converted him. But firſt the Duke, who thô ſo renowned in War, was for his many Heroick and Princely Vertues [f] called the *Good* Duke of *Lancaſter*, began one Day ſeriouſly to move the Kings Mind to accept of the *French* Propoſals, ſaying, "Sir, the War which your Majeſty "hath thus long waged in *France*. hath been as yet to all Men wonderfull, and to your "Self favourable and glorious; But ſurely your Men only win Riches thereby, and "all the trouble and care, and expence and hazard, belong more immediately to your "Perſon. Sir, this War is not only a Gulf to devour the Treaſures of You and your "People, but alſo a great loſs of Time; for if all things are duely conſider'd, You "may chance to make War all the Days of your Life, and yet never come to the end "of your Deſign. Sir, in ſhort, ſince the Fortune of Battles is variable, and You may "perhaps loſe more in one Day than You have won in twenty Years; I would adviſe "your Majeſty to accept the Offers, which are now made unto You in a time where-"in You may leave the War both to your Honour and Advantage. Theſe reaſonable and prudent Words, thus utter'd with a Loyal Mind by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, for the Good of the King and his People, being ſeconded by the immediate influence of Heaven, fully wrought upon the enraged Prince and enclin'd him to Peace. But ſurely the Occaſion which wholly brought him over was very remarkable, if not miraculous; for preſently upon theſe Words, while yet the King was inexorable, and refus'd to give the *French* Commiſſioners any agreeable Anſwer, there [g] fell from Heaven ſuch a wonderfull Storm and Tempeſt of Thunder, Lightning, Rain and Hail among the *Engliſh* Army, that it ſeem'd as if the whole Fabrick of Nature was falling to pieces; and withall it was ſo exceſſive Cold at the ſame time, that it cannot be imagin'd; ſo that together with all theſe Arrows of Gods Anger, there periſhed no leſs than 6000 Horſes, and well-nigh a 1000 Men, among whom were ſeveral Perſons of Quality. Particularly the Lord *Robert Morley* was ſlain outright, and the Lord *Guy Beauchamp*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, being wounded to Death in this Storm, died thereof on the 28 day of *April* at the City of *Vendoſme* in *Beauce*; [h] where alſo he was buried in a Chappel behind the High-Altar toward the *Eaſt*, having a Fair Monument of Alabaſter, with his Pourtraicture thereon neatly carved, and over his Harneſs a Surcoat of his Arms, with this Inſcription on the Verge of his Monument, *Icy Giſt Monſiegneur* Guy de Beauchamp, *Fitz de treſnoble & puiſſant Homme, Monſieur* Thomas de Beauchamp *Conte de* Warwick, *Mareſchal d'* Angleterre, *qui treſpaſſa le XXVIII jour d' Averil l' Ann.* MCCCLX. The boldeſt Heart of all theſe Valiant Souldiers trembled at the apprehenſion of this Dreadfull Judgment: But King *Edward* like a Good and Pious Prince, look'd upon it as a loud Declaration of the Divine Pleaſure: Wherefore immediately alighting from his Horſe, he kneeled down on the ground, and caſting his Eyes toward the Church of our Lady of *Chartres*, made a ſolemn Vow to Almighty God, *That he would now ſincerely and abſolutely incline his Mind to a final Peace with* France, *if he might obtain good Conditions*; at which time alſo he made a Devout Confeſſion of his ſins, and ſo took up his Lodging in a Village near *Chartres* called *Bretigny*, where the *French* Commiſſioners being come the next day with more ample Inſtructions, the King was content to accept of Peace.

[f] *Catal. of Hon. p.324.*

[g] *Froiſ. c. 211. f. 105. Du Cheſ. p.684. Mezeray p. 59. Walſing. hiſt. p.167 n.30 Knighton p. 2624. n.10. M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c. 230. Aſhmole p.660. Jacob. Meyer Annal. Flandr. l.13 p.184. & Odor. Rainal. & omnes.*

[h] *Dugd. Bar. 1 Vol. p.235. & id. Warwickſh. p.319. ſed in anno obitûs LI, malè ſcribitur utrobiq; pro LX, quod notandum.*

The Treaty [i] was menaged between *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and *Charles* Regent of *France*, their Proctors and Agents in the Name of both the Kings, theſe two Princes and all the Subjects of either Realm. Thoſe who were deputed on the *Engliſh* Part, were Sr. *Reginald Cobham*, Sr. *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, Sr. *Frank van Hall* Bannerets, Sr. *Miles Stapleton*, Sr. *Richard la Vache*, Sr. *Nele Loring* Knights, and others of the King of *Englands* Council. Thoſe other on the *French* ſide, were the Elect of *Beauvais*, *Charles* Lord *Monmorency*, Monſieur *John le Meingre* Marſhal of *France*, Monſieur *Ainart de la Tour* Lord of *Viviers*, Monſieur *Ralph de Ravenal*, Monſieur *Simon de Bucy* Knights, Monſieur *Stephen de Paris*, and *Peter de la Charite* Counſellours, with many Others deputed by the *Dauphin*.

[i] *Aſhmole p.660*

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At first, namely on the Seventh of *May*, a Truce was agreed on, to continue till *Michaelmas* following, and thence till *Michaelmas* ensuing; which upon the Return of King *Edward* into *England*, was by Writs bearing Date the 24 of the said Month, commanded to be published throughout all the Sea-Ports in *England*; and by a like Writ notice was given to the Duke of *Lancaster*, to proclaim it thrô *Gascoigne*. And the next Day, *viz.* the 8 of *May*, the Articles relating to a Final Peace were agreed to on Behalf of both the Kings.

This is that Famous Treaty made at *Bretigny* near *Chartres*, so much spoken of by Writers, to which the Eldest Sons of *England* and *France* were Principal Parties, commonly called the *Treaty of* RENUNTIATION of both Kings; in regard that the King of *France Renounced* the Soveraignty of several Territories to King *Edward*; and he on the other side *Renounced* his Title to *France* and some other Places. As will more particularly appear from the Copy of the Treaty it self, as it was compared with the Original, kept at *Paris* by one that was Master of the Rolls there.[k]

[k] *Extant Gallicè apud Du Chesn. l.* 15. *p.* 684. & *Dr.* Stillingfl. *M.S. ad hunc titulum copia Tractatûs magnæ Pacis in Latino, inter Reges* Angliæ & Franciæ *factæ apud* Bretigny *juxta* Carnotum, *&c. Extant etiam Anglicè in MS. Doctoris* Johan. Spencer *Coll. C. C.* Cantab. *Magistri. Vid. Rot. de Tractatu Pacis* Franciæ *ad an.* 34. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 10.

X. "*EDWARD*, Eldest Son of the Noble King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland* and "of *Aquitain*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Chester*, To all who shall "see these present Letters, Greeting. WE give You to understand, that of all the "Debates and Discords whatsoever, moved and commenced between our most Re- "doubted Lord and Father, the King of *England* on the one Part, and our Cousin the "King, and his Eldest Son, Regent of the Realm of *France* on the other Part, for "the benefit of Peace; it is ACCORDED, on the Eight of *May* in the Year of "of Grace, One Thousand Three Hundred and Sixty, at *Bretigny* near *Chartres*, in "Manner and Form following, *viz.*

1. "*Imprimis*, That the King of *England*, besides what he holdeth in *Guienne* and "*Gascoigne*, shall have for himself and his Heirs for ever, all those things which fol- "low, to hold them in like Manner, as the King of *France*, or his Son, or any of his "Ancestors, Kings of *France* did hold them; that is to say, what was held in Sove- "raignty, to be held in Soveraignty, and what in Demaine, in Demain, for the Times "and in the Manner hereunder specified. The City, Castle and Earldom of *Poictiers*, "and all the Land and Country of *Poicton*, likewise the Fief of *Thoüars*, and the Land "of *Belleville*; the City and Castle of *Saintes*, and all the Land and Country of "*Saintogne*, on this side and on that side the *Charente*, [l] with the Town and Castle "of *Rochelle* and their Appurtenances: The City and Castle of *Agen*, and the Land "and Country of *Agenois*. The City and Castle, and the whole Earldom of *Perigeux*, "and the Land and Country of *Perigort*: The City and Castle of *Limoges*, and the "Land and Country of *Limosin*: The City and Castle of *Cahors*, and the Land and "Country of [m] *Cahorsin*: The City, Castle and Country of *Tarbe*: The Land, Coun- "try and Earldom of *Bigorre*: The Earldom, Land and Country of *Gaure*: The Ci- "ty and Castle of *Angoulesme*, and the Earldom, Land and Country of *Angoulesmois*: "The City and Castle of *Rodes*, and the Land and Country of *Rovergue*. And if "there are any Lords, as the Earl of *Foix*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Earl of *L' Isle*, "the [n] Vicount of *Carmaine*, the Earl of *Perigort*, the Vicount of *Limoges* and O- "thers, who hold any Lands or Places within the Bounds of the said Places, they shall "make Homage to the King of *England*, and all other Services and Duties, due because "of their Lands or Places, in like manner, as they have done in time passed.

[l] This Clause omitted in *Du Chesne's* Copy; *sed ex* Johannis *Regis* Franciæ *Recapitulatione & aliis addo & res ipsa probat* la Rochelle *Anglis traditam*

[m] *i.e.* Quercy.

[n] *Hunc addo eâdem ratione, quâ clausulam superiorem.*

2. "*Item*, That the King of *England* shall have all that which the King of *Eng-* "*land*, or any of the Kings of *England* anciently held in the Town of *Monstrevil* on "the Sea.

3. "*Item*, the King of *England* shall have the Earldom of *Ponthieu* all entirely, saving "and excepting, that if any things of the said County and its Appurtenances have "been alienated by the Kings of *England*, which have been to other Persons, than to "the King of *France*, then the King of *France* shall not be obliged to render them to "the King of *England*. And if the said Alienations have been made to the Kings of "*France* which have been for the time, without any [o] Mean, and the King of *France* "holds them at present in his Hand, he shall leave them to the King of *England* en- "tirely; excepting that if the Kings of *France* have had them in Exchange for other "Lands, the King of *England* shall deliver to the King of *France* that which he had "by Exchange, or quit those things so alienated. But if the Kings of *England* which have "been for the time, have alienated or conveyed any things to other Persons, than to "the King of *France*, he shall not be obliged to restore them. Also if the things a- "bovesaid owe Homages, the King shall give them to another, who shall do Homage "to the King of *England*, and if the things do not owe Homage, the King of *France*

[o] *i.e.* Middle Person.

shall

" ſhall put in a Tenant who ſhall do him Service, within a Year following after he ſhall " be gone from *Calais*. AN. DOM. 1360. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIV. *Franciæ* XXI.

4. " *Item*, That the King of *England* ſhall have the Caſtle and Town of *Calais*, " The Caſtle, Town and Lordſhip of *Merk*, the Caſtles, Towns and Lordſhips of *San-* " *gate*, *Cologne*, *Hames*, *Wale* and *Oye*, with the Lands, Woods, Mariſhes, Rivers, " Rents, Lordſhips, Advouſons of Churches, and all other Appurtenances and Places " lying between the Limits and Bounds following. That is to ſay, to the Border of " the River before *Graveling*, and ſo by the ſame River round about *Langle*, and by " the River which runs beyond the *Poil*, and by the ſame River which falls into the " great Lake of *Guiſnes* as far as *Fretun*, and thence by the Vally about [p] *Calculi* " Hill, encloſing that Hill, and ſo to the Sea, with *Sangate* and all its Appurtenances.

[p] *i.e.* Chalkhill.

5. " *Item*, That the King of *England* ſhall have the Caſtle, Town, and the whole " Earldom of *Guiſnes* entirely, with all the Lands, Towns, Caſtles, Fortreſſes, Places, " Men, Homages, Lordſhips, Woods, Foreſts and Rights thereof as entirely, as the " Earl of *Guiſnes* laſt deceaſed had them in his Time: and that the Churches and the " good People being within the Limitations of the ſaid Earldom of *Guiſnes*, of *Calais* " and *Merk*, and of other Places aboveſaid, ſhall obey the King of *England* in like man- " ner, as they obey'd the King of *France*, or the Earl of *Guiſnes* for the time being. " All which things of *Merk* and *Calais* being contained in this preſent Article, and the " Article next preceding, the King of *England* ſhall hold in *Demaine*, except the He- " ritage of the Churches, which ſhall remain to the ſaid Churches entirely whereſoe- " ver they be; and ſo except the Heritages of other People of the Country of *Merk* " and *Calais*, ſeated without the ſaid Town of *Calais*, unto the value of an Hundred " Pounds *per annum* of currant Money of that Country and under: Which Inheritances " ſhall remain to them even to the Value aboveſaid and under. But the Habitations " and Inheritances being within the ſaid Town of *Calais* with their Appurtenances, ſhall " remain to the King of *England* in Demain, to order them after his Pleaſure. And " alſo to the Inhabitants in the Countie, Town and Land of *Guiſnes*, ſhall remain all " their Demains entirely and fully, and ſhall return to them again forthwith, ſave what " is ſaid of the Frontiers, Metes and Bounds, in the laſt preceding Article.

6. " *Item*, It is accorded, that the ſaid King of *England* and his Heirs ſhall have " and hold all the Iſles adjacent to the Lands, Countries and Places above-named; " together with all other Iſlands, which the King of *England* holdeth at this preſent.

7. " *Item*, It is accorded, that the ſaid King of *France*, and his Eldeſt Son the Regent, " for them, and for all their Heirs and Succeſſors, as ſoon as may be, and at the fur- " theſt by the Feaſt of St. *Michael* next coming in one Year, without fraud or deceit, " ſhall render, yield and deliver to the ſaid King of *England*, and to all his Heirs and " Succeſſors, and ſhall convey unto them all the Honours, Obediences, Homages, Al- " legiances, Vaſſalages, Fiefs, Services, Recogniſances, Rights, mere and mixt Empire, " and all manner of Juriſdictions High and Low, Reſorts, Safeguards, Advouſons, Pa- " tronages of Churches, and all manner of Dominions and Superiorities, and all the " Right which they have, or may have had, which did appertain, doth appertain, or " might appertain by any Cauſe, Title, or Colour of Right to them, to the Kings, " and to the Crown of *France*, by occaſion of the Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Towns, " Lands, Countries, Iſles and Places before-named, and of all their Appurtenances, and " Dependances whereſoever they ſhall be, and of every of them without retaining [or " holding back] any thing to them, to their Heirs or Succeſſors, or to the Kings, or to " the Crown of *France*. And alſo the ſaid King and his Eldeſt Son ſhall command by " their Letters Patents all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of Holy Church, " and alſo all Earls, Vicounts, Barons, Nobles, Citizens, and Others whatſoever of " the Cities, Counties, Lands, Countries, Iſles and Places above-named, that they o- " bey the King of *England* and his Heirs, at their certain Commandment in ſuch ſort, " as they have obeyed the Kings and the Crown of *France*. [[q] And by the ſame their " Letters ſhall acquit and diſcharge them in the beſt manner that may be, of all Ho- " mages, Fealties, Oaths, Obligations, Subjections, and Promiſes, in any ſort by any of " them made to the King and Crown of *France*.]

[q] This Clauſe added out of King *Johns* Recapitulation of the Articles.

8. " *Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *England* ſhall have the Cities, Counties, " Caſtles, Lands, Countreys, Iſles and Places above-named, with all their Appurte- " nances and Appendages, whereſoever they ſhall be to hold to him and to his Heirs and " Succeſſors, Hereditably and for ever in *Demain*, that which the Kings of *France* have " had there in *Demain*; and alſo in Fiefs, Services, Soveraignties or Reſorts, that " which the Kings of *France* have had there in ſuch manner: Saving notwithſtanding

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"what was ſaid above in the Article of *Calais* and *Merk*. And if of the Cities, Coun-
"ties, Caſtles, Lands, Countries, Iſles and Places above-named, or any of the Sove-
"raignties, Rights, Mere and Mixt Empire, Juriſdictions and Profits whatſoever,
"which any King of *England* did there hold, or their Appurtenances and Appendages
"whatſoever, any Alienations Donations, Obligations or Charges, have been made by
"any of the Kings of *France*, which have been for the Time within Seventy Years
"paſt, by whatſoever Form or Cauſe it be, that all ſuch Donations, Obligations or
"Charges, are now at this time, and ſhall be henceforth made void, repeal'd, aboli-
"ſhed and annihilated, and all things ſo given, alienated or charged, ſhall really and *de*
"*facto* be reſtored and delivered to the ſaid King of *England*, or to his Special Depu-
"ties, in the ſame entire Condition they were to the Kings of *England* before or
"ſince the ſaid 70 Years, without Fraud or Deceit, ſo ſoon as may be, and at the
"fartheſt by the Feaſt of St. *Michael* next enſuing within one Year: To be held by the
"ſaid King of *England*, and all his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, by Right of Inheri-
"tance in manner above-written. Except what is ſaid before in the Article of *Pon-*
"*thieu*, which ſhall remain in Force; and ſaving and excepting all thoſe things given
"and alienated to Churches, which ſhall remain peaceably in all the Countries here a-
"bove and under named: Provided that the Rectors of the ſaid Churches ſhall dili-
"gently pray for the ſaid Kings as for their Founders, wherewith their Conſciences are
"charged.

9. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *England* ſhall have and hold all the Cities,
"Towns, Caſtles and Countries above-named, which anciently the Kings of *England*
"did not hold, in the ſame ſtate and manner, as the King of *France* or his Children
"hold them at preſent.

10. "*Item*, It is agreed, that if within the Bounds of the ſaid Countries, which did
"anciently pertain to the Kings of *England*, there ſhall be any Places, which otherwiſe
"belonged not to the Kings of *England*, but were poſſeſſed by the King of *France*
"at the day of the Battle of *Poictiers*, which was the 19 Day of *September*, in the
"Year One Thouſand three Hundred Fifty and Six, they ſhall be, and remain to the
"King of *England* and his Heirs in manner as before.

11. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *France*, and his Eldeſt Son the Regent,
"for themſelves and for their Heirs, and all the Kings of *France* and their Succeſſors
"for ever, ſhall without deceit, as ſoon as may be, and at the furtheſt by the Feaſt of
"St. *Michael* next enſuing in one Year, render and deliver unto the King of *England*,
"and to all his Heirs and Succeſſors, and ſhall convey unto them all the Honours, Re-
"galities, Obediences, Homages, Allegiances, Vaſſalages, Fiefs, Services, Recogni-
"ſances, Oaths, Rights, Mere and Mixt Empire, all manner of Juriſdictions high and
"low, Reſorts, Safeguards, Dominions and Soveraignties, which did pertain, or do per-
"tain, or might any ways pertain to the Kings and Crown of *France*, or to any o-
"ther Perſon becauſe of the King or Crown of *France*, at any time in thoſe Cities,
"Counties, Caſtles, Lands, Countries, Iſles and Places above-named, or in any of
"them, and in their Appurtenances and Appendages whatſoever, or in any of the Per-
"ſons, Vaſſals or Subjects whatſoever, whether Princes, Dukes, Earls, Vicounts,
"Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of the Church, Barons, Nobles and others
"whatſoever, without retaining in them, or reſerving any thing to Themſelves, their
"Heirs or Succeſſors to the Crown of *France*, or to any other Perſon whatſoever:
"Whereby they, their Heirs or Succeſſors, or any King of *France*, may challenge or
"demand any thing in time to come of the King of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſ-
"ſors, or of any of the Vaſſals and Subjects aforeſaid, in regard of the Countries and
"Places above-named: So as all the above-named Perſons, and their Heirs and Succeſ-
"ſors for ever, ſhall be Liege-men and Subjects to the King of *England*, and to his
"Heirs and Succeſſors; and that the King of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall
"*Have* and *Hold* all the Perſons, Cities, Counties, Lands, Countries, Iſles, Caſtles
"and Places above-named, and all their Appurtenances and Appendages: And the Pre-
"miſes ſhall remain unto them fully, freely and for ever, in their Dominion, Soveraign-
"ty, Obeiſance, Allegiance and Subjection, as the Kings of *France* at any time ever
"had or held them. And that the ſaid King of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſſors,
"ſhall have and hold for ever all the Countries above-named with their Appurtenances
"and Appendages, and other Places ſpecified before, with all Franchiſe and perpetual
"Liberty, as Sovereign and Liege-Lords, as Neighbours to the King and Realm of
"*France*, without recogniſing any Sovereign, or doing any Obedience, Homage, Reſort
"and Subjection; and without doing in any time to come, any Service or Recogniſance

"to

"to the Kings, or to the Crown of *France*, for the Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Lands, "Countries, Iſles, Places and Perſons above-named or for any of them. AN. DOM. 1360. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIV. *Franciæ* XXI.

12. "*Item*, it is agreed, that the King of *France* and his Eldeſt Son ſhall Renounce "expreſsly the ſaid Reſorts, and Sovereignties, and all the Right, which they have "and may have, in all thoſe things, which by this preſent Treaty ought to belong "to the King of *England*. And likewiſe the King of *England* and his Eldeſt Son "ſhall renounce expreſly all thoſe things, which by this preſent Treaty ought not to "be deliver'd to, or abide with, the King of *England*, and eſpecially the Name and "Right of the Crown and Kingdom of *France*, and the Homage, Sovereignty, and "Demain of the Dukedom of *Normandy*, of the Dukedom of *Tourain*, and of the "Counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dukedom of "*Bretagne*, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Country and Earldom of *Flanders*, "and all other Demands, which the King of *England* hath made, or could make, a-"gainſt the King of *France*, for whatſoever cauſe it may be, ſaving and excepting "what by this Preſent Treaty ought to remain, or to be rendred to the King of "*England* and his Heirs. And the two Kings ſhall convey, reſign, and leave the one "to the other for ever, all the Right that each of them hath, or may have in all "thoſe things, which by this Preſent Treaty ought to remain, or to be rendred to "each of them. And the two Kings ſhall confer and appoint together at *Calais* con-"cerning the Time and Place, where and when the ſaid Renuntiations ſhall be "made.

13. "*Item*, To the end that this Preſent Treaty may be the more briefly accom-"pliſhed, it is agreed, that the King of *England* ſhall cauſe the King of *France* to be "convey'd to *Calais* within three Weeks after the Nativity of St. *John Baptiſt*, "next coming (all juſt Impediment ceaſing) at the expence of the King of *England*, ex-"cepting the Charges of the Houſhold of the King of *France*.

14. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *France* ſhall pay to the King of *England* "Three Millions of Crowns of Gold (two whereof countervail a Noble of the Money "of *England*;) and there ſhall be paid to the ſaid King of *England* or his Deputies, "ſix Hundred Thouſand Crowns at *Calais* within Four Months, to be counted after "the King of *France* ſhall arrive at *Calais*: And within a Year thence next follow-"ing ſhall be paid Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns, ſuch as aforeſaid, at the City of "*London* in *England*; and from thence every Year next following there ſhall always be "paid Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns more, ſuch, as aforeſaid, in the ſaid City, till the "whole Three Millions ſhall be fully paid.

15. "*Item*, It is agreed, that at the Payment of the ſaid ſix Hundred Thouſand "Crowns at *Calais*, and on the Delivery of the Hoſtages here under-named to the King "of *England*, within Four Months, accounting after that the King of *France* ſhall come "to *Calais*, as is ſaid, with the Town, Caſtle, and Fortreſſes of *Rochelle*, and the "Caſtles, Fortreſſes, and Towns of the Earldom of *Guiſnes*, and all their appurtenances "and Dependencies, the Perſon of the ſaid King ſhall be wholly acquitted from Pri-"ſon, and come into his own Power, without any Impeachment; but he ſhall not arm "himſelf, nor his People, againſt the King of *England*; till the time, that he ſhall have "accompliſhed what he is obliged unto by this preſent Treaty. And the Hoſtages, "as well Priſoners, taken at the Battle of *Poictiers*, as others, who remain for the King "of *France*, are as followeth: That is to ſay, Monſieur *Lewis* Earl of *Anjou*, Mon-"ſieur *John* Earl of *Poictiers*, Sons to the King of *France*, the Duke of *Orleans* Bro-"ther to the ſaid King, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Blois* and *Lewis* his Bro-"ther, the Earl of *Alenſon*, and Monſieur *Peter* of *Alenſon* his Brother, the Earl of "St. *Paul*, the Earl of *Harcourt*, the Earl of *Porcien*, the Earl of *Valentinois*, "the Earl of *Brayne*, the Earl of *Vaudemont*, the Earl of *Foreſt*, the Vicount of "*Beaumont*, the Lord of *Coucy*, the Lord of *Garencieres*, the *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, "the Lord of *Hangeſt*, the Lord of *Monmorency*, Monſieur *William de Craon*, Mon-"ſieur *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, and Monſieur *John de Ligny*. And as for the Names of the "Priſoners taken at the Battle of *Poictiers*, they are theſe; *Philip* of *France*, the Earl of "*Eu*, the Earl of *Longeville*, the Earl of *Ponthieu*, the Earl of *Tancarville*, the Earl of "[r] *Joigny*, the Earl of *Sancerre*, the Earl of *Dammartin*, the Earl of *Ventadour*, the "Earl of *Salebruche*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of *Vendoſme*, the Lord of *Craon*, "the Lord of *Derual*, the Marſhal D' *Endreghan*, and the Lord of *Aubigny*.

16. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the ſaid Sixteen Priſoners, who are to remain Hoſtages "for the King of *France*, as is ſaid, ſhall by this means be diſcharged of their Impri-"ſonment without paying any Ranſom for the time paſt, in caſe they have not al-

[r] *Ità Corrigo* Ligny *apud* Du Cheſne *authoritate M. SS.* Anglici *Doctoris* Spencer, *quod legit* Oigny, & Latini *Doctoris* Stillingfleet, *quod legit expreſsè* Joigny: *Præter quod illius nomen inter Captivos appareret, uti probâſſe meminimus.*

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"ready agreed on ſome certain Ranſom, by Covenant made before the Third day of "*May* laſt paſt: And if any of them be out of *England*, and ſhall not render himſelf "as an Hoſtage at *Calais*, within the Firſt Month after the ſaid three Weeks fol- "lowing the Feaſt of St. *John* (all juſt Impediment ceaſing) he ſhall not at all be "diſcharged his Priſon, but ſhall be Conſtrained by the King of *France*, to re- "turn into *England*, as Priſoner, or to pay the Penalty promiſed by him, [f] if he did "not return.

[f] *Du Cheſne* & incurred by his Default in not returning.

17. "*Item*, It is agreed, that in lieu of the ſaid Hoſtages, which ſhall not come to "*Calais*, or which ſhall die, or depart out of the Power of the King of *England*, with- "out leave, the King of *France* is obliged to ſend others of a like Eſtate with them, "as near as may be, within three Months, next after that the Bailiff of *Amiens*, or "the Mayor of St. *Omers* ſhall be certify'd hereof by Letters of the ſaid King of "*England*.

[t] Du Cheſne *hunc articulum præcedenti adjungit: Nos ſequimur M. SS. ſuprà citata.*

18. "And the [t] King of *France* at his Departure from *Calais*, may take in his Com- "pany Ten of the Hoſtages, ſuch as the two Kings ſhall agree upon: And it ſhall "ſuffice, that of the foreſaid Number of [u] *Fourty*, there ſhall remain the full Number of "*Thirty*.

[u] This ſhews, that in the XV Article, where in all the Copies, *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Latine*, 'tis read *Charles* of *Blois*, or his Brother, and the Earl of *Alenſon*, or Monſieur *Peter* of *Alenſon*, his Brother; in both places it ſhould be *and* for *or* (as I have corrected it) or elſe the Number of the Hoſtages amounts but to 38, and not to 40, as it is here expreſly ſaid.

19. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *France*, within Three Months after he "ſhall be gone from *Calais*, ſhall ſend unto *Calais* for Hoſtages Four Perſons of the "Town of *Paris*, and Two Perſons of every other of the Towns, whoſe Names fol- "low; that is to ſay, of St. *Omers*, *Arras*, *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, *Lille*, *Douay*, *Tournay*, "*Rheims*, *Châlons*, *Troyes*, *Chartres*, *Tholouſe*, *Lyon*, *Orleans*, *Compiegne*, *Rouën*, "*Caën*, *Tours*, and *Bourges*; and that they ſhall be the moſt ſufficient of the ſaid Towns "for the accompliſhment of this preſent Treaty.

20. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *France* ſhall be brought from *England* to "*Calais*, and ſhall ſtay at *Calais* Four Months after his coming; but he ſhall not pay "any thing the Firſt Month becauſe of his Keeping: But for every other Month "following, that he ſhall ſtay at *Calais*, thrô default of himſelf, or of his Subjects, he "ſhall pay for his Keeping ſix Thouſand Ryals, ſuch as are current at this preſent "in *France*, before his Departure from *Calais*; and ſo proportionably for the time he "ſhall ſtay there.

21. "*Item*, It is agreed, that as ſoon as may be, within One Year next after that "the King of *France* ſhall depart from *Calais*, the Lord *John* Earl of *Monford*, ſhall "have the Earldom of *Monford* with all the appurtenances, he doing for the ſame "Liege Homage to the King of *France*, and all ſuch Duties and Services, which a "good and Loyal Liege-Vaſſal ought to do to his Liege Lord, becauſe of the ſaid "Earldom. And alſo his other Heritages ſhall be rendred unto him, which are not "of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, he doing Homage, or other Duty therefore, as it apper- "taineth: And if he will challenge any thing in any of the Inheritances, which are of the "ſaid Dutchy, beſides the Country of *Bretagne*, good and ſpeedy Reaſon ſhall be done "him by the Court of *France*.

22. *Item*, Concerning the Queſtion as to the *Demaine* of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, "which is between the ſaid *John* of *Monford* on the one Party, and *Charles* of *Blois* "on the other Party, it is agreed, that the two Kings having called before them, or "their Deputies, the Principal Parties of *Blois* and *Monford*, ſhall by themſelves, or "Special Deputies, as ſoon as may be, inform themſelves of the Right of both Par- "ties, and do their beſt to ſet them at an Agreement, touching what is in Controverſie "between them. And in caſe the ſaid Kings by themſelves, or their Deputies, ſhall "not be able to bring them to an Agreement within One Year, next after that the "King of *France* ſhall be arrived at *Calais*, then the Friends of the one Party and of "the other ſhall diligently inform themſelves of the Right of the Parties in manner "aboveſaid, and ſhall endeavour to bring the ſaid Parties to an Agreement to the beſt "of their Power, and as ſoon as may be. And if they cannot bring them to an Agree- "ment within half a Year next following, they ſhall then report unto the ſaid two "Kings, or to their Deputies, all that which they ſhall have found about the Right "of the Parties, and touching the points of Diſcord, which ſhall remain between them "both. And then the two Kings by themſelves, or their Special Deputies, as ſoon "as may be, ſhall ſet the ſaid Parties at an Agreement, or ſhall declare their final ſen- "tence about the Right of the one Party and of the other, and the ſame ſhall be put "in Execution by the two Kings. And in caſe they cannot do this within half a "Year next following, then the ſaid Principal Parties of *Blois* and *Montford*, ſhall do "what they ſhall think beſt; and the Friends of the one Part and of the other, ſhall aid "either

"either Part, as they pleaſe, without any Impeachment from the ſaid Kings, and "without any Damage, Blame, or Reproof by either of them at any time for the cauſe "aforeſaid. And if it ſo happen, that one of the ſaid Parties will not ſufficiently ap- "pear before the ſaid Kings, or their Deputies, at the time which ſhall be appointed for "them; And alſo in caſe, that the ſaid Kings, or their Deputies, ſhall have ordain- "ed and declared, that the ſaid Parties ſhould be at concord, or ſhall declare their "ſentence for the Right of the one Party, and either of the ſaid Parties will not a- "gree unto the ſame, nor obey the ſaid Declaration; then both the ſaid Kings ſhall "be againſt him with all their Power, and aid the other Party, which is content to "agree and to obey. But the two Kings ſhall in no caſe, neither in their own pro- "per Perſons, nor by others, make, or enterprize War one againſt the other for the "cauſe aforeſaid: And always the Sovereignty and Homage of the ſaid Dukedom ſhall "remain to the King of *France*.

23. "*Item*, That all the Lands, Countries, Towns, Caſtles, and other Places yield- "ed over to the ſaid Kings, ſhall be in ſuch Liberties and Franchiſes, as they are at "this preſent: And theſe Franchiſes ſhall be confirmed by the ſaid Lords, the Kings, "or by their Succeſſors, and by every of them, ſo often as they ſhall be duly required "thereto; if they be not contrary to this preſent Agreement.

24. *Item*, that the ſaid King of *France*, ſo ſoon as he can, and at the fartheſt "within one Year next after that he ſhall depart from *Calais*, ſhall without deceit ren- "der and cauſe to be rendred *de facto* to Monſieur *Philip* of *Navarre*, and to all his "Publique Adherents, all the Towns, Caſtles, Forts, Lordſhips, Rights, Rents, Pro- "fits, Juriſdictions, and Places whatſoever, which the ſaid Monſieur *Philip*, as well "in his own Right, as in the Right of his Wife, or which the ſaid Adherents, do hold "or ought to hold in the Realm of *France*. Neither ſhall the ſaid King do unto "them at any time, Reproach, Dammage, or Impeachment for any thing done here- "tofore; but ſhall forgive them all Offences and Miſpriſions for the time paſt, by oc- "caſion of the War. And of this they ſhall have his Letters good and ſufficient, ſo "as the ſaid Monſieur *Philip*, and his ſaid Adherents ſhall return to his Homage, do "unto him their Duties, and be unto him Good and Loyal Vaſſals.

25. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *England* for this time only may give un- "to whom it ſhall pleaſe him in Heritage, the Lands and Inheritance, which ſometimes "appertained to *Godfry* of *Harcourt*, to be held of the Duke of *Normandy*, or of any "other Lords, of whom they ſhould be holden of Right, by the Homages and Ser- "vices anciently accuſtomed.

26. "*Item*, It is agreed, that no Perſon, or Country, which have been of the Obedi- "ence of the One Party, and by this Agreement ſhall come to the Obedience of the O- "ther Party, ſhall be Impeached for any thing done in time paſt.

27. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the Lands of the Baniſhed and Adherents of the One "Party and of the Other, and alſo of the Churches of the One Kingdom and of the "Other, and all they, who are diſinherited or expelled from their Lands and Heri- "tages, or are charged with any Penſion, Taillage or Debt, or otherwiſe grieved in any "manner whatſoever, becauſe of this War, ſhall be reſtored intirely to the ſame Rights "and Poſſeſſions, which they had before the War began. And that all manner of "Forfeitures, Debts, and Miſpriſions, done by them or any of them in the mean "time, ſhall be wholly pardon'd; and that theſe things ſhall be done as ſoon as may "be, effectually, and at the fartheſt within one Year next after that the King of *France* "ſhall be gone from *Calais*; excepting what was ſaid in the Article of *Calais* and *Merks*, "and other Places in the ſaid Article named; excepting alſo the Vicount of *Fronſac*, "and Monſieur *John de Galard*, who are not compriſed in this Article; but their "Goods and Heritages ſhall remain in the ſame State, wherein they were before this "preſent Treaty.

28. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *France* ſhall effectually deliver unto the King "of *England*, as ſoon as may be, and at the fartheſt before the Feaſt of St. *Michael* the "Year next coming after his Departure from *Calais*, all the Cities, Towns, Countries, and "other Places abovenamed, which by this preſent Treaty ought to be deliver'd unto the "King of *England*.

29. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the Towns, Forts, and whole County of *Ponthieu*, "the Towns, Forts, and whole County of *Montrevil*, the City and Caſtle of *Sainƈte*, "the Caſtles, Towns, and Forts, and all that which the King holdeth in Demaine in "the Country of *Sainƈtogne*, on this ſide and beyond the *Charente*; the Caſtle and "City of *Angouleſme*; and the Caſtles, Forts, and Towns, which the King of *France* "hold-

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"holdeth in Demaine, in the Country of *Angouleſmois*, with Letters and Mandates of "releaſing of Fees being deliver'd to the King of *England*, or to other eſpecially de- "puted for him; then the King of *England* at his own proper Coſts and Charges, ſhall "deliver all the Forts taken and poſſeſſed by himſelf, his Subjects, Adherents, and Allies, "in the Countries of * *France*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Burgundy*, "*Champaigne*, *Picardy*, and *Normandy*, and in all other Parts, Lands, and Places of "the Realm of *France*, except thoſe of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, and the Countries and "Lands, which by this preſent Treaty ought to belong and remain to the King of *England*.

* *Liſle de la* France.

30. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *France* ſhall cauſe to be deliver'd to the "King of *England*, his Heirs, or Deputies, all the Towns, Caſtles, Forts, and other "Lands, Countries, and Places abovenamed, with their Appurtenances, at the proper "Coſts and Charges of the ſaid King of *France*; And alſo that if he ſhall have any "Rebels, and ſuch as will not obey, to render, yield up, or reſtore to the King of "*England*, any Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Countries, Places, or Forts, which by this "Preſent Treaty ought to appertain unto Him, then the King of *France* ſhall be obli- "ged to cauſe them to be deliver'd to the King of *England* at his own Charges: And "in like manner the King of *England* ſhall cauſe thoſe Forts, which by this preſent "Treaty ought to appertain to the King of *France*, to be deliver'd at his own Charges: "the ſaid Kings and their Subjects with them, ſhall be obliged mutually to aid one a- "nother in this reſpect, if they ſhall be thereto required, at the Wages of the Par- "ty ſo Requiring: Which ſhall be a Floren of *Florence per diem* for a Knight, half "a Floren for an Eſquire, and for others proportionably. And of the ſurplus of double "Wages, it is agreed, that if the pay aforeſaid ſhall be too little, reſpect being had to "the Price of Victuals in the Country, it ſhall be done at the Appointment of Four "Knights elected thereto, that is to ſay, of two on the One Party, and two on "the Other.

31. "*Item*, It is agreed, that all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of "Holy Church ſhall in regard of their Temporalities be ſubject to that King of the two, "under whom they hold their Temporalities: And if they have Temporalities under both "the Kings, they ſhall be ſubject to each of the two Kings, for the Temporalities which "they hold of either of them.

32. "*Item*, It is agreed, that good Alliance, Friendſhip and Confederation ſhall be "made between the two Kings of *France* and of *England*, and their Realms, in main- "taining the Honour and Conſcience of the One King and of the Other, notwithſtanding "any Confederations, which they have on this ſide, or beyond the Sea with any Perſons, "whether of *Scotland* or *Flanders*, or of any other Country whatſoever.

33. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *France* and the Regent, his Eldeſt Son, "for themſelves and for their Heirs, Kings of *France*, ſhall, as much as may be done, "forſake, and altogether depart from the Alliances, which they have with the *Scots*, "and ſhall promiſe, as much as may be, that neither they nor their Heirs, nor the Kings "of *France* for the time being, ſhall give or lend to the King of *Scotland*, or to the "Subjects thereof, preſent, or to come, any aid, favour, or comfort, againſt the ſaid "King of *England*, or againſt his Heirs and Succeſſors, or againſt his Realm or Subjects "in any ſort: And that they ſhall not make any Alliances with the ſaid *Scots* againſt "the ſaid King of *England* and Realm of *England* in time to come. And likewiſe the "King of *England* and his Eldeſt Son, ſo much as it can or may be done, ſhall forſake "and depart from all thoſe Alliances, which they have with the *Flemmings*, and ſhall "promiſe, that neither they, nor their Heirs, nor the Kings of *England* for the time be- "ing, ſhall give or lend to the *Flemmings*, preſent, or to come, any aid, favour, or "comfort againſt the King of *France*, his Heirs, or Succeſſors, or againſt his "Kingdom, or Subjects in any ſort: And that they ſhall not make any Alliances "with the ſaid *Flemmings* againſt the ſaid King and Realm of *France* in time to come.

34. "*Item*, It is agreed, that the Collations and Proviſions made by the One Par- "ty and by the other, of Benefices falling void during the War, ſhall hold good and "remain in Force: And that the Fruits, Iſſues, and Revenues, received and levied "of any Benefices, and other Temporalities whatſoever, in the ſaid Realms of *France* "and *England*, by the One Party, or by the Other, during the ſaid Wars, ſhall be quit- "ted on both ſides.

35. "*Item*, that the Kings aforeſaid ſhall be obliged to cauſe to be confirmed all the "Matters aforeſaid by our Holy Father the Pope, and they ſhall be Ratified by Oaths, "Sentences, and Cenſures of the Court of *Rome*, and by all other Tyes in the "moſt binding manner that may be: And there ſhall be obtained from the Court

of

"of *Rome*, Diſpenſations, Abſolutions, and Letters, touching the Accompliſh-
"ment and Perfection of this Preſent Treaty; and they ſhall be deliver'd to the
"Parties, at the fartheſt within three Weeks after the King ſhall be Arrived at
"*Calais*.

36. "*Item*, That all the Subjects of the ſaid Kings, which will ſtudy at the ſtudies
"and Univerſities of the Realms of *France* and of *England*, ſhall enjoy the Privileges
"and Liberties of the ſaid ſtudies and Univerſities, in like manner, as they might have
"done before the Preſent Wars, and as they do at preſent.

37. "*Item*, To the end, that the Matters aforeſaid treated and diſcourſed, may be
"more ſtable, firm and valid, there ſhall be done and given theſe Confirmations fol-
"lowing, that is to ſay, Letters ſealed with the Seals of the ſaid Kings, and of their
"Eldeſt Sons, the beſt that can be made by the Councils of the ſaid Kings: And the
"ſaid Kings, and their Eldeſt Sons, and their other Children, and others of the Line-
"age of the ſaid Kings, and other Noblemen of their Realms, to the number of Twen-
"ty, on either Party ſhall ſwear, that they will obſerve and endeavour to maintain, as
"much as concerneth each of them, without fraud or deceit, the ſaid Matters treated
"and agreed on; and accompliſh them without ever going to the Contrary, and with-
"out empeaching the performance thereof: And if there be any Perſons of the ſaid
"Realms of *France* and of *England*, who ſhall rebell, or will not accord to the Pre-
"miſes, the ſaid Kings ſhall uſe all their ſaid Power of Body, Goods and Counſel, to
"reduce the ſaid Rebels to true Obedience, according to the Form and Tenor of the
"ſaid Treaty. And moreover the ſaid Kings ſhall ſubmit themſelves, their Heirs and
"Realms to the Correction of our Holy Father the Pope, that he may conſtrain by
"Sentences and Cenſures of the Church, and other due ways, Him who ſhall rebell,
"according as Reaſon ſhall require. And among the Confirmations and Securities afore-
"ſaid, the ſaid Kings and their Heirs ſhall renounce by Faith and by Oath all War and all
"Proceedure of Fact: And if thrô the Diſobedience, Rebellion, or Power of any Subjects of
"the Realm of *France*, or any juſt Cauſe, the King of *France*, or his Heirs or any of them
"ſhall not be able to accompliſh all the Premiſes, the King of *England* and his Heirs, or any
"of them, ſhall not nor ought not to make War againſt the ſaid King of *France*, nor his
"Heirs, nor his Realm; but both together ſhall endeavour to bring the Rebels to true O-
"bedience, and to accompliſh the Premiſes: And if any of the Realm or Obeiſance of the
"King of *England* will not reſtore the Caſtles, Towns or Forts which they hold in
"the Realm of *France*, and obey the Treaty aforeſaid, or for juſt cauſe cannot accom-
"pliſh that, which *He* ought to do by this preſent Treaty, neither the King of *France*,
"nor his Heirs, nor any for them, ſhall make any War upon the King of *England* or
"his Realm, but both together ſhall put to their Power, to recover the Caſtles, Forts
"and Towns aforeſaid, and to be a Means, that all Obedience and Accompliſhment
"may be done to the foreſaid Treaties: And there ſhall alſo be done and given of
"the one Party and of the Other, according to the Nature of the Fact, all manner of
"Confirmations and Securities, that they can think on or deviſe, as well by the
"Pope, and the College of the Court of *Rome* as otherwiſe, perpetually to hold and
"preſerve the Peace, and all other Matters here-above recorded.

38. "*Item*, It is agreed by the preſent Treaty and Accord, that all other Accords, Treaties
"or Conferences, if any have been made or debated in time paſt, ſhall be null and of no
"Force, and altogether made void; neither may the Parties at any time relieve them-
"ſelves, nor make any Complaint the one againſt the other, on occaſion of the ſaid
"Treaties or Accords, if any ſuch hath been as is ſaid.

39. "*Item*, That this preſent Treaty ſhall be approved, ſworn and confirmed by
"the two Kings at *Calais*, when they ſhall be there in Proper Perſon: And after that
"the King of *France* ſhall be gone from *Calais*, and ſhall be within his own Power,
"the ſaid King of *France*, within one Month next following his ſaid Departure, ſhall
"make Letters Patents Confirmatory of the ſame, and ſuch others as ſhall ſeem ne-
"ceſſary, and ſhall ſend and deliver them at *Calais* to the ſaid King of *England* or
"his Deputies in the ſaid Place: And alſo the ſaid King of *England*, when he receives
"the ſaid Letters Confirmatory, ſhall deliver back his Letters Confirmatory, like unto
"them, to the King of *France*.

40. "*Item*, It is agreed, that neither of the Kings ſhall procure, or cauſe to be pro-
"cured by Himſelf or Others, that any Innovations or Grievances be done by the
"Church of *Rome*, or others of Holy Church, whoſoever they be, againſt this preſent
"Treaty, upon either of the ſaid Kings, their Coadjutors, Adherents or Allies what-
"ſoever; nor upon their Lands or Subjects, by occaſion of War, nor for other Cauſe,

"nor

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"nor for Services, which the ſaid Coadjutors, Adherents or Allies have done to the "ſaid Kings, or any of them: And if our ſaid Holy Father the Pope, or any other "would do ſo; the two ſaid Kings ſhall hinder it to their Power ſincerely without fraud.

41. "*Item*, Concerning the Hoſtages which ſhall be deliver'd to the King of *Eng-* "*land* at *Calais*, and concerning the Manner and Time of their Departure, the two "Kings ſhall determin at *Calais*.

XI. Theſe Articles being thus agreed on, firſt by the Commiſſioners of King *Edward*, and of the Regent of *France*, were alſo after that allowed by both the Principals; thô the Regent is ſaid to have yielded thereto in a manner by Force and Conſtraint, becauſe he ſaw the Realm was no longer able to ſubſiſt, amidſt thoſe Deſolations and Ruines which the War brought. However ſending back the Teſtimony of his Hand and Seal, that he had conſented thereto, in order to the full Completion of this Treaty, a Truce was taken to continue between the two Kings, their Adherents and Confederates, from that time to the Feaſt of St. *Michael* then next following, and from thence on for a Year; that ſo all Matters in order to a firm and perpetual Peace, might be duely and rightly deviſed and eſtabliſhed. The mean while, till King *John* might be at Liberty, only the two Eldeſt Sons of the Kings were ſolemnly ſworn to uphold and maintain this Agreement; and firſt the Prince of *Wales* ordained on his Part [y] Four Barons of *England*, that is to ſay, the Lord *Ralph Stafford*, Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *Guy Brian*, and the Lord *Roger Beauchamp* of *Bletſo*, who were received into *Paris*, as Meſſengers from Heaven, all the Bells ringing, and the People thronging the ſtreets as to ſee a Triumph; all the Street where they paſſed [z] being ſpread and tapiſtred (if we may believe it) with Cloth of Gold. They went ſtraight to the Palace, where the Regent, his Brethren, and their Uncle with many Lords and Prelates received them honourably: *Du Cheſne* ſays, that here in the Great Hall in preſence of all the People, the *Engliſh* Lords made their Oath, and ſware in the Name of the King their Maſter, and of his Sons, upon the Holy Euchariſt, and upon the Holy Evangeliſts, to accompliſh and hold the ſaid Articles. From the Hall they were conducted to a Magnificent Feaſt, and from thence to the Chappel, where the Regent ſhewed them many Jewels and Relicts, and preſented them with one Great Thorn, which was believed to have belonged to the Crown of our Saviour. After this they return'd, and the Regent on his Part deputed Four Nobles of *France*, who went immediately after to *Louviers* in *Normandy*, where at that time the Prince of *Wales* was, and there made for him the ſame Oath in Preſence of the ſaid Prince.

[y] *Tillet* has ſix, and *Fab.*

[z] *Du Cheſne p.* 692. *C.*

But it is my Opinion, that theſe Lords on each Side went rather to take the Oath firſt of the Dauphin, and then of the *Black-Prince*, as moſt other Writers affirm; the manner whereof [a] *Walſingham* thus deſcribes, "That at *Paris* in the time of Low Maſs, "when they had thrice ſang, *O Lamb of God which takeſt away the ſins of the World*, "*Grant us thy Peace*, *Charles* the Dauphin and Regent of *France*, went up to the Al- "tar, and laying his Right Hand on the Paten, wherein lay the Holy Euchariſt, and "his Left on the Goſpel, he took his Oath in theſe Words, *We* Charles *do ſwear upon* "*the Holy Body and the Goſpels of our Lord, firmly what in us lies, to keep this Peace* "*and Concord, thus formed between the two Kings, and by no means to go againſt the* "*ſame. So help Us, &c.* And the like Oath was afterwards taken by the Prince of *Wales* in preſence of Four Barons of *France*, in the Church of *Louviers* in *Normandy*. Of both which there were made Letters Patents, bearing Date that at *Paris* on the *Tenth* Day of *May*, and the other at *Louviers* on the *Sixteenth* of the ſaid Month *Anno Domini* MCCCLX. Who brake this Sacred and Solemn Oath firſt, we ſhall ſee hereafter, and throughly diſcuſs the Occaſion, which I doubt will appear too frivolous to be excuſed in that manner, as is done by ſome *French* Hiſtorians.

[a] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 167. *& Hypod. p.* 527. *vid. Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum.* §. 1. *Fabian p.* 241. *&c.*

This mean while the *Pariſians*, [b] by the *Dauphins* good Leave, redeemed the Forteſſes of *Herelle*, *la Neufville* in *Haye*, *Pont St. Maixence*, *Lyhon*, *Freſcheville*, *Deiteville*, *Baſlieu le Sicq*, *Chevreuſe*, and *la Ferte ſous Jouërre*, becauſe of their Importance, for the price and Summ of 24000 Florens of Gold, of the Coin of King *Philip* of *Valois*, which they paid to the Earl of *Warwick* and the Captal of *Buſche*, not enduring to ſtay, till the Peace being confirmed, they ſhould be rendred *gratis*.

[b] *Du Cheſne p.* 692.

XII. Within a few Days after the firſt Form made at *Bretigny* was eſtabliſhed, King *Edward* being ſincerely deſirous to haſten the Accompliſhment and Perfection thereof, having raiſed his Camp from about *Chartres*, marched by *Pont de L' Arche* over the *Seyne*, and by *Abbeville* over the *Soame* in peaceable manner, and ſo went to *Calais*, where he gave order for the embarquing his Men. In this Town he made his Offerings, and paid his Devotion in the Church of St. *Mary*, after which repairing to the

Port

Port of *Harfleur* in *Normandy*, he thence took Shipping with his Sons for *England*, and landed at [c] *Rye* in *Kent*, on the 18 Day of *May* in the Evening, having left the Earl of *Warwick* to look to his Men of War at *Calais*, in *Guienne* and elſewhere, and to ſee that on his Part the Peace, which had been already proclaimed thrô *France*, was duely kept. AN. DOM. 1360. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIV. *Franciæ* XXI.

The next Day the King being come to *London*, [d] cauſed King *John* to be brought privately from the Tower to his Palace of *Weſtminſter*, in the Chappel whereof he ſhew'd him the Treaty made and ſworn to by the Regent his Son, whereat he, who deſired nothing more than Liberty, at what Price or Compoſition ſoever he obtained it, thanked God for his Bounty and Goodneſs in this matter, and readily agreed to ratifie and confirm it in his own Perſon. After this he rode with the Prince of *Wales* from *London* to *Windſor* to pay a Viſit to the Queen, and having received many great and ſplendid Entertainments from the King, he return'd again to *London*, and paid his Devotion at the Famous Cathedral of St. *Pauls*, where he made large and Princely Offerings [e] at the Shrine of St. *Erkenwald* once Biſhop of *London*, it having been newly Beautified about 3 Years before. The manner whereof, as well in Memory of that Prince's Piety, as for the rarity of the Matter, and alſo that thereby we may make a gueſs at the great Wealth of the ſeveral Shrines in thoſe Days, we ſhall here more particularly ſet down: King *John* therefore at this time having heard Maſs at the High Altar, made his Approach very devoutly to the Shrine of St. *Erkenwald*, where he offer'd 12 Nobles; at the *Annunciation* he laid down 12 more, at the *Crucifix* near the North-Door 26 Floren Nobles, at his firſt Approach to the High Altar Four Baſons of Gold, and at the hearing of Maſs after the Offertory, he gave the Dean then Officiating, 5 Floren-Nobles; and laſtly, he gave in the Chapter-Houſe 50 Floren-Nobles, to be diſtributed among the Officers of the Church.

[c] *Aſhmole p.* 662.
[d] *Du Cheſne p.* 692.
[e] *Dugd. Hiſt. Cathedr. St.* Paul *p.* 21,22.

The mean while King *Edward* [g] iſſued out his Warrant, bearing Date the 17 of *June*, to the Lord *John Beauchamp*, then Conſtable of *Dover*-Caſtle, and of the Cinque-Ports, forthwith to arreſt and equip a ſufficient Number of Ships to carry over King *John* and his Family to *Calais* within the time agreed on; and accordingly all things being now ready for his Departure, he was by King *Edward* himſelf honourably conducted to the Sea-ſide, the Lord *Philip* his Son, and the other Lords of *France*, Priſoners, being with him. He embarqued at the *Downs*, being attended by the *Black-Prince*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *John Chandos*, and many other Great Barons, who all arrived at *Calais* on the *Ninth* of *July*, where the King was honourably received and lodged in the Caſtle, there to expect King *Edwards* Coming.

[g] *Aſhmole p.* 662.

XIII. Now before theſe Things were brought thus far, the Pope, having heard how forward the Peace between the two Realms was, ſent his Letters to King *Edward*, [h] bearing Date *Prid. Non. Julii*, *An°. Pontif. VIII.* Wherein he expreſſes his great Joy for the happy Proſpect of a laſting Peace, and quickens the King to a Conſummation of the Affair; and that he would ſhew himſelf not only Willing, but Liberal, as to the Redemption of the *French* King.

[h] *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an.* §. 2. *ex Tom.* 8. *p.* 1. *Epiſt. Secr. P.* 93.

All this while was King *John* at *Calais*, but King *Edward* remained ſtill in *England*, till he might hear, that the firſt Payment was in ſome readineſs for Him: For it is to be remembred, that, according to the XIV Article, there ought to be paid Six Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold, before King *John* could be permitted to go from *Calais*: A great Summ, and which could not ſoon be collected by his Officers, thô but a ſmall Part of that exceſſive Summ of 3000000, which amounting to 500000 *l. Sterling*, was ſo vaſt a Matter in thoſe Days, that it [i] is thought to have given occaſion for this *French* Proverb, *J'ay payé tous mes Anglois*, i. e. *I have paid all my Engliſh*, that is, my Creditors, which is us'd, when with much ado a great and heavy Debt is fully cleared. Wherefore King *John* was [k] forced now to ſtay almoſt 3 Months of the limited Four, e'r he could raiſe the foreſaid Summ, during which time notwithſtanding, he had frequently News from the *Dauphin* and his other Children, who at his deſire were now at *Amiens*. 'Tis ſaid, [l] that Prince *Galeas*, Lord of *Milain*, and of divers other Towns in *Lombardy*, furniſhed this Firſt Payment, on Condition, that King *John* ſhould give one of his Daughters for a Wife to his Son *John*, with the Earldom of *Vertus* for her Dowry: And we find, that his Third Daughter *Iſabella* was ſhortly after married to the ſaid *John Galeas*.

[i] *Vid. Cotgrave's* Preface to *French Diction. p.* 5.
[k] *Du Cheſne p.* 693.
[l] *Du Cheſne ib. Mezeray ad an.* 1361.

XIV. However the greater Part of the Firſt Payment being now at laſt ready, and all thoſe who ought to be Hoſtages for the Reſt, being rendred up at St. *Omers*, King *Edward* preſently embarqued for *France*, and on the [m] 9 of *October* being a *Fryday*, arrived ſafely at *Calais*. Upon his Arrival he went ſtraight to the Caſtle to viſit King

[m] *Fabian p.* 242 *b.* ED. Lit. Dom.

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John, who welcom'd him with a loving and cheerfull Countenance, agreeable to that ſincerity, whereof he was a profeſſed Maſter. As King *Edward* was taking his leave to retire to his Lodgings prepared for him in the Town, King *John* deſired him to come the next Day with his Sons and take a Dinner with him. The Invitation King *Edward* accepted, but entreated that it might be deferred till the *Monday* following; and ſo that Day, being the 12 of *October* was fixed. At Dinner-time King *Edward* had the Firſt Seat, and held State, next to him ſat the *French* King, thirdly the *Black-Prince*, and laſtly the Duke of *Lancaſter*: No more ſitting at Table. While they were at Dinner, the Earl of *Flanders* came to the Caſtle, to pay a Viſit to both the Kings; but eſpecially to congratulate the Return of King *John*, who received him with all imaginable Kindneſs. When this Royal Entertainment was over, Two of the King of *Englands* younger Sons, and two of the *French* Kings, took leave of their Fathers and rode towards *Boulogne*, where at that time the *Dauphin* was. He met them half way, and conducted them the other half to *Boulogne*, where they all reſted that night: The next Morning the *Dauphin* having left the two *Engliſh* Princes there, as it were Pledges for his Security, rode himſelf forth to *Calais*; firſt he waited on his Father, and afterwards both his Father and he went to King *Edwards* Palace to Dinner, where they were received with much Honour, and entertain'd at a moſt Royal Feaſt. On the *Wedneſday*, being the 14 of *October*, the ſaid *Dauphin* took his leave of King *Edward* and of the King his Father, and rode back to *Boulogne*, upon whoſe ſafe Return King *Edwards* two Sons rode back again to *Calais*.

On the *Saturday* Seven-night after, which was the 24 of *October*, the Peace was fully ſworn to, and eſtabliſhed by the two Kings in this manner; The Two Kings being ſeated in two diſtinct Traverſes in the Church of St. *Nicolas* at *Calais*, High Maſs was ſung before them by *Androine* Abbot of *Cluigny*, to the Offering whereof neither of the Kings came. But when the *Pax* came to be kiſſed (by which Ceremony was ſignified, that the Peace of *Chriſt* ſhould ever remain between them, They to love each other as *Chriſtian* Princes, after his Command and Example) the *French* King, to whom it was firſt carried, refuſed it in Modeſty, after which King *Edward* not admitting it in Generoſity; King *John* roſe firſt, and went toward King *Edward*, who being aware thereof, roſe up haſtily and ran to meet him, where both again refuſing the *Pax*, they kiſſed each other with hearty Demonſtrations of a mutual Friendſhip.

At this Maſs both the Kings were ſeverally ſworn in Solemn Manner to maintain truly and perpetually the Articles of the ſaid Peace: And for the further Security thereof, many of the Chief Lords of both Realms were ſworn to help to preſerve the ſame to their Powers; eſpecially the [n] two Eldeſt Sons of *England* and *France*; and at the ſame time the Duke of *Orleans* in the Name of King *John*, and Prince *Philip* of *Navarre* in the Name of the King his Brother, ſware to forget all Injuries on both Sides, and to cultivate a mutual Friendſhip for the future: Theſe Oaths were thus taken both on the Evangeliſts and on the Euchariſt; and the two Kings received the Sacrament in both kinds thereupon. And they were ſo well ſatisfied with the Conduct of the foreſaid Abbot, [o] that they jointly requeſted of the Pope to beſtow on him a Cardinals Cap, for his diligent and effectual Service therein. And thô we find the Pope in his Anſwer deſires on certain Accounts to be excuſed for the preſent, yet it is certain, [p] that at the next Creation which happen'd the Year after, he was made a Cardinal of the Title of St. *Marcellus*.

[n] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an.* §. 3.

[o] *Odor. Rainal. ibid.*

[p] *Victorell. ad an.* 1361. *p.* 917

At the ſame time the Hoſtages (who according to the 15 and 18 Articles, were to be deliver'd, as well for the Security of the Payment of the Kings Ranſom, as of the Reſtoration of thoſe Places, which as yet were not put into the *Engliſh* Hands) were deliver'd unto King *Edward*; and alſo there were then paid unto him [q] 400000 Scutes of Gold, in Part of the Firſt 600000, King *Edward* giving further time for the Payment of the remaining 200000, till *Chriſtmas* and *Lady-Day* following. Which done, both the Kings gave forth interchangeably their Letters Patents concerning theſe things, all bearing one Date, and containing one Form, only *Mutatis Mutandis*. The Tenor of King *Edwards* (wherein he lays by his Title of *France*) being as followeth, *viz.*

[q] *Aſhmole p.* 662. *ex Rot. de Tract. Pacis, &c.*

XV. "*EDWARD*, * by the Grace of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland* "and of *Aquitain*, to all, unto whom theſe Letters ſhall come, Greeting. We give "you to underſtand, that of all the Diſſenſions, Debates and Diſcords moved or here- "after to be moved, between Us and our Right Dear Brother the *French* King, certain "Commiſſioners and Deputies of ours, and of our Dear Son the Prince of *Wales*, ha- "ving ſufficient Power and Authority for Us, and for Him, and for our whole Realm "on

* *Froiſ. c.* 212. *fol.* 105.

"on the one Party, and certain other Commiſſioners and Deputies of our Dear Brother "the *French* King, and of our Dear Nephew, *Charles* Duke of *Normandy* and *Dauphin* of "*Vienna*, Eldeſt Son to our ſaid Brother of *France*, having Power and Authority for his "Father and for Himſelf, on the other Party, were aſſembled at *Bretigny* near to *Char-* "*tres*. At which place it was agreed and accorded by the ſaid Commiſſioners and "Deputies of either Party, upon all Diſſentions, Debates, Wars and Diſcords what- "ſoever; And the Deputies of Us and of our Son, for Us and for Him, and alſo the "Deputies of our ſaid Brother, and of our ſaid Nephew for them both, did ſwear upon "the Holy Evangeliſts to hold, keep and accompliſh this Treaty: By the which Accord, "among other things, our Brother of *France* and his ſaid Son are bound, and promiſe "[r] to deliver and reſign unto Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, all the Counties, [r] Article 1.
"Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Forts, Lands, Iſles, Rents, Revenues and other things as "followeth (beſides that which already We have and hold in *Guienne* and in *Gaſ-* "*cogne*) to poſſeſs for ever, both Us, and our Heirs and Succeſſors, all that is in De- "main in Demain, and all that is in Fee in Fee, by the Times and in the Manner hereaf- "ter ſpecified; that is to ſay, the City, Caſtle and County of *Poictiers*, and all the "Land and County of *Poictou*, with the Fief of *Thoüars*, and the Land of *Belleville*, "the City and Caſtle of *Saintes*, and all the Land and Country of *Saintogne*, on both "ſides the River *Charente*, with the Town and Fortreſs of *Rochelle* and their Appur- "tenances: The City and Caſtle of *Agen*, and the Country of *Agenois*, the City and "Caſtle of *Perigeux*, and all the Country thereto belonging; the City and Caſtle of "*Limoges*, and the Lands and Country of *Limoſin*; the City and Caſtle of *Cahors*, "and the Land and Country of *Quercy*; the City, Caſtle and Country of *Tarbe*; the "Land, Country and Earldom of *Bigorre*; the County, Land and Country of *Guare*; "the City and Caſtle of *Angouleſme*, and the County, Land and Country of *Angouleſ-* "*mois*; the City and Caſtle of *Rodes*, and the Land and Country of *Rouvergue*; and "if there be any Lords in the Dutchy of *Guienne*, as the Earl of *Foix*, the Earl of "*Armagnac*, the Earl of *Liſle*, the Vicount of *Carmaine*, the Earl of *Perigort*, the Vi- "count of *Limoges* or Others, holding any Lands within the foreſaid Bounds, they ſhall "do Homage, and all other Services and Duties, due and accuſtomed for their Lands "and Places, unto Us, in like manner and form as they have done in time paſſed, as "We or any other Kings of *England* anciently have had. And alſo [t] in the Town of [t] Article 2.
"*Monſtrevil* upon the Sea we are to have, as either We or other Kings of *England* "in time paſt have had; and in the Lands of *Monſtrevil* our Brother of *France* pro- "miſeth to make a Declaration thereof unto Us, as ſpeedily as he can, after his coming "into *France*: And alſo the County [t] of *Ponthieu* entirely, ſave and excepted, if any [t] Article 3.
"thing be alienated away by any of the Kings of *England* in time paſt, whereby the "ſaid County and Appurtenances have been holden by other Perſons than the *French* "Kings, neither our ſaid Brother, nor his Succeſſors ſhall be obliged to render them "unto Us. But if the ſaid Alienations have been done by the *French* Kings for the "time being, without any Mean, and our ſaid Brother now have them in his Poſſeſſi- "on, he ſhall leave them entirely to Us; except that the *French* Kings have had them "in Exchange for other Lands. But if the Kings of *England* for the time being "have alienated, or conveyed any thing to any other Perſon, than to the *French* Kings, "and they peradventure are now devolved into the hands of our ſaid Brother, then he ſhall "not be obliged to reſtore them unto Us. He is alſo to render unto Us all ſuch things "as ought to pay any Homage to Us, and to our Succeſſors, and if they owed not Ho- "mage unto Us and to our Succeſſors, then he ſhall put in a Tenant, who ſhall do Us "Service within a Year after he ſhall be departed from *Calais*. Alſo [u] the Caſtle and [u] Article 4.
"Town of *Calais*, the Caſtle, Town and Lordſhip of *Merks*, the Towns, Caſtles and "Lordſhips of *Sangate*, *Coulogne*, *Ham*, *Wale* and *Oye*, with the Lands, Woods, Ma- "riſhes, Rivers, Rents, Revenues, Lordſhips, Advouſons of Churches, and all other "Appurtenances and Places, lying within the Bounds and Limits following, that is to "ſay, from *Calais* to the River before *Graveling*; and alſo from the River that falleth "into the great Lake of *Guiſnes*, as far as *Fretun*, and thence along the Valley about "*Calculi*-Hill, encloſing that Hill, and ſo to the Sea, with *Sangate* and all its Appur- "tenances. Alſo the [x] Caſtle, Town and whole Earldom of *Guiſnes*, with all the [x] Article 5.
"Towns, Caſtles, Forts, Lands, Places, Homages, Men, Seignories, Woods, Foreſts "and all Rights to them belonging, as entirely as the Town of *Calais*, of *Merks*, and "other Places before-named, as well to obey Us, as they have obeyed our ſaid Bro- "ther, or the Earl of *Guiſnes* for the time being: And that the Churches of the good "People being within the Limitations of the ſaid Earldom of *Guiſnes*, of *Calais* and

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"*Merk*, and of other Places aboveſaid, ſhall obey the King of *England* in like manner, as they have obey'd either the King of *France*, or the Earl of *Guiſnes*: All which things of *Merk* and *Calais* being contained in this preſent Article, and the Article next preceding, We to hold in Demain, except the Heritage of the Churches, which ſhall ſtill remain entirely to the ſaid Churches whereſoever they be; and alſo except the Heritage of other People of *Merk* and *Calais*, under the value of an 100 *l.* Land *per annum*, of Money currant in that Country, which Inheritances ſhall remain to them even to the Value aboveſaid and under. But the Habitations and Inheritances within the Town of *Calais*, with their Appurtenances, ſhall abide ſtill to the Inhabitants: And alſo in the Lands, Towns and Earldom of *Guiſnes*, all their Demains ſhall ſtill remain unto them, except what hath been ſaid before, of the foreſaid Limits and Bounds in the Article of *Calais*: Alſo [y] all the Iſles adjacent to the Lands, Countries and Places before-named, with all other Iſles, the which we held at the time of the ſaid Treaty. And it is agreed, [z] that our ſaid Brother and his Eldeſt Son, ſhould renounce all manner of Soveraignty, Reſort and Rights, that he or either of them ſhould have; and that We ſhall hold them as his Neighbour without any Reſort or Soveraignty to our ſaid Brother, or to the Realm of *France*; and all the Right that our ſaid Brother hath in the foreſaid Things, he yieldeth and conveyeth unto Us for ever. And alſo it is agreed, that We likewiſe, and our ſaid Son do expreſly renounce all things, that ought not to be granted unto Us by this Treaty; and eſpecially the Name, Right and Title to the Crown of *France*, and to the Realm, and to the Homage and Soveraignty thereof; as alſo to the Demain of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, of the County of *Touraine*, of the Counties of *Anjou* and of *Maine*; and of the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, except the Right of the Earl of *Montford*, which he ought to have or might have in the Dutchy and Country of *Bretagne*, the which we reſerve, and by expreſs Words put clean out of this Treaty: Saving, that We and our ſaid Brother, when we come to *Calais*, ſhall order that Matter by Advice of our Councils there as we hope, ſo as to ſettle Peace and Concord between the ſaid Earl of *Montford*, and our Couſin the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who challengeth and demandeth the Right to the Heritage of *Bretagne*; And We renounce all other Demands that we do or may make whatſoever they be, except ſuch things aforeſaid, as ought to remain unto Us, and to be deliver'd unto Us by Vertue of this Treaty: And that We transfer and convey away all the Right, which We might have in any of theſe Things, that ought not to be delivered to Us by Vertue of this Treaty: Concerning all which Things, after divers Alterations about the ſame, eſpecially becauſe the ſaid Renuntiation, Conveyance, Quitting and Leaving of all the ſaid Things ſhould be accompliſhed, as ſoon as our ſaid Brother hath deliver'd unto Us or to our Deputies, the City and Caſtle of *Poictiers*, with all the Land and County of *Poictou*, and the Fee of *Thoüars*; the City and Caſtle of *Agen*, and all the Land and Country of *Agenois*; the City and Caſtle of *Perigeux*, and all the Land and Country of *Perigord*; the City and Caſtle of *Cahors*, and all the Land of *Quercy*; the City and Caſtle of *Rodes*, and all the Land and Country of *Rouvergue*; the City and Caſtle of *Sainctes*, and all the Land thereunto belonging; the City and Caſtle of *Limoges*; and whatever We, or any of the Kings of *England* anciently held in the Town of *Monſtrevil* with the Appurtenances; alſo the County of *Ponthieu* whole and entirely; ſave and except, according to the Tenor of the Article contained in the ſaid Treaty, where it maketh mention of the ſaid County; alſo the Caſtle and Town of *Calais*, and the Caſtle, Town and Lordſhip of *Sangate*, *Coulogne*, *Hames*, *Wale* and *Oye*, with the Lands, Rivers, Mariſhes, Woods, Rents, Lordſhips, and other things contained in the Article thereof making mention: Alſo the Caſtle, Town and whole County of *Guiſnes*, with all the Lands, Caſtles, Towns, Forts, Places, Men, Homages, Lordſhips, Woods, Foreſts and other Rights, according to the Tenor of the Article thereof, making mention more plainly in the ſaid Treaty; with the Iſles that we hold already, that is to ſay, at the time of the ſaid Treaty and Peace, [I ſay concerning all theſe Things] We and our Brother the *French* King, have promiſed by Faith and Oath each to other, the ſame Treaty and Peace to hold, keep and accompliſh, and not to do any thing contrary thereto; and both We, and our ſaid Brother, and our Eldeſt Sons are mutually bound by Obligation and Promiſe, by Faith and Oath, the one Part to the Other, except certain mutual Renuntiations, according to the Tenor and Form of the ſaid Articles and Peace as followeth; * *Item*, it is agreed, that the King of *France*, and his Eldeſt Son the Regent, for them and for their Heirs for ever, as ſoon as may be, and at the far-

[y] Article 6.

[z] Article 7.

* Article 8. &c.

"theſt

"theſt by the Feaſt of St. *Michael* next coming in one Year, without Fraud or Deceit "ſhall render, yield and deliver to the ſaid King of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, "and convey unto them all the Honours, Obediences, Homages, Allegiances, Vaſſa- "lages, Fiefs, Services, Recogniſances, Rights, Fealties and Imperial Juriſdictions, "High or Low, Reſorts, Safeguards, Advouſons, Patronages of Churches, Lordſhips "and Sovereignties, that appertain or may appertain in any manner of wiſe to the Kings, "and to the Crown of *France*, or to any other Perſon, becauſe of the King or of the "Crown of *France* whereſoever it be, in Cities, Towns, Caſtles, Lands, Iſles, Coun- "tries and Places before-named, or in any of them, or their Appurtenances and Appen- "dages whatſoever, whether Dukes, Earls, Vicounts, Archbiſhops or other Prelates of "Holy Church, Barons, Nobles and others; nothing thereof being to the Kings or "Succeſſors of the Crown of *France* reſerved; ſo that neither They, nor any of their "Heirs or Succeſſors, nor any *French* Kings, nor Others by reaſon of the King or "Crown of *France*, make any Challenge or Demand in time to come of the King of "*England*, his Heirs or Succeſſors, or any of his Men or Subjects aforeſaid, becauſe of "the ſaid Countries or Places: So that all Perſons aforeſaid, their Heirs and Succeſ- "ſors, and all other Perſons, Cities, Counties, Lands, Countries, Iſles, Caſtles and "Places aforeſaid, and all their Appurtenances and Appendages ſhall hold of the King "of *England* perpetually, peaceably and freely; the ſaid King of *England* to have o- "ver them Dominion, Sovereignty, Obeiſance, Allegiance and Jurisdiction, as the Pre- "deceſſors of the *French* King have had in time paſt; and that the Kings of *England*, "their Heirs and Succeſſors ſhall have and hold peaceably all the foreſaid Countries, in "their full Franchiſes and Liberties for ever, as Lords and Liege Sovereigns, and as "Neighbours to the King and Realm of *France*, without Acknowledging of any Sove- "reignty, Obeiſance, Homage, Reſort or Subjection, and without doing in time to "come any manner of Service or Recogniſance to the King, or to the Crown of *France* "for the Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Countries, Lands, Iſles, Places and Perſons be- "fore-named, or for any of them. Alſo it is accorded, that the *French* King and his Eldeſt "Son ſhall expreſly Renounce the ſaid Reſorts and Sovereignty, and all the Right that "they have or may have in all theſe Things, ſuch as by this preſent Treaty ought to "appertain to the King of *England*; and in like manner the King of *England* and his "Eldeſt Son Renounceth all things, ſuch as by this preſent Treaty ought not to be "deliver'd unto him, and Renounceth all other Demands of the Realm of *France*, and "eſpecially the Name, Right, Claim and Arms of the Crown and Realm of *France*; "the Homage, Sovereignty and Demain of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and of the "Dutchy of *Touraine*, and of the Counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and of the Sovereign- "ty and Homage of the Earldom and County of *Flanders*, and all other Demands, "which the King of *England* made at the time of the ſaid Claim, or might make in "time to come to the ſaid Realm of *France*, by any manner of Cauſe whatſoever; "except all that by this Treaty ought to be deliver'd to the King of *England* and his "Heirs: And they to transfer, convey and mutually quit each King to the Other, for e- "ver all the Right, which they ought otherwiſe to have in theſe things, which by this "preſent Treaty are to be deliver'd to each of them, at the Time and Place when and "where the ſaid Renunciations ſhall be exchanged. And becauſe, that our ſaid Bro- "ther of *France* and his Eldeſt Son, to hold and perform the Articles of the ſaid Peace, "have expreſly Renounced the Reſorts and Sovereignties compriſed in the ſaid Articles, "and all the Right which they ought to have or might have, in all the ſaid things which "our ſaid Brother hath deliver'd and left unto Us; and all other things which from "henceforth ſhall abide and pertain to Us by Vertue of the ſaid Treaty and Peace; We "alſo in like manner expreſly renounce all ſuch Things, as by the ſaid Treaty are not "to be deliver'd unto Us or to our Heirs: And likewiſe all Demands that we have "made, or might make of our ſaid Brother of *France*; and particularly the Name and "Right of the Crown and Realm of *France*; the Homage, Sovereignty and Demain "of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and of the Dutchy of *Touraine*, and of the Counties "of *Anjou* and *Maine*; and the Homage and Sovereignty of the Earldom of *Flanders*, "and all other Demands that we have made, or might make of our ſaid Brother, for "whatſoever cauſe it be, ever except all that, which by this preſent Treaty ought to "remain to Us and to our Heirs. And We ſhall transfer, convey and leave to Him, "and He to Us, and ſo mutually each to Other, in the beſt manner, and as ſpeedily as "We may, all ſuch Right, as Each of Us ought or may have in every thing, which by "this Treaty and Peace ought to abide and remain with, and to be deliver'd to each "other of Us: Reſerving ſtill to the Churches and to Men of the Church, all that

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"which

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"which to them appertaineth or may appertain; and all that is uſurped and withheld "from them by Occaſion of the Wars, ſhall be again recompenced, reſtored and deli- "ver'd: And alſo all the Towns, Forts and Habitations, with the Dwellers in them "ſhall remain and abide in their full Liberties and Franchiſes, as they did before they "came into our Hands and Dominion, and that to be confirmed unto them by our "ſaid Brother of *France*, if he ſhall be required ſo to do; and that We do not the "contrary in any of the foreſaid Things or Subjections. And as to Us and all things "to Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors pertaining, We ſubmit our Selves (in this Point) "to the Juriſdiction and Coercion of the Church of *Rome*; and We will and conſent, "that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhall confirm all theſe things, in giving Monitions and Ge- "neral Commands for the Completion thereof againſt Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, and "againſt our Subjects, Commons, Colleges, Univerſities, or ſingle Perſons whatſoe- "ver; and in giving General Sentences, Excommunication, Suſpenſion or Interdiction to be "laid upon Us or Them, who ſhall do the Contrary: And that the ſaid Sentences may "fall upon Us or Them, as ſoon as We or They act or endeavour by ſeiſing any Town, "Caſtle, City, Fort, or any thing doing, ratifying or conſenting, in giving Counſel, "Comfort, Favour or Aid, privily or openly againſt the ſaid Peace: Of which Sen- "tences the Parties offending not to be aſſoyled, till full ſatisfaction be made to all "them, who have had or ſuſteined any Dammage in that Behalf. And moreover, to "the intent that this ſaid Peace be more firmly kept and holden for ever, We will and "conſent, that if any Pacts, Confederations, Alliances and Covenants, howſoever they "be called, ſhall be any way prejudicial to the ſaid Peace, at this time or hereafter to "be made; even ſuppoſe they be firm and deliver'd on certain Penalties, or by Oaths "confirmed, or otherwiſe ratified or embulled by our Holy Father the Pope or any o- "ther, they ſhall notwithſtanding be *ipſo facto* cancell'd and of none effect, as contra- "ry to the Weal Publick, unprofitable to Peace and to all *Chriſtendom*, and diſplea- "ſing to God Almighty: And all Promiſes and Oaths in ſuch Caſes ſhall be excuſed "and diſanulled by our Holy Father the Pope; ſo that none be bound to hold or "keep any ſuch Promiſes, Oaths, Alliances or Covenants, to the intent that hereaf- "ter the like may not be attempted: And if any endeavour the Contrary, that it be "void and of none effect. And as for our Part, We ſhall not fail to puniſh all ſuch as "Violaters and Breakers of the Peace, both in their Bodies and Goods, as in equity "and reaſon the Caſe ſhall require: And if We procure, or ſuffer to be done the Con- "trary (which God forbid!) then We will that We be reputed for falſe and untrue, "and that we incurr ſuch Blame and Infamy, as a King Sacred ought to iucurr in ſuch "a Caſe. And We ſwear on the Body of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* to hold, keep and "accompliſh the ſaid Peace, and to do nothing contrary thereto, neither in our own "Perſon, nor by any other, in any manner of caſe. And to the intent that theſe ſaid "Bonds ſhould be fulfilled, We bind Us, and our Heirs, and all the Goods of Us and "of our Heirs, to our ſaid Brother of *France* and to his Heirs; and alſo We ſwear "on the Holy Goſpels by Us corporally touched, that We will perform, hold and ac- "compliſh in the foreſaid Caſes, all the ſaid Things by Us promiſed and accorded. "And We will, that in like caſe our ſaid Brother or his Deputies, in Place, Time and "Manner as aforeſaid, preſent unto Us his Letters, with a like Aſſurance on his Part "compriſed therein to the Effect and Strength of our Letters, which We have promi- "ſed and delivered as aforeſaid: Always ſaved and reſerved by Us, our Heirs and Succeſ- "ſors, that the ſaid Letters above-incorporated be of none Effect, nor bring unto Us "any manner of Prejudice or Dammage, untill the time that our ſaid Brother and Ne- "phew have made, ſent and delivered unto Us the foreſaid Renunciations according to "the manner above-deviſed: And till that be done, theſe our Letters not to be againſt "Us, our Heirs or Succeſſors in any manner of wiſe, but in the foreſaid Caſe. In wit- "neſs whereof We have ſet our Seal to the preſent Letters; Dated at *Calais*, 24 of "*October* in the Year of our Lord MCCCLX.

XVI. The ſame Letters were ſet forth in the Name of King *John* of the ſame Date, and beſides them there [a] are others, which contain the Renunciation of the *French* King, the Tenor whereof followeth. "JOHN, by the Grace of God King "of *France*, to all, unto whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting: We give you "to know; that We have promiſed, and do promiſe to render, or cauſe to be ren- "dred and deliver'd really, and *de facto* to the King of *England*, Our Moſt Dear "Brother, or to his Eſpecial Deputies in that part, at the *Auguſtin* Fryars within "the Town of *Bruges*, on the Day of the Feaſt of St. *Andrew* next coming, in one "Year, Letters ſealed with our Great Seal, bound with Silk and Green-Wax, on Con- "dition

[a] *M. S. Reverendi admodùm* Edvardi Stillingfleet *S.T.P. Eccleſiæ Cathed. D.* Pauli *Decan.* Cui titulus, *ſequitur Renuntiatio pura per Regem Franciæ.*

"dition that our ſaid Brother ſhall make the Renuntiations, which he ought to make "on his Part and on the Part of our Moſt Dear *Nephew*, his Eldeſt Son, and ſhall "have rendred them to our People, or Deputies at the ſaid Place and Time, in Man- "ner, as they are obliged; of which our Letters, the Tenor word for word follow- "eth. JOHN, *by the Grace of God, King of* France, *We give to know unto all pre- "ſent and to come; that whereas Mortal Wars have long endured, between our Moſt "Dear Lord and Father, late King of* France, *when living, and after his Deceaſe be- "tween Us on the one Part, and the King of* England, *our Brother, who challenged un- "to himſelf to have Right to the ſaid Realm, on the other Part, having brought ma- "ny great Damages, not only unto Us and to all our Realm, but to the Neighbouring "Realms alſo, and to all* CHRISTENDOM: *For by the ſaid Wars oftentimes have "happen'd Mortal Battles, Slaughters, Ravagings, and Deſtruction of People, and Pe- "ril of Souls; Deflowring of Damſels and Virgins, Dehoneſtation of Married Women "and Widows, Burning of Towns, Abbeys, Mannors and Edifices, Robberies and Oppreſ- "ſions; a Diſuſe of the Roads and Ways; Juſtice faileth; the* Chriſtian *Faith is "waxen cold; and Merchandiſe decayeth; and ſo many other Miſchiefs and horrible Deeds "have enſued thereupon, that the Numbers thereof cannot be ſaid nor written: Where- "by thoſe of our Realm, and of other Realms in* Chriſtendom, *have ſuſtained many "Afflictions and Irreparable Loſſes: Wherefore We, conſidering and revolving the Evils "aforeſaid, and how it is probable, that Worſer may follow in time to come; and ha- "ving great Pity and Compaſſion of our Good and Loyal People, who ſo firmly and Loy- "ally have bore themſelves for ſo long a time in true Conſtancy and Obedience towards "Us; by expoſing their Bodies and their Goods to all Dangers, without declining ex- "pences or charges; whereof We ought to keep a perpetual Remembrance: We have "therefore ſeveral times yielded to a Treaty of Peace, chiefly by means of the Honourable "Fathers in God, ſeveral Cardinals, and Meſſengers of our Holy Father, the Pope, our "Beloved and Faithfull, the Abbot of* Cluigny, *Father* Simon de Langres, *Profeſſor in "Divinity, Maſter of the Order of Fryars-Preachers, and* Hugh de Geneve *Lord of "*Autun, *who were then with the ſaid King of* England *in his Hoſt, and went and came "ſo often between* Charles *our moſt Dear Eldeſt Son, and between the ſaid King of "*England, *our Brother, and in ſundry places held Treaties on the one Part and on the "Other, to Confer and Treat of a Peace between Us (who were then in* England) *and "the ſaid King of* England, *and the Realms of the One and of the Other. And at laſt "they aſſembled the Treaters and Procurators on the part of Us and of our ſaid Son, for "the Matters above written, and the ſpecial Deputies, Procurators and Treaters of our "Nephew, the Prince of* Wales, *Eldeſt Son of the ſaid King of* England, *our Bro- "ther, having Power and Authority from his ſaid Father in that part at* Bretigny *near "*Chartres: *At which place it was conferred, treated, and accorded by the Treaters and "Procurators of the One Part and of the Other, concerning all the Diſcords, Diſſen- "tions, and Wars, which We and the ſaid King of* England, *our Brother, have had "One againſt the Other: The Which Treaty and Peace the Procurators of our Son for "Us and for Him, and our ſaid Nephew, the Prince of* Wales, *Eldeſt Son of the ſaid "King, our Brother, for his Father and himſelf, ſware on the Holy Goſpels to hold and "maintain: And after that our ſaid Son ſware ſolemnly for Us and for Himſelf, and "our ſaid Nephew, the Prince of* Wales, *having Power thereto, ſware for his ſaid Fa- "ther, our Brother, and for Himſelf; and We, after theſe things thus done, and unto "Us reported and declared, conſidering, that the ſaid King of* England, *our Brother, "had agreed and conſented to the ſaid Treaty, and would hold, keep, and accompliſh that "and the Peace, on his part, the ſame Treaty and Peace, being undertaken by advice and "conſent of ſundry of our Blood and Lineage, Prelates of Holy Church, Dukes, Earls, "as well Peers of* France, *as others, Clergy and Men of the Church, Barons, Knights, "and other Nobles, Burgeſſes, and other Wiſe Men of our Realm, to appeaſe the Wars, "and the Evils, and Griefs aforeſaid, wherewith the People had been ſo hardly uſed, "rather than for our Deliverance, to the Honour and Glory of the King of Kings, and "for Reverence of Holy Church, of our Holy Father, the Pope, and of his ſaid Meſ- "ſengers, have conſented, and do conſent unto, and ratifie, admit, and approve thereof: "And whereas by the ſaid Treaty and Peace, We ought to deliver and reſign, and do "give, deliver, and reſign, as is contained in our other Letters made therefore more ful- "ly unto our ſaid Brother, the King of* England *for ever, for Him and his Heirs and "Succeſſors, to hold perpetually and for ever, all thoſe things which follow, in like man- "ner, as We and our ſaid Son, or any of our Anceſtors, Kings of* France, *have held "them in time paſt: That is to ſay, what is in Sovereignty, to hold in Sovereignty, and "what*

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" *what in Demaine, to hold in Demaine; namely, the City, Caſtle, and Earldom of* Poi-
" ctiers, *and all the Land and Country of* Poictou; *alſo the Fief of* Thoüars, *and the*
" *Land of* Belleville; *the City and Caſtle of* Sainctes, *and all the Land and Country of*
" Sainctogne, *on this and on that ſide the* Charente; *the Town and Caſtle of* Rochelle,
" *and their appurtenances; the City and Caſtle of* Agen, *and the Land and Country of*
" Agennois; *the City, Caſtle, and Earldom of* Perigeux, *and the Land and Country of* Pe-
" rigort; *the City and Caſtle of* Limoges, *and the Land and Country of* Limoſin; *the Ci-*
" *ty and Caſtle of* Cahors, *and all the Land and Country of* Quercy; *the City, Caſtle,*
" *and Country of* Tarbe; *the Land, Country, and Earldom of* Bigorre; *the Earldom,*
" *Land, and Country of* Gaure; *the City and Caſtle of* Angouleſme, *and the Earldom,*
" *Land, and Country of* Angouleſmois; *the City and Caſtle of* Rodes, *and the Land and*
" *Country of* Rouvergue; *and moreover that which the King of* England, *or any of the*
" *Kings of* England, *anciently held in the Town of* Montreuil *upon the Sea, and its ap-*
" *purtenances:* Item, *the County of* Ponthieu *all entirely, ſave, and except, according*
" *to the Tenor of the Article, contained in the ſaid Treaty, which makes mention of the*
" *ſaid County*; Item, *the Town and Caſtle of* Calais; *the Town and Lordſhip of* Merk;
" *the Towns, Caſtles, and Lordſhips of* Sangate, Coulogne, Hames, Wale, *and* Oye;
" *with the Lands, Woods, Mariſhes, Rivers, Rents, Lordſhips, and other things con-*
" *tained in the ſaid Article*; Item, *the Caſtle, Town, and Earldom of* Guiſnes *all entirely,*
" *with all the Lands, Towns, Caſtles, Forts, Places, Men, Homages, Lordſhips, Woods,*
" *Fees, and Rights, according to the Tenour of the Article, making mention thereof*
" *more fully in the ſaid Treaty; and the Iſles adjacent to the Lands, Countries, and*
" *Places aforenamed, together with all other Iſlands, which the ſaid King of* England
" *holdeth at preſent, or held at the time of the ſaid Treaty: And whereas by the Form*
" *and Tenor of the ſaid Treaty and Peace, We and our ſaid Brother, the King of* England,
" *owe and have promiſed by Faith and by Oath, One to the Other, and are bound, We and*
" *our ſaid Brother, and our Eldeſt Sons aforeſaid, by obligation and promiſes, by Faith and*
" *by Oath, made on the One Part and on the Other,* certain Renunciations *the One to the*
" *Other, according to the Form and Tenor of two Articles, contained among others in the*
" *ſaid Treaty and Peace, the Form whereof is this: Item,* it is accorded, that the
" King of *France* and his Eldeſt Son the Regent, for them and for their Heirs, and
" for all the Kings of *France* and their Succeſſors, as ſoon as may be, and at the far-
" theſt by the Feaſt of St. *Michael* next coming in one Year, without fraud or deceit,
" ſhall render, yield, and deliver to the ſaid King of *England*, and to all his Heirs and
" Succeſſors, and ſhall convey unto them all the Men, Honours, Regalities, Obedi-
" ences, Homages, Allegiances, Vaſſalages, Fiefs, Services, Recognizances, Oaths,
" Rights, Mere and Mixt Empire, all manner of Juriſdictions, High and Low, Reſorts,
" Safeguards, and Lordſhips, and Superiorities, which appertain'd, or may in any wiſe
" appertain to the Kings of *France*, and to the Crown, or to any other Perſon, becauſe
" of the King and Crown of *France*, at any time, in Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Lands,
" Countries, Iſles, and Places aforenamed, or in any of them and their appurtenances
" and appendages whatſoever, or in the Perſons thereof, Vaſſals, or Subjects whatſo-
" ever, be they Princes, Dukes, Earls, Vicounts, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other
" Prelates of the Church, without retaining or reſerving any thing therein to themſelves,
" their Heirs and Succeſſors, or any of the Kings of *France*, or any other whatſoever,
" becauſe of the King and Crown of *France*, whereby they, their Heirs and Succeſſors,
" or any King of *France*, may challenge or demand any thing in time to come of the
" King of *England*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, or of any of the Vaſſals and Subjects a-
" foreſaid; in regard of the Countries and Places abovenamed; ſo as all the above-na-
" med Perſons, their Heirs and Succeſſors ſhall for ever be Liege-men and Subjects to
" the King of *England*, and to his Heirs and Succeſſors; and that the King of *England*,
" his Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall have and hold all the Perſons, Cities, Counties, Lands,
" Countries, Iſles, Caſtles, and Places above-named, and all their Appurtenances and
" appendages: And the Premiſes ſhall remain unto them fully, freely, and for ever, in their
" Dominion, Sovereignty, Obeiſance, Allegiance, and Subjection; as the Kings of *France*
" at any time ever had, or held them: And that the ſaid King of *England*, his
" Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall *have* and *hold* for ever all the Countries above-named, with
" their appurtenances and appendages, and other things aforeſaid, with all Franchiſe
" and perpetual Liberty, as Sovereign and Liege-Lords, and as Neighbours to the King
" and Realm of *France*, without Recognizing any Sovereign, or doing any Obedience,
" Homage, Reſort, or Subjection, and without doing in any time to come any Service
" or Recognizance to the Kings, or to the Crown of *France*, for the Cities, Coun-

" ties,

"ties, Caſtles, Lands, Countries, Iſles, Places, and Perſons above-named, or for any of "them. *Item*, It is agreed, that the King of *France* and his Eldeſt Son, ſhall *Re-* "*nounce* expreſly the ſaid Reſorts and Sovereignty, and all the Right, which they "have and may have in all thoſe things, which by this preſent Treaty ought to be- "long to the King of *England*: And likewiſe the King of *England* and his Eldeſt Son "ſhall expreſly *Renounce* all thoſe things, which by this preſent Treaty ought not to "be deliver'd unto, or abide with, the King of *England*, and eſpecially the Name and "Right of the Crown and Realm of *France*; the Homage, Sovereignty, and Demaine "of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, of the Dutchy of *Touraine*, of the Earldoms of *An-* "*jou* and *Maine*, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*; the So- "vereignty and Homage of the Country and Earldom of *Flanders*; and all other De- "mands, which the King of *England* hath made, or may make againſt the King of "*France* for whatſoever cauſe it may be, ſaving and excepting, what by this preſent "Treaty ought to remain and be rendred to the King of *England* and his Heirs. And "the two Kings ſhall convey, reſign, and quit, the One to the Other for ever, all "the Right, that each of them hath or may have, to thoſe things, which by this pre- "ſent Treaty ought to remain and to be rendred to each of them; as for the time and "place, when and where the ſaid *Renunciations* ſhall be made, the two Kings ſhall con- "fer and agree together at *Calais*: *Now We, to uphold and accompliſh the Articles,* "*Peace, and Accord aforeſaid, do* Renounce *expreſly all Reſorts and Sovereignties, and* "*all Right, which we have and may have in all the things aforeſaid; which We have* "*rendred and deliver'd, and reſign'd to the ſaid King of* England, *our Brother, and* "*which from this time forth ought to remain and appertain unto him by the ſaid Treaty* "*and Peace: In reſpect, that He and the ſaid Prince, his Eldeſt Son, have* Renoun- "ced *expreſly all thoſe things, which by the ſaid Treaty ought not to be rendred unto,* "*nor to remain with, the ſaid King of* England, *our Brother, for him and for his Heirs* "*and all Demands, which he maketh or may make againſt Us: And eſpecially the Name* "*and Right of the Crown and Realm of* France; *the Homage, Sovereignty, and Demain of* "*the Dutchy of* Normandy; *of the Dutchy of* Touraine; *of the Counties of* Anjou *and* "Maine; *the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dutchy of* Bretagne; *the Sovereignty and* "*Homage of the Earldom and Country of* Flanders; *and all other Demands, which the* "*ſaid King of* England *maketh or may make of Us, for any cauſe whatſoever; ſaving* "*and excepting what by this preſent Treaty, ought to remain and to be rendred to the* "*ſaid King of* England *and his Heirs: And unto him We convey, yield, and reſign,* "*and He unto Us, and each to Other, to the beſt of our Power, all the Right, which* "*either of Us might, or may have in all thoſe things, which by the ſaid Treaty and* "*Peace ought to remain and be deliver'd to either of Us: Saving ſtill and reſerving* "*to the Churches and to Men of the Church, that which to them appertaineth, and all* "*that which hath been uſurped and detained from their Hands by occaſion of the Wars;* "*that this be rendred and delivered unto them: And that the Towns, and Forts, and* "*all the Inhabitants thereof ſhall be and remain in ſuch Liberties and Franchiſes, as* "*they were before they came into our Hands and Dominion, and that to be confirmed* "*unto them by the ſaid King of* England, *if he ſhall be thereto required; and that We* "*do not the contrary in any of the Matters aforeſaid; And (as to this point) We ſub-* "*mit our ſelves, our Heirs and Succeſſors, to the Juriſdiction and Coërcion of the Church* "*of* Rome, *and We Will and conſent, that our Holy Father, the Pope, ſhall confirm all theſe* "*things, in giving Monition and General Commands for the accompliſhment thereof, a-* "*gainſt Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, and againſt all our Subjects, be they Commons,* "*Colleges, Univerſities, or ſingle Perſons whatſoever, and in giving General Sentences* "*of Excommunication, Suſpenſion, or Interdiction, to be incurred by Us and by them* "*who ſhall do the contrary: And that the ſaid Sentences may fall upon Us, or them,* "*as ſoon as We, or They, act or endeavour, by ſeiſing any Town, Caſtle, City, Fort,* "*or any thing doing, ratifying, or conſenting, in giving Counſel, Comfort, Favour,* "*or Aid, privily or openly againſt the ſaid Peace: Of which Sentences they ſhall not* "*be abſolved; till they ſhall have made full ſatisfaction to all thoſe, who by that Act* "*have ſuſtained or ſuffer'd Damages: And moreover to the Intent, that this ſaid Peace* "*be more firmly kept and holden for ever, We Will and Conſent, that if any Pacts,* "*Confederations, Alliances, and Covenants, howſoever they be called, ſhall be any way* "*Prejudicial to the ſaid Peace, at this Preſent, or in time to come; even ſuppoſe, they* "*be confirmed and deliver'd on certain Penalties, or by Oath, or ratified by Authority of* "*our Holy Father, the Pope, or any other, they ſhall notwithſtanding be* ipſo facto *can-* "*celled and of none effect, as contrary to the Common Good, to the Advantage of the*

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"*Publick Peace, unprofitable to all* CHRISTENDOM, *and displeasing unto God: And* "*all Oaths made in such Cases shall be released and disannulled by our said Holy Fa-* "*ther, the Pope; that none be obliged to keep and hold such Oaths, Alliances, or Co-* "*venants; to the intent that in time to come the like may not be done, and if any en-* "*deavour the Contrary, that it be immediately void and of no effect, and rendred null* "*and of no Vertue. And as for our parts, We shall punish all such, as Violators of* "*the Peace, both in their Bodies and their Goods, as the Case shall require, and Reason* "*willeth: And if We procure, or suffer to be done, the Contrary (which God forbid!)* "*then We will, that We be held and reputed False and Untrue, and We will incurr* "*such blame and infamy, as a King Sacred ought to incurr in such a Case: And We* "*swear on the Body of our Lord* JESUS CHRIST, *to hold, keep, and accomplish the* "*things aforesaid, and not go contrary thereto, neither by our selves, nor by others in* "*any manner of Case. In Witness whereof We have caused these present Letters to* "*be Sealed with our Seal. Given,* &c. *in the Year of Grace* 1360. And because "that the said things, and every of them may be held and accomplished from point to "point, and in form and manner aforesaid, We bind Us and our Heirs and all the "Goods of Us and of our Heirs, to our said Brother of *England* and to his Heirs; "and We swear on the Holy Gospels, by Us corporally touched, that We will per-"form, hold, and accomplish in the foresaid Case, all the said things by Us pro-"mised and accorded, as is aforesaid. And We will, that in case our said Brother and "our said Nephew, shall have made the said *Renunciations*, and sent and deliver'd "them as is said, and our said Letters shall not be deliver'd to our said Brother at "the time and place in form and manner aforesaid, then our present Letters and all "that is comprised therein, shall have as much Vigour, Effect, and Fruit, as have had "our other Letters, by Us promised to be deliver'd, as aforesaid: Always saved and "reserved by Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that the said Letters, above-incorpora-"ted, be of none effect, nor bring unto Us any manner of Prejudice or Damage; untill "the time, that our said Brother and Nephew have made, sent, and deliver'd unto Us, "the foresaid *Renuntiations*, according to the manner above devised; and that these "our Letters be not against Us, our Heirs, and Successors, in any manner of Wise, "but in the case aforesaid. In Witness whereof We have set our Seal to the Present "Letters. Dated at *Calais* the XXIV day of *October*, in the Year of Grace MCCCLX.

XVII. Besides these there were several other Letters devised and set forth, bearing the same Date; as [b] Another Copy of King *John's* Renuntiation; and a more Correct Form of the Peace bearing King *Edward's* Name; which the King sware to a new, and these Great Men, following, as it is worded in the form; "Our most Dear "Eldest Son, Prince of *Wales*, and our Younger Sons, *Lionel* Earl of *Ulster*, and *Ed-*"*mund* of *Langley*, and our Cousins Monsieur *Philip de Navarre*, and the Dukes of "*Lancaster* and *Bretagne*, the Earls of *Stafford* and *Salisbury*, the Lord of *Manny*, "*Guy de Brian*, *Reginald de Cobham*, the Captal *de Buche*, the Lord of *Monferrant*, "*James Audley*, *Roger de Beauchamp*, *Ralph de Ferrers*, Captain of *Calais*, *Eustace* "*Dambreticourt*, *Frank van Hall*, *John de Moubray*, *Henry de Piercy*, *Nicolas de* "*Camborthe*, Lord of *Cominges*, *Richard Stafford*, *William de Grandison*, *Ralph Spi-*"*gurnel*, *Gaston de Greyly*, and *William Burton*, Knights. So likewise on the King of "*France's* side were then sworn, his Sons, the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and of *Berry* "and *Auvergne*, the Duke of *Touraine*, the Duke of *Orleans*, his Brother, and his Cousins, "the Duke of *Bourbon*, and *James de Bourbon*, *John de Artois*, *Peter* of *Alenson*, *John* of *E-*"*stampes*, *Guy de Blois*, the Earl of St. *Paul*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of *Har-*"*court*, the Earl of *Tancarville*, the Earl of *Sancerre*, the Earl of *Joigny*, the Earl "of *Salebruche*, the Earl of *Breme*, the Lord of *Coucy*, the Lord of *Craon*, the Lord of "*Fiennes*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, the Lord of *Monmorency*, *William de Craon*, the Lord "of St. *Venant*. Besides all which both the Kings undertook to make the rest of their Children, and the greater part of their Nobility, Prelates, and others, to take the same Oath in order to uphold the said Peace.

[b] *M.S. Dr.* Stillingfleet.

XVIII. These Letters, [c] called the Charter of Peace, and Letters of Renuntiation, as well of the One King, as of the Other, being all fairly drawn up, engrossed, and sealed, were then read openly in the Council Chamber, in Presence of both the Kings, their Eldest Sons, and their Councils, and seemed to either Party to be right good and well-ordained: And then again the two Kings, and their Eldest Sons, sware solemnly on the Holy Gospel by them Corporally touched, and on the Body of our Lord, to keep and perform, and by no means to violate any of the Premises. And yet further by advice, and at the request of the *French* King and his Council, and toward

[c] *Froiss. c.* 212. *fol.* 107.

toward the latter end of their Conference, the King of *England* was urged, to give and ſend a General Commiſſion to all thoſe, who as then, under colour of the War, held Towns, Caſtles, and Forts in the Realm of *France*, whereby they ſhould be commanded to avoid and depart. And King *Edward*, who at that time deſired nothing, but that Friendſhip, Good-will, and Peace might be nouriſhed between him and his Brother of *France*, as he had ſworn and promiſed; readily agreed to this Reaſonable Requeſt, and thereupon forthwith Order'd his Council, to draw up a Commiſſion in the Beſt Manner, that might be, according to the very Mind and Intent of the *French* King and his Council, whereupon the Chief of both the Kings Councils drew aſide with their Scribes and Secretaries, and between theſe, by Conſent of both Parties, two Commiſſions were drawn up and engroſſed, the [d] One at Large, and particularizing the Places ſo to be deliver'd, and the other more General, but ſuch, as being ſent to all and ſingular of his Captains in all parts of *France*, was no leſs effectual; the Tenour of which Letter followeth,

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[d] *M.S.Dr.* Stillingfleet.

"EDWARD, * by the Grace of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke "of *Aquitaine*; To all our Captains, Keepers of Towns and Caſtles, Subjects, Adhe- "rents, and Allies, being in the Parts of *France*, as well in *Picardy*, *Burgundy*, *An- "jou*, *Berry*, *Normandy*, *Bretagne*, *Auvergne*, *Champaigne*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, as in "all the bounds and limitations, of the Demaine and Tenure of *France*, Greeting. "A final Peace and accord having been made between Us and our Brother of *France*, "our Allies and Adherents, compriſing all the Debates and Diſcords, that have "been in time paſt or may be; to which We have ſworn on the Body of *Jeſus* "*Chriſt*, and alſo our Eldeſt Son, and our other Children, and others of our Blood, "with divers Prelates, Barons, and Knights, and the moſt Noble of the Realm of "*England*; and in like manner hath ſworn our ſaid Brother, and our Nephew the "Duke of *Normandy*, and other our Nephews, his Children, and divers Prelates, Ba- "rons, and Knights of the Realm of *France*, to keep the ſaid Peace: Yet leſt it "might ſo fortune or fall out hereafter, that any Men of War of our Realm, or of "our Subjects, ſhould take upon them to do, or attempt any thing contrary to the "Peace, in taking, or with-holding, Forts, Towns, Cities, or Caſtles, or in taking of "Pillage, Priſoners, or Merchandiſe, or any other thing againſt the Peace; the which "to Us would be right Diſpleaſant, and We neither may, nor will ſuffer any ſuch "thing to paſs under the ſhadow of Diſſimulation in any manner of wiſe; but will "with all our Power in all the ſaid things find a Remedy: We therefore Will, Re- "quire, and Ordain, by the Advice of our Council, that None of our Subjects, of "whatſoever State or Condition they be, preſume to do, or endeavour to do any "thing contrary to the ſaid Peace, in taking any Pillage, or in taking or with- "holding any Forts, Priſoners, or Goods, whatſoever, pertaining to the Realm of "*France*, or to our ſaid Brother, his Subjects, Allies, and Adherents, or any other "whatſoever they be: And whoſoever ſhall be thus Guilty of Doing againſt the "ſaid Peace, and will not leave or ceaſe ſo to do, or will not reſtore again the Damages "by them done, within a Month after they ſhall be thereto required by our Officers, "Serjeants, or Publick Perſons; that then by that Deed alone, without any further "Proceſs or Condemnation, they be all reputed for out-law'd, as Men caſt out of "our Realm and Protection, and alſo out of the Realm and Lands of our ſaid Bro- "ther, and all their Goods ſhall be forfeited to Us and to our Demaine, and if they "may be found within our Realm, We Will and Command expreſly; that on them "Puniſhment be forthwith taken, as on Traytors and Rebels againſt Us, according "to what is accuſtomed to be done in the Crime of High-Treaſon; without giving "in that caſe any favour, or remiſſion, ſufferance or pardon: And in like manner to "be done to our Subjects, of whatſoever Eſtate they be, who in our Realm on this "ſide the Sea, or on the other, take, occupy, or hold any Fort whatſoever, againſt the "Will of thoſe, to whom they ſhould pertain, or that burn, or ranſom Towns, or Perſons, "or commit any Robbery, or take any Pillage in Violation of the Peace, and in moving "War within our Dominions, or on our Subjects.

* *Froiſ. ibid.*

"And We do hereby command and expreſly enjoyn all our Seneſchals, Bailiffs, Pro- "voſts, Governors of Caſtles, and other our Officers (in avoiding of our high Diſplea- "ſure, and on pain of loſing their Offices) that they publiſh, or cauſe to be publiſhed "theſe Preſents, in certain notable Places within their Rules and Precincts; and that this "our Command once ſeen and heard, no one be after that ſo hardy to remain longer "in any Fort, pertaining to the Realm of *France*, and exempted from the Ordinance of "the Treaty of the ſaid Peace, on pain of being proceeded againſt, as an Enemy to Us

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"and to our said Brother the *French* King, and that they see all these Things be duly "and punctually observed: And We give all persons concerned to know, that if they "be negligent and fail thus to do, beside the foresaid Penalty, We shall cause them to "make good all Dammages unto those, who by their Default or Negligence shall be "so grieved or endammaged: And moreover We shall inflict such further Punish-"ment on them as shall make them an Example to all Others. In Witness whereof We "have made these our Letters Patents. Given at *Calais* the 24 Day of *October*, in the "Year of our Lord MCCCLX.

XIX. Besides all this there were several other Letters of Alliance made, even for the space of 15 Days together, which was the time that these two Kings, their Sons and Councils were at *Calais*; all which time was chiefly spent in Conferring, Devising and Settling new Ordinances, not contrary to the old, but such as should better explain and confirm them. And for the greater Security, all the Letters bare one Date: All which were enrolled in the Chanceries of both the Kings, but as it is tedious to refer them hither, so also is it needless.

All these mutual Renuntiations, Covenants and Agreements were drawn up, sworn to and sealed at the same time, but [e] not as yet Exchanged, because as yet the King of *France* was not at Liberty; and the Towns, Castles and other Places could not as yet be deliver'd. But it was now nevertheless agreed and promised, that they should be surrendred to the Special Deputies on both Sides by *Midsummer* following, if it might be; and the *Renuntiations* sent at the Assumption of our Lady next ensuing to the Church of the *Augustin* Fryars at *Bruges*, to be deliver'd to those deputed to receive them. Or if they were not sent till *Allhallontide* after, then they were to be deliver'd in the said Church on St. *Andrews* day following; at which Time and Place both Kings engaged to send thither, and cause to be deliver'd to the Deputies of both Parties, their and their Eldest Sons *Renuntiations*: But if they were not then deliver'd, not any thing agreed on was to take Effect. There was also another Instrument Dated at *Calais* at the same time, whereby King *Edward* was obliged to deliver up to the *French* King before *Candlemas* come Twelve Months, all those Castles and Towns which he now held, being Places that by Vertue of the Treaty were not to remain with him; the Particulars whereof from the Records are to be seen in my worthy Friend Esquire [f] *Ashmole's* Elaborate History of the *Garter*. For the Surrender of all which the King of *England* made forth Commissions to several Persons, bearing Date at *Calais* as aforesaid.

[e] *Ashmole p. 663. ex Rot. de Tract. Pacis Franc. 34. Ed. 3. m. 7. & 8.*

[f] *P. 663. &c. ex Rot. præd. de Tract. Pacis Franc. m. 5.*

Now [g] also the two Kings made a League for them, their Heirs and Successors of perpetual Friendship and Alliance, to become thenceforward Faithfull Friends, and to assist each other against all Persons whatsoever, except the Pope and the Emperour: And moreover, they made a solemn *Renuntiation* to all Wars against each Other, their Heirs and Successors, Realms and Subjects; to both which League and Renuntiation their Eldest and other Sons signed, and divers of the Nobility on both Sides were sworn. And then also a *Proclamation* issued forth from King *Edward* to *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, and to all other Captains of Towns, Castles, Forts, *&c.* held for the King in *France*, for them to give Notice to all Places within their Command, of this Peace and final Accord thus made between the two Kings.

[g] *Ashmole p. 664. ex Rot. Tr. Pacis Franc. 34 Ed. 3. m. 6.*

After [h] all these Articles, Letters and Commissions were made, devised, finished and deliver'd, by the Advice and Consent of the Councils of *England* and *France*; so that as to that Point both the Kings were well contented; then they fell into a close Communication concerning the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and the Lord *John* of *Montford*, and their several Claims to the Dutchy of *Bretagne*; for each pretended the whole and sole Right to that Heritage. Some have been so bold in venting their Opinions, as to say that King *Edward* and his Council were not over-warm in this Matter, and surely in meer Policy he might well enough be supposed something cool: For if now the Wars of *Bretagne* should be shut too, there had been no Vent left for those many boistrous Troops, which as yet lay in several Garrisons, and upon their resigning those Fortresses must needs otherwise have filled *England* with Theeves and Robbers. But certainly, whoever impartially observes the honourable and sincere Practices of King *Edward* upon all Occasions, and duly compares them with what relates to this Matter in the Articles and Letters foregoing, will not so rashly attribute the ill Success of the Treaty of *Bretagne* to King *Edwards* Insincerity; but rather to the Impracticableness of the Affair it self: Since two such Valorous Young Princes had so fair a Pretence to so Noble a Dukedome, that there could hardly remain any Prospect of deciding the Controversie without the Sword, or the Death of one of the Parties. But however it was, when now upon

[h] *Froiss. c. 213.*

upon Conference this New Treaty seem'd so hard to be brought to any good Issue, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, who was a most valiant and expert Souldier, but chiefly favour'd the Earl of *Montford*, and wish'd his Advancement, spake these words to the King of *France*, in Presence of the King of *England* and the greater Part of both the Kings Councils: "Sir, said he, the Truce that was taken before *Rennes* between the "Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and the Earl of *Montford* is not yet expired, but is still to hold "to the first Day of *May* next coming. The King of *England* my Master here pre- "sent, by Advice of his Council, and with Consent of my Lord the Prince his Son, "shall before that time send the Young Duke, the Lord *John* of *Montford*, with "certain of his Council into *France* to your Majesty, with full Power and Authority "to confer and determine about the Right, which the said Lord *John* ought to have, "as succeeding his Father in the Dutchy of *Bretagne*. So then by You and your Coun- "cil, and by Ours together, some agreeable Way may be taken between them; for "the better Security of which Affair, I think it would be well to prolong the said "Truce yet farther, till the Feast of St. *John Baptist* next following. According to this Device of the Dukes, so it was done and concluded, and the Truce relating to *Bretagne* prolonged to the Feast of St. *John Baptist*, and then they fell to other Matters.

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XX. And [i] now that the Peace between *England* and *France* was fully confirmed, King *John* was so elevated with the Assurance of Returning into his Country, that he then first seem'd sincerely to rejoyce since his being taken Prisoner. He shew'd unto King *Edward* such an hearty Good-Will, that it appear'd plainly to have no mixture of Dissimulation; and to his Nephew the Prince of *Wales*, he declared all the endearing Signs of Royal Love and Affection that might be: As also King *Edward* and his Son the Prince were exceeding Frank, Generous and obligingly Open unto him. These two Illustrious Monarchs, who from this time till Death parted, called themselves Brethren, as a mutual remembrance of their Brotherly Amity, gave now unto Four Knights of either Party, such as chiefly in their stations had promoted this Peace, 8000 Franks of Yearly Revenues for them and their Heirs for ever; King *John* giving the said Summ to Four Knights of *England*, and King *Edward* a like Revenue to Four Knights of *France*. And at the same time, because the Lands of St. *Saviour le Vicount* in *Coutantine* in *Normandy* were the King of *Englands* Right by a Deed of Gift and Sale from the Lord *Godfry Harcourt* deceased, which Lands were not comprised in the Ordinance of the Treaty of Peace; so that whoever held those Lands, must do Homage therefore to the *French* King; King *Edward* [k] now in respect of the many Laudable and Heroick Services of that Valiant and Renowned Knight the Lord *John Chandos*, gave unto him and his Heirs for ever, a Grant of the Baronies of St. *Saviour le Vicount* aforesaid, of *Daunvers* and *Dongeville*, as also of the Lands and Knights Fees of St. *Mary de Montefarsellis* and *Romilly*, and of all other the Lands and Possessions of the said *Godfry* of *Harcourt*: Which Princely Gift King *John* at the Request of King *Edward* confirmed now unto the said Lord *John Chandos*, he doing Homage therefore unto him, bating that Allegiance, which he owed unto his Master the King of *England*.

[i] *Froiss. c.* 213, *f.* 108.

[k] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 503.

And now, when all the foresaid Agreements were as well made and devised, and as firmly established, as Human Wit could contrive; so that it seem'd by reason of the sundry strict and solemn Engagements, Counter-bonds and mutual Obligations, between the two Kings and their Sons, that the Peace would prove everlasting; and when the Hostages were all come to *Calais*, and the 400000 Crowns of Gold were paid down to the King of *England*, and the remaining 200000 secured, which was the First Payment, then King *Edward* made a most Royal and Magnificent Supper for the *French* King within the Castle of *Calais*, at which the *Black-Prince* and his Three Brethren, *Lionel*, *John* and *Edmund*, with the Greatest Lords and Barons of *England*, served the two Kings bare-headed. After Supper the two Kings bad each other Good Night in the most Obliging Manner imaginable; King *Edward* remaining still in the Castle, and King *John* going to his Lodgings in the Town, which had been prepared for him upon his being set at Liberty.

The next Morning [l] being the 25 of *October*, and a *Sunday*, King *John* and all those, who were to go with him took his leave of *Calais*, and rode forth of the Town in the Forenoon, King *Edward* himself conveying him a Mile onward of his Way; and then the two Kings took their Last Leave of each other with Kissings and Embracings. King *Edward* return'd to *Calais*, but *John* from that time left his Horse, and would go by way of Pilgrimage on Foot to our Lady of *Boulogne*, to pay his Vows

[l] *Fabian p.* 243.

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for his Delivery; the Prince of *Wales*, and two of his Brethren, *Lionel* and *Edmund* bearing him Company. At *Boulogne* they were all received with great Joy by the Duke of *Normandy*, who tarried there for them; and after Dinner the *French* King, and all the Great Princes and Lords of *England* and *France* there present, went on Foot to the Church of our Lady, where with great Devotion they made their Offerings, and then returned to the Great Abby, which was furnished to receive the *French* King and the Lords of *England*. The next Day the King of *France* [m] set forth sundry Commissions, Proclamations, Copies of the Peace and Renunciations, all bearing Date at *Boulogne* 26 of *October*, being of the same Nature with the Letters and Papers afore-mentioned; and on that same Day the Prince of *Wales*, and his Brethren with all their Company took leave of King *John*, and return'd to *Calais* to the King their Father.

[m] *Dr.* Spencers *M.S.* & *Dr.* Stillingfleets *M.S. ubi Copiæ Litt. ita Dat.*

XXI. As for King *Edward*, now that he had so happily effected his Designs, on the last of *October*, he went on Board and set Sail for *England*, with the Princes his Sons, and the Hostages of *France* in his Company, being Thirty of those Fourty mention'd in the XV Article; only *Lewis* King *Johns* Son, who then had but the Name of Earl, was now lately by his Father made Duke of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and *John* his Brother, at that time Earl of *Poictiers*, was now made Duke of *Auvergne* and *Berry*, because the Earldom of *Poictiers* by Vertue of the Peace belonged to King *Edward*.

On the First of *November* early in the Morning the King of *England* landed safely at *Dover*, and two Days after went to *Canterbury*, where he made his Offerings at the Shrine of St. *Thomas*, and return'd his Thanks to God for bringing his Wars to so happy a Conclusion. He came not to *London* till the *Ninth* of *November*, at what time he gave Command * to all his Officers on certain Penalties, that they should bear themselves kind and favourable to the Lords of *France* his Hostages, and to the Burgesses of the Good Towns, and all their Company; and upon occasion to take their Part and defend them from all Affronts, Injuries and Abuses whatsoever: Which Command of the Kings was punctually observed; so that the *Frenchmen* took their Pleasure about the City, and used Hunting and Hawking, and rode into the Country to take the Air, and went to Masks and Balls, and visited the Ladies and Gentlewomen without any Controul; they found the King so Courteous and Free unto them.

* *Froiss. c.* 113. *ad finem.*

On the 27 of *November* the Pope directed his Letters Gratulatory to the King of *France*, wherein he sets forth his own great Joy at the News of his happy Delivery, advises him to cherish and observe the Peace with King *Edward*, to respect the Clergy, to follow Justice, to defend the Poor, to admit Sage and Prudent Persons to his Council, to repress Pillagers, and those who robbed both Church and State. The Copy of which Letter is to be seen [n] in *Odoricus Rainaldus*, bearing Date *Aven. V. Kal. Decemb. Anno Pontificatûs VIII.*

[n] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc ann.* §. 4

XXII. And now we have ended the most Remarkable Matters of this Great Year, but we must not forget to shew, how God Almighty usually tempers the Felicities of this Life with Losses and Afflictions; as, thô so happy and honourable a Peace was established with *England*, several High and Noble Personages to her great Loss went now unto their latest Homes, besides all those of the Nobility and Others, who died by that strange Tempest before *Chartres*; and besides the Lord *Roger* Earl of *March*, whom we have already shewn to have departed this Life on the 26 of *February* at *Rouvray* in *Burgundy*.

On the [o] 24 of *January* there deceased in the *English* Army before *Rheims*, the Noble and Valiant Lord *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, Lord of *Bolebec*, Lord and Baron of *Samford*, and Lord High-Chamberlain of *England*, in the 47 Year of his Age; being succeeded in his Lands and Dignities by the Lord *Thomas Vere* his Eldest Son and Heir, at that time 23 Years old. So that 'tis a Mistake in *Walsingham* and in *Stow*, who for want of Judgment follows implicitly others Errors; where *Thomas* Earl of *Oxford* is said to have died at this time, whereas it should be *John*, who was Father to Earl *Thomas*.

[o] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 193. *ex Escu.* 34 *Ed.* 3. *n.* 84. *Leic.* & *Catal. Hon. p.* 686. *ubi tamen per errorem dicitur obiisse an°.* 1358.

On the [p] 16 of *September* there also died, the High-born and Noble Lord *William Bohun*, that Martial Earl of *Northampton*, Lord High-Constable of *England*, and Knight of the *Garter*, who was younger Brother to *Humphry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Knight also of the same Glorious Order, and Son to *Elisabeth* the [q] Seventh Daughter of King *Edward* the First of *England*, whose two Sisters by the same Daughter of King *Edward*, were married, the Eldest to *James Butler*, the First Earl of *Ormond* of that Name, from whom is descended the present Thrice-Noble

[p] *Dugd.* 1. *Vol. p.* 186.

[q] *Catal. Honor. p.* 1071. & *Speed p.* 552. & *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 183.

Duke

Duke of *Ormond*, and the Second Sister was married to *Hugh Courtney* First Earl of *Devonshire*. Shortly [r] after, his Brother *Humphry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex* departed also this Life without Issue, so that his Titles were added to *Humfry Bohun*, Son and Heir of this *William* Earl of *Northampton*; but he dying some thirteen Years after left only two Daughters, so that the Male Line of this Noble Family became thereby extinct. AN. DOM. 1360. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIV.

[r] 15 Octobr. *an.* 1361. *vid. Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 185. *& Catal. Honor. p.* 1074.

On the [f] Second of *December* there died that Valiant Warrier Sr. *John Beauchamp*, Younger Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, Constable of *Dover*, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and one of the Founders of the most Noble Order of the *Garter*. He was buried betwixt two Pillars on the South-side of the Middle Isle in the Body of St. *Pauls* Cathedral in *London*, where he had a Noble Monument, vulgarly by Mistake called Duke *Humphry's* Tomb, the Sculp whereof is yet preserved [t] in Sr. *William Dugdale's* History of St. *Pauls*. In his Life-time [u] he had built the fair House in the Parish of St. *Andrew* near *Baynards* Castle, where he usually resided: But this being after his Decease sold to King *Edward* III, was made use of for the Kings Great Wardrobe; and the Parson of the Parish making his Complaint, that Sr. *John* to build this House had pulled down many small ones, which paid him Tithes, the King ordained that House to pay the Parson in lieu thereof 40 *s. per annum* for ever.

[f] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 231. *Ashmole p.* 695. *Stow p.* 264.

[t] *Dugd. Hist. Paul. p.* 52.

[u] *Stow's* Survey *Lond. p.* 408.

On the [x] 28 of the said Month died the Noble and Valiant Lord *Thomas Holland*, Knight also of the Garter, and in Right of his Wife, Earl of *Kent* and Lord *Wake*; thô it doth not appear, that ever he had any Creation to that Dignity. His Wife was that celebrated Beauty of the Age, *Joan*, commonly called the Fair Maid of *Kent*, Daughter of *Edmund Plantagenet*, Sirnamed of *Woodstock*, Earl of *Kent*, and after the Death of her two Brothers *Edmund* and *John*, who died successively without Issue, Countess of *Kent*. But Common Historians call her Countess of *Salisbury*; the small Foundation whereof We shall now examine. This Lord *Thomas Holland* [y] had first made a Contract with her, upon which (as he afterwards alledged) Carnal Knowledge did ensue. Whereupon, understanding, while he was in *France*, that *William* the second Earl of *Salisbury* had a purpose to Wed her, by his Petition to Pope *Clement* VI, he complain'd of this injurious Design, fairly representing his own Precontract, and the knowledge he thereupon had of her. But that for all this the said Earl, taking Advantage of his Absence in Foreign Parts, had made a second Contract with her, and unjustly detain'd her from him: At this his Holiness, having fully discussed the Matter, gave Sentence for him, and accordingly he enjoy'd her; the Earl of *Salisbury*, as it seems, acquiescing therein by an after Marriage [z] with *Elizabeth*, second Daughter of *John* Lord *Mohun* of *Dunstor* Castle. By this Princely *Paragon* he left behind him [a] two Sons, *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, who lived many Years after, *John Holland*, in time, Earl of *Huntington* and Duke of *Excester*, and a Daughter, *Maud*, first Wife of *Peter Courtney*, Nephew of *Hugh Courtney*, first Earl of *Devonshire*, and after his decease Married to *Valeran*, Earl of St. *Paul*. The Incomparable Widow, Mother of these Children, was now about two and Thirty Years of Age, but her Vertues were so singular, and her Charms so strong and attractive; that still she made shift to Captive no less a Man, than him, that had taken King *John* Prisoner; for the *Black-Prince* took her to Wife the Year following, as in due place We shall see.

[x] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 74. *&c.*

[y] *Liber* Islep *dict. in Arch.* Cantuar. *Bibl. Vid. Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 74.

[z] *Catal. Honor. p.* 1044.

[a] *Catal. Honor. p.* 765.

At this time [b] *Hugh* King of *Cyprus* died, leaving his Kingdom and the Defence thereof to his Son *Peter*; *Hugh*, the Son of an Elder Son *Guy*, being put by: This King *Peter* was a Man of great Valour and Fortune in the Wars against the *Saracens*; of whom We shall shortly have an occasion to take some Notice.

[b] *Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1360. §. 13.

CHAP.

An. Dom. 1361. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXV.

CHAPTER the Seventh.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *causes all his Lords and Prelates to swear to uphold the Peace, and sends Ambassadors to the Pope for a confirmation of all.* II. *The manner of King* John's *Reception at* Paris *after his long Imprisonment.* III. *The unwillingness of the* Frenchmen *to admit of King* Edward's *Government.* IV. *King* Edward *being put in Possession of all the Lands, which were to fall to him by the Treaty, makes the Lord* John Chandos *his Lieutenant in those parts; the said Lords Praise and Character.* V. *The* English *Garrisons deliver'd up to the* French *King; many of the common Souldiers whereof joyning together turn Robbers: They begin to do much mischief about* Champaigne *and* Burgundy. VI. *King* John *sends against them the Lord* James *of* Bourbon, *whom they overthrow.* VII. *Their formidable Progress; the Pope fearing their Insolence procures them to be drawn off into* Italy. VIII. *A second Great Plague in* England, *the strange Prodigies forerunning it; Its excessive Fury; it sweeps away the Good Duke of* Lancaster; *the Lord* John Moubray *and Three other Lords; with six Bishops and the Archbishop of* Armagh. IX. *The* Black-Prince *Marries the Lady* Joan, *Countess of* Kent. X. *Prince* Lionel *made the Kings Lieutenant of* Ireland; *with his Behaviour in that Place.* XI. *King* Edward *restores unto the Priors Aliens, what he took from them in the Eleventh Year of his Reign.*

I. KING *Edward*, of *England* [a] having kept his *Christmass* in great Splendor at *Woodstock*, near *Oxford*, went after the Holydays to his Parliament, which he had summon'd to meet him at *Westminster* on the [b] 24th of *January*: Where he communicated unto the Three Estates all the Articles, and the whole Process of the Peace, which he had made with the King of *France*. Both Houses were entirely satisfied with the whole Affair; and on the last of *January* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with great Solemnity celebrated the Mass of the Holy Trinity, returning Thanks to Almighty God; in which Service there was this small, but comprehensive Scripture, [c] *Brethren, rejoyce, be Perfect, be of good Comfort, be of one Mind; live in Peace: And the God of Love and Peace shall be with you. The Grace of our Lord* Jesus Christ, *and the Love of God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all.* Amen. After Mass, the King and his Sons standing up in presence of the *French* Hostages, Torches being lighted and Crosses held over the Eucharist and Missale, all those of the Peers, who had not sworn already to keep the Peace, took now their Oath, which also they read from Papers or Scrolls written, and signed with their own Hands; the Archbishop beginning thus, *viz. We* Simon, *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *do swear upon the Holy Body of God and his Holy Gospel, firmly, as much as in Us lies, to keep the Peace and Concord agreed on between the two Kings, and to do nothing contrary thereto.* This being done, every Man, as he had taken the Oath, gave up his Paper to the Kings Notaries, to be laid up as a Witness to Posterity. After the same Method King *John* made his Lords and Estates of Parliament to swear to uphold the said Peace to their Power; and thereupon sent his Ambassadors to the Pope for his Apostolical Sanction and surer confirmation thereof: As also King *Edward* did the like on his part, and among his Ambassadors We find the Lord *Guy* [d] *Brian* to be One. And thus at last was this Peace as fully established, and as strongly bound on Earth, as Humane Wisdom, or Authority, could Devise, or secure.

[a] *Walsing. hist. p.* 170. *n.* 40. & *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 231.
[b] *Stow p.* 264.
[c] 2 *Cor. c.* 13. *v.* 11, *&c.*
[d] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 151.

II. But we should say something more particularly of the *French* King and his Affairs: We waited on him from *Calais* to *Boulogne*, and there left him; tho he did not stay long in that place; for in the [e] beginning of *November* he went thence to *Monstrevil*, and thence Four Leagues farther to *Hesdin*, and so to the Good City of *Amiens*, where he tarried almost till *Christmas*. On St. *Thomas* his Day, being a *Monday*, he rode thence to *Paris*, where he was Honourably received of the Clergy with

[e] *Froiss. c.* 214.

with ſolemn Proceſſions, and the Univerſal Joy of all the People; who convey'd him with great Demonſtrations of Loyal Affection to his Palace. Here He and his Son *Philip*, and the reſt of the Cavalcade alighted; a moſt Royal and Magnificent Dinner being prepared for them. But it is not my buſineſs to declare with what Welcome the *French* King was received by all manner of People, at his return into his Realm. For he was indeed a Better Prince, than One would gueſs by his Ill-Fortune, and had now been a Priſoner no leſs, than Four Years, One Month and ſix Days, *viz.* from the 19 of *September* 1356, on which day the Battle of *Poictiers* was fought, to the 25 of *October* 1360, when he was fully acquitted and went from *Calais* to *Boulogne*. Wherefore his preſence was much deſired of all his Subjects, and they welcom'd him, where e'r he came, with ſhouts and *Viveleroys*, and preſents of Gold and Silver, and other Fair and Rich Gifts. And the Prelates and Barons of all his Realm came to *Paris* to Viſit and Congratulate him, and they entertain'd him with Shews, and Feaſts, and other Diverſions to comfort his Mind, according to their Duty. And the King was hugely pleas'd with theſe things; it being agreeable to have a Right Taſte of Recreation, after ſo much and ſo bitter Affliction.

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III. Soon after this King *Edward* ſent over the Sea ſuch Perſons, as were Commiſſion'd by Him to take Poſſeſſion in his Name of thoſe Lands, Countries, Earldoms, Bayliwicks, Cities, Towns, Caſtles, and Forts, that were to be deliver'd unto him by Vertue of the Peace and Treaty. But this Matter was not over-haſtily perform'd; for divers Lords in *Languedoc* would not at firſt obey the *French* Kings Orders to yield themſelves to hold of the King of *England*; althô King *John* frankly quitted them of all the Faith, Homage, and other Tyes, wherewith they had been bound unto Him: It ſeem'd ſo hard to them to forget their Natural Lord, and yield to obey Strangers. Of this Humor eſpecially were the Lords of the far Marches, as the Earl of *la Marche*, the Earl of *Perigort*, the Earl of *Cominges*, the Vicount of *Chaſteau Darry*, the Vicount of *Carmain*, the Lord of *Pincornet*, and divers others; all who were extreamly ſurprized, that the *French* King ſhould offer to acquit them of the Reſort and Homage, which they ow'd to him, and enjoyn them to pay it to the King of *England*. And ſome of them began to argue, and ſaid, that the King ought not ſo to acquit them; for they affirmed, how there were in *Gaſcogne* Charters, and Privileges above 500 Years old, granted unto them by *Charlemagne* King of *France*; which ſignified, that their Reſort and Allegiance ſhould not be put to any other Court, but his only. And therefore at firſt they ſcrupled the Kings Commands; but King *John*, who was reſolved to hold and perform the Articles of the Peace with all ſincerity, ſent his Dear Couſin the Lord *James* of *Bourbon* unto them all ſeverally, who by good Words and ſound Reaſons, ſhewing them both the neceſſity of Affairs, and that it was the Kings abſolute Pleaſure and Reſolution, perſwaded the moſt part of the ſaid Lords, as the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord *De la Bret*, the Earl of *Foix*, and many others, thô much againſt their Wills, to become Liege-men to the King of *England*. The ſame Difficulty was found in the parts on the Sea-ſide, as in *Poictou*, *Rochellois*, and *Sainctogne*: Unto them this Compoſition of their King ſeem'd very grievous; when they ſaw, that thereby they were in a manner cut off from their Natural Country, and that they muſt ſubmit to the Government of ſtrangers: But eſpecially the ſtrong City of *Rochelle*, would not of a long while admit of the *Engliſh* Yoke, but excus'd themſelves unto the King, and beg'd earneſtly of him ſtill to continue their Protector, and they wrote to him in the moſt endearing manner poſſible, deſiring him in their Letters, and by their Repreſentatives, "that for Gods ſake, he would pleaſe never to acquit them of the Faith, that they "ow'd unto him, nor put them out of his Demaine into the hands of Strangers; ſay-"ing, how they had rather be Taxed yearly even to the half of their ſubſtance, than "to be ſubject to the *Engliſh*, which was a thing wholly inſupportable to all true "*Frenchmen*. King *John* by theſe their frequent and humble Remonſtrances ſaw well their Faith and Loyalty to him, and was very compaſſionate of their caſe; but he was a Prince of that Honour; that he had rather loſe half his Kingdom, than break his Word; and it was his ordinary ſaying: *That if Faith and Truth were baniſhed from the reſt of Mankind; nevertheleſs they ought to be found in the Mouth of Kings.* Beſides he was called upon by King *Edward's* Deputies, for by this backwardneſs of the *French* Nation, when it ſeems things were not made ready againſt *Midſummer*, the Firſt of the times appointed for compleating theſe Matters, King *Edward* [f] on the 15 of *November* following, conſtituted, Sr. *Thomas Vuedale* Knight, and *Thomas Duncent*,

[f] *Aſhmole p. 663. ex Rot. Franc. 35. Ed. 3. m. 3.*

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cent, Licentiate in the Laws, his Agents, whom he ſent to *Bruges*, with Power to make requeſt to the King of *France* for the effectual Accompliſhment of all things concluded on at *Calais*; and to require, that He and his Son ſhould make the *Renunciations* and *Tranſports* according to all the foreſaid agreements, on the Reception whereof they were enabled to give Acquittance in the King, their Maſters Name. Theſe things quickned King *John* in his endeavours to reduce his People to acquieſce in his Determinations; wherefore he wrote to thoſe of *Rochelle*, "Deſiring them to ſhew "their Loyalty, which they ſo much profeſſed, in denying themſelves for his ſake; "that otherwiſe the Peace would be broken upon their account, which would be a "great Imputation to his Honour, and no leſs Prejudice to the whole Realm of *France*. Hereupon when the *Rochellers* ſaw no other Remedy, and that whether they would or no, ſince their King would not admit of their excuſes, they ſhould be compelled to undergo this hatefull Yoke; then at laſt after much adoe, they yielded full ſore againſt their Wills, the Honeſt Men of the Town ſaying to one another, "*Well*, "*we ſhall then from henceforth obey the* Engliſh; *but our hearts are tyed for ever to* "*the* French *Intereſt*.

And here it may be a matter of our Wonder, how it came to paſs, that King *Edward* ſhould ever expect otherwiſe from *Frenchmen* born; but that they would bear a foreign Rider with a Mind always ready to fling him off, upon the firſt occaſion, as afterwards it proved indeed. Surely, in this caſe, I cannot tell what to ſay; ſince that Prince's Wiſdom is by no means raſhly to be call'd in Queſtion; unleſs, that he thought it reaſonable to expect as true Service from theſe Men, as he and his Anceſtors had conſtantly found from the Inhabitants of *Gaſcogne* and *Guienne*; and beſides, being himſelf a Juſt and Gracious Prince, he might have a confidence by his Good and eaſie Government to bind them unto him for ever; as ſurely he did ſeveral, and had done all, had all been alike capeable of being juſtly affected with Obligations: But indeed nothing is more changeable and irrational, than the Vulgar, and more forgetfull of Benefits.

IV. However thus the King of *England*, had now the Poſſeſſion and Seiſin of the whole Dutchy of *Aquitain*, even from the River *Loire* to the *Pirenean* Mountains; and on the other ſide toward *Flanders*, of all the Earldom of *Ponthieu* and *Guiſnes*, and of all the Lands, which he ought to have on that ſide the Sea, that is to ſay, in the Realm of *France*, by Vertue of the ſaid Treaty. And ſo this Year the Lord *John Chandos* paſſed over the Sea, as Regent and Lieutenant for the King of *England*, in whoſe Name he began to take Poſſeſſion of all the ſaid Lands, and received the Faiths and Homages of all the Earls, Vicounts, Barons, Knights, and Eſquires, and had deliver'd unto him by the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, all the Towns, Forts, and other Places, which were to be deliver'd by the Tenor of the Peace. And every where he ſet Captains, Conſtables, Bayliffs, and Officers, ſuch as he thought good to ordain: But himſelf reſided for the moſt part at *Niort*, a ſtrong and great Town on the Borders of *Poictou*, ſtanding on *la Sevre Niortoiſe*, [g] about Nine Leagues from *Rochelle*: Where he kept a Court, like a Prince, having an allowance ſufficient for that purpoſe. For King *Edward*, who underſtood Men, as well as any King in his Days, ſent him thither upon the account of his Sweet and Winning Behaviour, which being accompanied with exquiſite Prudence and unparallel'd Courage and Conduct; made him appear the fitteſt Perſon to enter firſt upon that Government. And becauſe he knew Authority would grow cheap without external Pomp and Splendor, he allow'd him to keep an houſe like a Prince, and ſet the higheſt Marks of Honour upon him; empowring him [h] even to grant Pardons for Treaſon, Murder, and Felony, the King promiſing to Ratifie under his Great Seal, whatſoever he ſhould do in ſuch caſes. Nor was this Noble Gentleman unworthy of this Advancement: For, as *Froiſard* ſays, he was a Good Knight, Courteous and Benign, Well-ſhap'd, Liberal, Heroick, Wiſe, and Faithfull in all Matters: And had worthily behav'd himſelf among all Lords, Knights, Ladies, and Damſels; ſo that there was no Knight in his Days more generally beloved and praiſed of all People.

[g] *Ita* Ferrar. *in Noverogus*, i. e. *Niort*.

[h] *Aſhmole p.* 702.

V. Now the mean while, [i] that the Deputies of the King of *England* were taking Poſſeſſion of the foreſaid Lands according to the Tenor of the Treaty; there were certain other Deputies appointed by the ſaid King, on the Marches and Limits of *France* and elſewhere, who being joyned with others commiſſion'd from the *French* King for that purpoſe, were to deliver up unto him all that which being then in Poſſeſſion of the King of *England*, ought to go now to the King of *France*. In order thereto theſe Deputies began to cauſe all manner of Men of War, to avoid and depart out of the

[i] *Froiſ. c.* 214. *fol.* 109. *b.*

Holds

Holds and Garrisons which they held; for the Kings Command ran strictly, that all such who held of *England*, should on peril of their Lives and Goods, and of being reputed as Enemies and Traytors to the said King, immediately leave and deliver up such Forts as they occupied to the *French* King and his Deputies, they being his by Vertue of the Peace. Now those Captains, Knights and Esquires, who were natural Subjects to the King of *England*, and who valued their Duty, readily obey'd the Kings Command, and rendred up or caused to be rendred the Places under them: But some refused to obey, pretending now to make War in the Name and Title not of King *Edward*, but of the King of *Navarre*, thô that King was now a Friend to the House of *France*. There were also many Strangers, great Captains and Robbers, who would not depart upon any account, as *Almaines*, *Brabanders*, *Flemings*, *Hainalders* and others, besides some wicked Renegadoes both of *England* and *France*, who being poor, thought it the best way to enrich themselves by making War still in *France*. And moreover many Hundreds of Common Souldiers, whom their Captains, having resign'd up their Fortresses according to King *Edwards* Command, had dismissed and disbanded, gather'd themselves now together again, as thinking it better to continue the Wars with others like themselves, than to return home to their poor Trades; and perhaps many of them durst not go home again, they were guilty of such Villanies, or so mightily in Debt.

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These Men being thus gather'd together elected from among them new Captains, the main Qualities which recommended them to their Choice, besides Courage and Skill in Arms, being Cruelty, Lust, and Love of Rapine. At first they rode about in small Companies, and made their general Rendezvous in *Champaigne*, then in *Burgundy*, where they assembled in great Numbers, being called *Les Tard-Venus*, or the *Late-Comers* in respect of the other Companions, who had before pillaged and destroy'd the Flower of all the Country. These Robbers for their first Handsell went and took by Surprise the strong Fortress of *Joinville*, where they found great Riches; for all the Country thereabouts had entrusted the best of their Goods to the strength of that Place. The Spoils taken here were estimated to the Value of an hundred thousand *Franks*, and given up wholly to the Conquerours, who kept the Castle for some time, overrunning and wasting from thence the Country of *Champaigne*, and the Bishopricks of *Verdun* in *Burgundy*, and *Langres* in *Champaigne*, and when they had sufficiently ravaged these Parts, then they sold the Castle of *Joinville* to those of the Country for 20000 *Franks*. This done, they enter'd into *Burgundy*, where they rested themselves, expecting a Reinforcement of Men like themselves; all which time they were not idle, but practised many Villanous Deeds: For they had among them several Knights and Esquires, Renegadoes even of those Parts, who directed where and how to get Plunder and do Mischief. They lay a long while about *Besancon*, *Dijon* and *Beaulne*, chief Cities of *Burgundy*, and robbed and commanded all the Country about; for there were none to encounter them. After this they took the Town of *Givry* in *Bresse* which they plunder'd, and so tarried thereabout, because that was a plentifull Country, and daily their Numbers encreased: For all the Common Souldiers, that came out of *English* Fortresses, and had leave of their Captains to go whither they pleased, drew thitherward continually; so that by *Lent* they were in all about 16000 strong.

Now when they saw themselves so considerable, they began to ordain among them Captains and Leaders, whom they promised to obey in all things: For even wicked Societies cannot hold together without Order: And the Chief of their Captains were these, Sr. *Seguin de Batefoil* a Knight of *Gascogne*, who had no less than 2000 Fighting Men: *Taillebert* of *Talleboton*, *Guyot du Pyn*, the little *Mechin Battailler*, the Wicked *Hanekin Francois*, the *Burgrave de Lesparre*, *Nandon de Bergerac*, the *Burgrave de Boure*, the *Burgrave* of *Bretuel*, *Nucharg*, *Aberdenny* a *Scot*, *Bourdonnel* a *German*, *Bernard de la Salle* an *Hainalder*, *Lortingo de la Salle* his Kinsman, *Robert Briquet*, *Edmund* of *Ortigo*, Sr. *Garses du Chastel*, *Gironet de la Baulx*, *Carnelle* and Others: Who being thus gather'd together about *Midlent*, resolved to go to *Avignon* to give the Pope and Cardinals a Visit, more for the love of Prey than Devotion; for whatever Treasure the Church might then have in Heaven, they laid up some Treasures also on Earth, as well as Men of the World. Wherefore these *Late-Comers* went thitherward thrô the Land of *Masconnois*, intending for the Earldom of *Foretz* or *Forestes* that plentifull Country, and towards *Lyon* on the River *Rhosne*.

VI. When King *John* heard of all this, and how these Robbers daily encreased and ravaged his Realm, he was infinitely displeased, for his Council told him, that without

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a speedy remedy these Evil Companions might encrease so strangely, as to be able to do more Mischief than ever was done by the *Englishmen* themselves in time of War: Wherefore they advised him to send against them a well form'd Army without any more delay. Then the King wrote his Special Letters to his Cousin, the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, [k] Earl of *la Marche*, who was at that time in the Town of *Mompellier* in *Languedoc*, having newly put the Lord *John Chandos* in Possession of divers Lands, Cities, Towns, Castles, Forts and other Places thereabout, belonging to the King of *England* by Vertue of the Peace, as we said before. The King in his Letters desired his Cousin of *Bourbon* to be his Chief General, to muster Souldiers to a sufficient Number, till he should find himself able to keep the Field, and then go forth and fight against these *Companions* and root them out. The Lord of *Bourbon* immediately on receipt of these Letters, went Post to the City of *Agen* in *Agennois*, whence he issued out his Letters, and sent Messengers into all Parts, desiring and commanding in the Kings Name, all Knights and Esquires to come to him ready appointed for the War, which was done accordingly: For this Lord *James* of *Bourbon* was generally beloved over all *France*; so that every one obey'd him readily, and drew to the Place of General Rendezvous towards *Lyon* on the River *Rhosne*, from *Auvergne* and *Limosin*, from *Provence* and *Savoy*, and from the *Dauphiné de Vienne*; and moreover many Valiant Knights and Esquires were sent from *Burgundy* by the Young Duke who was not yet dead. With all these Forces the Lord *James* of *Bourbon* marched forth from *Lyon*, and the Parts of *Masconnois* and *Beaujolois*, and entred the Earldom of *Forestes*, where his Sister was Lady in Right of her Children; for the Earl of *Forestes* her Husband was then newly dead: Wherefore she govern'd the Country by the Hands of Sr. *Reginald* of *Forestes* her Husbands Brother, who received the Lord *James* of *Bourbon* and his Company with great joy, and feasted him to his Power; as did also his two Nephews, who presented their Service to their Uncle the Earl of *la Marche*, to ride with him in Defence of their Country against the *Companions*, who were by this time about *Charolle* and *Tornus*, drawing thitherward. For when they understood how the *Frenchmen* were gathering together to suppress them, their Captains presently went to Council, to advise how to maintain themselves: At this time they found their Number to be no less than 16000 Fighting Men, wherefore they said among themselves, "Let us then go boldly against these *Frenchmen*, who are so desirous to find us out, "and let us fight them at some Advantage if we can, or else without, for we are e- "nough: If Fortune favour us at this time we shall be rich for ever, as well by the "Prisoners we shall take, as by the Booty of the Field; and also we shall gain such "Reputation to our Arms, that none hereafter will dare to withstand us; and if we "lose we have no more to care for. Being thus agreed, they dislodged and went up the Mountains, designing to pass into the Land of *Forestes* and to come to the River of *Loire*; but in their way they found a Good Town called *Charlieu* in the Bailywick of *Mascon*, where they made a fierce Assault which lasted an whole Day; yet the Place was so well defended by the Gentlemen of the Country, that they could win nothing there. Then they marched forward, sending abroad several Detachments to scour the Country of *Beaujolois*, where having done considerable Dammage, they entred the Bishoprick of *Lyon*. In their March they would be sure to take some small Hold or other every Day, where they lodged usually for the Night following, making sad Havock of all things whereever they came. One day particularly they took a Castle called *Brignais*, about three Leagues from *Lyon*, with the Lord thereof and his Lady in the Place; and there they lodged and refreshed themselves, and here they were certainly informed how the Lords of *France* were drawn into the Fields, and stood ready to receive them.

[k] *Mezeray.*

[l] *Froiss. c.* 215. *fol.* 110.

The Lord *James* [l] of *Bourbon* was now again return'd to *Lyon*, when he understood that the *Companions* drew near him apace, having won the Castle of *Brignais* and many other Holds, and brought the Country into great Desolation: At this News he was extreamly displeased, because he was Guardian to his Nephews, the Earl of *Forestes* Sons, and had the Care of their Lands. Wherefore he drew into the Field and muster'd his Men, and found them to be an Army sufficient to cope with the Enemy; but first he sent out his Currours to view the Face of the Enemy, and to consider well their Number and their Order, and where he should surely find them. In the mean time these subtle *Companions* had taken a Mountain at *Brignais* near *Lyon*, where they so order'd themselves, that they could not be perfectly view'd, and so the best Armed Troops were conceal'd behind, and the Residue who were worse armed, and a far smaller Number stood ready ranged along in Order of Battle on the Hill side. These Men only

only were seen by the Lord of *Bourbons* Currours, whom they permitted leisurely to view them, thereby to feed them with an Errour that might prove their Bane. Being come back to the Earl of *la Marche*, these Men told him what they had discover'd, saying to him and the Lords about him; "Sirs, we have seen yonder Company your "Enemies, and have viewed them well to our Power, and all things rightly consider'd "according to the best of our Judgment, they exceed not five or six Thousand; nor "are they very well arm'd neither. "Look you there now (said the Lord of *Bourbon*, "speaking to Sr. *Arnold* of *Cervoles* the Arch-Priest) "Sir, you told me before this, "that they were to the Number of 16000 Fighting Men, and now you all hear to "the Contrary. Sir, said the Arch-Priest, I never believed them to be under that "Number I'll assure you: But if they be, God be thanked, it is so much the better for us: "Therefore now consider what you will do. In the Name of God said the Lord of *Bourbon*, we will go and be the Aggressors; and with that he order'd his Battails, and set them in good Array, for now he might see his Enemies before him. Then he made certain New Knights, as the Lord *Peter* his Eldest Son, whose Banner was raised that Day, also his Nephew the young Earl of *Forestes*, the Lord of *Tournon*, the Lord of *Malinier*, and the Lord *Groslee* of *Dauphiné*, besides whom there were present at this time the Earl of *Uzes*, Sr. *Reginald* of *Forestes*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Beaujeu*, and Sr. *Robert* of *Beaujeu* his Brother, Sr. *Lewis* of *Challon sur Saone*, Sr. *Hugh de Vienne*, and divers other Good Knights and Esquires, to the Number [m] of 2000 Men of Arms, all desirous to advance their Honours, and to overthrow these Companions, that thus ravaged the Country without any pretence or reason. The *Arch-Priest* and divers of the most expert Knights, that were present said plainly, how it would be best to wait till their Enemies had left that Mountain, and so they should have more Advantage over them: But this Counsel being overrul'd, Sr. *Arnold Cervoles* the Arch-Priest had order to begin with his Battail, for he was a good Commander, and had with him 1600 Chosen Men. Now the Companions on the Mountain saw well all the *French* Order, but the *French* could discover nothing of them, but only those who being evil arm'd, were set there to amuse and deceive them. And yet even those Men were very advantagiously posted; for the Ascent of the Hill was difficult, and they had among them a 1000 Cart-load of great Stones, which did them that Day extraordinary good Service. The *Frenchmen* who are naturally soon wrought into Security and a confidence of Success, were very eager to set upon their Enemies: But for all that they could do, they could not ascend the Mountain directly to come to them, it was so steep, wherefore of necessity they were obliged to coast about, till they came almost unto them. But then this worst-arm'd Battail of the Companions, who had by them a vast provision of sharp and heavy Stones, began to cast them down on them that approached, with such Violence, that they beat down, slew, hurt and maimed a great Number: Insomuch that they neither could nor durst approach any nearer. Wherefore presently the first Battail of *Frenchmen* was so sore beaten, bruised, disorder'd and trampled on, that all the Day after they were able to do but little Good. To their succour therefore came now the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, his Son and his Nephews with their Banners, bringing up the other two Battails, who all went forward with great Courage only to be flung away, as we shall shortly see; so that 'tis a great pitty they had not taken the Arch-Priests Advice, and order'd their Affairs more discreetly. Now as the Lord *James* and the other Lords, with their Banners and Penons before them approached valiantly, coasting the Mountain, the worst-armed Battail of the Companions entertain'd them with their old Trade of flinging Stones so fiercely, that the boldest of them was glad to stand at a Bay. And while the *French* were thus attempting to get forward, and their Enemies to keep them off, the great, fresh and well-armed Battail of the Companions, consisting of 10000 chosen Men, which had not yet been seen, found a way and came about the Mountain well ranged, and having cut their Spears to six Foot length, came on with a great Shout, and fell in among the *Frenchmen*, of whom at the first Meeting they overthrew Hundreds to the Earth. Truly for such a Surprise the *French* did their Devoir and fought valiantly; but the Companions had the Advantage by the suddenness of their Attack, and were in a manner equal to them in Number; but above all they fought with such Ardour and Courage, that it was wonderfull: And still the Stones came thundring on the *Frenchmens* Helmets and Shields, riveing of Bucklers, and striking down, bruising and maiming of Men: So that the Victory presently enclined to the Worse Side, and a Righteous Cause miscarried for want of Discretion. The Arch-Priest did all that a good Captain and a Valiant Gentleman was capable of doing, but at last he was there taken Prisoner, having

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[m] *Froiss.* 2156 *f.* 111. *b.*

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ving first received many grievous Wounds; and with him several Knights and Esquires of the first Battail. The Lord *James* of *Bourbon* Earl of *la Marche*, and his Son Sr. *Peter*, were both very much wounded; the young Earl of *Foreſtes*, his Uncle Sr. *Reginald*, the Earl of *Uzes*, Sr. *Robert* of *Beaujeu*, Sr. *Lewis* of *Challon*, and above an 100 Knights more were taken. Thoſe that fled from the Battle escaped to *Lyon*, whither also, thô not without much labour and difficulty, the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, and his Eldest Son Sr. *Peter*, were brought on Shields by their trusty Servants. For their Hurts all the City was very sorry, and the Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Town went themselves to visit them, and to dress their Wounds; but within three Days the Lord *James* of *Bourbon* died, and Sr. *Peter* his Son followed him a little after, to the general Regret of all Mankind especially of the King of *France*: Yet neither he nor any else, had any other Remedy but Patience, and a Resolution to revenge their Death. This Battle was thus fought at *Brignais* near *Lyon*, on the * 26 of *March* being a *Good-Friday*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXI.

* C. Lit. Dom. *Pasch.* 28 *Mart.*

VII. At this Disaster all the Country was struck with horrour, and it was generally feared, that the Companions would be rendred invincible by these Successes, and would also grow more numerous thereupon, unless it should please God to put a speedy stop to their mad Career. But as for them, they grew more insolent and wicked than ever, being now strong and formidable, and rich also with the Booty of the Field, and the Ransoms they were to have for Prisoners. And immediately after this Victory, having surmounted all Opposition, they overspread the whole Land of *Foreſtes*, and rob'd and ravag'd, and did what they pleased wherever they came: For now they were so strong, that hardly here and there a few of the most Defensible Fortresses were able to resist them. Wherefore within a while after, that the Desolation which they carried along with them, had render'd the Country unable to bear them any longer, they divided into two Parts; the Lesser by far consisting but of 3000 Fighting Men, followed Sr. *Seguin Batefoile*, who went and kept Garrison at *Ance* on the *Soane* about 4 Leagues from *Lyon*, which Place he fortified exceedingly; and here he flesh'd himself, till he was gorged like any Horsleech. For he commanded all the Marches thereabouts, that Country being as then one of the most plentifull in the whole World; that is to say, all the Land on each side the River of *Soane*, as *Masconnois*, the Archbishoprick of *Lyon*, *Beaujolois*, as far as to *la Marche*, *Bourbonnois* and *Nivernois*: All which Parts he overran and rob'd, and ransom'd People at his pleasure. Being glutted here he sent forth some Troops which wan by Scalado the good City of *Brioude* in *Auvergne*, where afterwards he tarried above a Year, having so well fortified it, that he now feared neither Siege nor Surprise: And from hence he overran the Lands about *Clermont*, *Monferrand*, *Riom*, *La Cheze Dieu*, *Nonnotte*, *Issoire* and all the Country of *Avergne*, the Earl thereof being then an Hostage in *England*; at all which Places he did much Mischief and got huge Spoils. And having thus at last utterly harassed the Country, he then went away by Composition into *Gascogne* whence he came, and ever after lived more regularly.

The mean while the greater Part of this Company amounting to 13000 Men and upwards, after the Battle of *Brignais*, took their way towards *Avignon*, saying, they would now visit the Pope and his Cardinals, and have some of their Money, or else live upon their Lands: And so in their March they tarried here and there, to gather up the Ransom of such Prisoners as they had taken, and to see if the Peace between *France* and *England* would hold or not. In their way they took Towns and Fortresses as they pleased, none daring to hold out against them; their Renown being so great, and the Experience as well as Courage of the People of those Parts being so little: For they had not been used to the War. Now the Captains of these Robbers had intelligence, how that in the City of *Pont St. Esprit* about seven Leagues from *Avignon*, all the Treasures and Riches of the Country were gathered together, in Confidence of the Places Strength. Wherefore they held a close Consult among themselves, how to win this Fortress; for besides the Spoil thereof, they should then be Masters of the River *Rhosne*, and consequently of the City of *Avignon*. At last according as they had devised, *Guyot du Pyn* and the Little *Mechin* rode with their Troops, being 3000 Select Men and Horses, no less than fifteen Leagues in one Night, so that the next Morning by Break of Day they came suddenly to *Pont St. Esprit*, which they presently took by Surprise, and so became Masters of all that was therein; the more the Pitty: For there they slew many an Innocent Person, and violated many Honest Damsels, and wan innumerable Riches, and Provision enough to keep them all an whole Year.

When

When the other Companions, *Engliſh*, *Gaſcogners*, *French*, and *Germans*, who yet held Garriſons in *France*, and would not deliver them up at the Command of any Man living; for they ſaid, "*they muſt live, and War was the only trade they could* "*live by*: I ſay, when theſe Men heard of the Succeſs of thoſe other Companions, then they yielded up what they held on Compoſition, and marched all toward *Pont St. Eſprit*, in hopes to partake with them in their Succeſs. And here altogether they held their Chief Garriſon, being at liberty, now to ride into *France*, and now into the Empire, as they pleas'd, without Danger. From hence almoſt every day they ſent out ſtrong Detachments even to the Gates of *Avignon*, whereat the Pope and Cardinals were in a great Conſternation: For they heard, how their Chief Captains were the greateſt Enemies to Religion, and Deſpiſers both of God and Man. So that Pope [n] *Innocent* VI, and the College of Cardinals, ſeeing their Danger, ſent a ſerious Embaſſy to the Emperour of *Germany*, and the Lords of *Almaine*, and moreover they ordained a ſolemn *Croiſade*, or an Holy Expedition againſt theſe more than Heathen *Chriſtians*; ſince they did their endeavour to deſtroy all *Chriſtendom*, as other Bands, like them, had attempted before; without the leaſt juſt Pretence or Title of Reaſon. For indeed they robbed, and took whatever they could lay hands on, Holy or Profane, violating and raviſhing Nunns, and other young Maids and Women, without the leaſt remorſe, and ſlaying Men, Women, and Children without Mercy; thô they had never given them the leaſt ſhadow of offence: And thoſe, who were moſt notorious in the Practiſe of theſe Villanies, were in greateſt eſteem with them. Upon which account the Pope and his Cardinals preached openly this *Croiſade*, and abſolved *ab omni pœnâ & culpâ* all thoſe, who would undertake this cauſe of Religion, and would adventure their Bodies to deſtroy this accurſed People. The Lord *Peter* of *Monſtier*, Cardinal of *Arras*, by ſome called Cardinal of *Oſtia*, was appointed chief Captain of this *Croiſade*, who immediately leaving *Avignon*, went to *Carpentras*, where he began to retain all manner of Men of War, eſpecially ſuch as deſired to ſave their Souls in purchaſing by the hazard of their Bodies the foreſaid Pardons and Indulgences: But of other Wages there was not a Penny to be had. Whereupon this formidable Expedition vaniſh'd into Air, all Men leaving the undertaking, when they heard the Conditions; and ſome of them went into *Lombardy*, others into their own Countries; and not a few to thoſe very Companions againſt whom they were deſigned. So that daily their Numbers encreaſed, and they extreamly haraſſed the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Merchants about *Avignon*, doing much miſchief untill Midſummer, in the Year one Thouſand Three Hundred Sixty and One: And then the Pope and his Cardinals happily remembred them of a Noble and Valiant Knight, called *John* Marqueſs of *Monferrat* in *Italy*, who held War and had done a long while againſt the Lords of *Milain*. Him the Pope invited to *Avignon*, and treated with him to take all theſe Men into his Pay, and to lead them away thence into *Lombardy* to his Wars there. The Marqueſs lik'd the motion well, and began to fall in Treaty with the Chief Captain of the Companions, who was at this time an *Engliſh* Man, named Sr. *John Hawkwood*, and at laſt agreed with the Marqueſs on conſideration of 60000 Florens of Gold to be divided among his Officers, and ſuch and ſuch Wages to be conſtantly paid, to go along with him into *Lombardy*: So that firſt there might be obtain'd from the Pope, a Full Abſolution *ab omni pœnâ & culpâ*; all which being agreed and perform'd, and the Florens paid down by the Pope, they deliver'd up *Pont St. Eſprit*, and left the Marches of *Avignon*, and went forth with the Marqueſs into *Italy*, to the great joy of the *French* King and all his Realm; althô many of them ſoon after returned into *Burgundy*; and Sr. *Seguin* of *Batefoile* would not forſake his Garriſon at *Ance*. But however *France* was in a far better Condition, being thus happily purged of thoſe noxious Humors, which began to corrode and prey upon her Vitals.

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[n] *Froiſ. ibid. Odor. Rainald. ad hunc an.* §. 5. *Rebdorf. Annal. &c.*

The mean while theſe Companions were led by the Marqueſs into *Piedmont*; where by their help he prevailed [o] mightily againſt the two Lords of *Milain*, *Galeas*, and *Barnabo*, and conquer'd *Alba Pompeia*, *Pavia*, *Novarre*, and other Towns, Caſtles, Lands, and Fortreſſes belonging unto them, and had ſeveral Rencounters and Skirmiſhes with them to his Honour and Advantage: So that within a Year he obtain'd the better hand of the Brothers of *Milan*, and had of them in a manner what he demanded: Thô afterwards the ſaid Lords by their good Policy ſurmounted theſe Matters, and brought off the better part of theſe Companions to their own ſide; whereupon their Dominion was enlarged, and they ruled in great Proſperity, as we ſhall ſhew more fully in another place.

[o] *Paulus Jovius in Galeacio ſecundo, & Matt. Villani l.* 10. *c.* 43. *&c.*

VIII. Nor

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VIII. Nor was *England* much more happy all this while; thô now in full Peace, thô now free from all Foreign or Domeſtick Enemies; thô now ſhe had no ſuch Thieves or Robbers to diſturb her Quiet. For there [p] fell in *England* a New Calamity this Year, a Plague ſomething like the former, and which in reſpect thereof was called the *Second Plague*, nothing near ſo Diſmal and Univerſally Fatal, as the Former; but much more Deſtructive of the Nobility and Prelacy, where ever it went.

[p] *Odor. Rainal.* ad hunc an. §. 3. *John Harding*, &c.

Nor was this Viſitation unaccompanied with Prodigies; for on the [q] *Fifth* of *May*, being a *Wedneſday*, the Eve of the *Aſcenſion*, at 14 Minutes after Ten in the Morning, there happen'd a very remarkable Eclipſe of the Sun; which is mention'd alſo in the *Turkiſh* Annals; and there followed ſuch a ſtrange Drought, that there enſued great ſcarcity of Corn, Fruit, and Hay. That ſame Month it rained Blood in *Burgundy*, and on the 27 of the ſaid Month at *Boulogne* in *France*, there appeared in the Air a Bloody Croſs, from Morning until Six in the Evening, at which time being ſeen of many it began to move, and ſeem'd preſently to fall into the middle of the Sea. After which there came forth of Woods into Towns many Foxes in the Dusk of the Evening, which devoured Men alive in thoſe parts. And in the Summer of this Year both in *England* and *France*, in Deſerts and plain Countries, there appeared ſuddenly at ſeveral times two Caſtles in the Air; the One full *South-Eaſt*, and the Other *South-Weſt*, whence there iſſued two Hoſts of Armed Men, the One whereof, *viz.* That which came from the *South-Eaſt*, bare *Argent*, and the other *Sable*, which engaging together, the *White* would beat the *Black*; but afterwards the *Black* recollecting their Forces would fall upon the others, and extort the Victory back again: And then each Party would return to the Caſtles from whence they came, and ſo all things diſappeared. Thoſe, who are particular in theſe unuſual Matters, add, that after *Michaelmas* the Roſe-beds brought forth Roſes of a perfect Growth, Colour, and Smell; and that Crows, and other Birds brought forth their young at the ſame time. And in *England* on the 17 of *January*, namely on the day of St. *Anthony* the Abbot, there aroſe out of the *South* ſuch an horrible and dreadfull Tempeſt of Wind with an Earthquake, as the like was never known before; for it blew down after an incredible manner, ſtrong and mighty Buildings, Towers, Steeples, Chimneys, Houſes, Woods, Orchards, and all kind of Trees, bearing many a great way off with the very Roots, and doing Wonderfull Harm to Churches, Bells, Walls, Mills, and Houſes, eſpecially in the City of *London*: And this Storm continued by fits more or leſs for the ſpace of five, ſome ſay ſix, others eight days. And in the ſame Year many Men, Beaſts, Trees, and Buildings, were deſtroy'd with Thunder and Lightning from Heaven; and the [r] Devil appeared Bodily in humane ſhape to many People, as they travelled in divers places in the Country, and ſpake unto them to their great Affrightment.

[q] Labbe *Chron. Technica ad hunc ann. & M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantabr. *c.* 231. *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 171. *habet* 6to *Maii* C. Lit. Dom. *Paſc.* 28. Martii. *Vid. etiam Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an.* § 5. *Walſing. ibid. M.S. id.* ibid. *Fabian Lanqet, Stow, Knighton p.* 2626. *Pol. Virg. l.* 19. *p.* 385. *John Harding c.* 184. *&c. de omnibus hiſce Prodigiis.*

[r] *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 230. *ad finem.*

Let no ſupercilious Critick be too raſh in condemning me for inſerting ſuch Matters here; as if thereby We Magiſterially impoſed upon the Belief of any Man. For we expect no more Credit from ſuch an One, than his Reaſon and Judgement may allow; nor do we put any ſtreſs on theſe things: But however think it our Duty to relate even doubtfull narrations, when they are ſo generally atteſted, as We find theſe to be. Eſpecially becauſe there is no Age, but has produced ſomething as ſtrange and incredible; nor no Hiſtorian, that pretends to be ſo diſcreet, as not to take notice of ſuch preternatural Accidents.

However at this time there happen'd a *Second Plague*, which we ſhall ſpare to deſcribe more fully any other way, than from its Effects; becauſe in the *Firſt Plague*, which was of the ſame kind, we were ſo large and ſo particular. It took away, as we ſaid before, Perſons of the Higheſt Rank and Quality; yet neither did it ſpare the meaner ſort; but eſpecially it rag'd among Young Men and Children, being leſs [s] fatal to Women; as if chooſing to be Cruel, as well to the Better Sex, as to the better part of that Sex. Whereupon, 'tis ſaid, [t] that afterwards the Widows of thoſe, who died, took unto them husbands at random, of ſtrange Countries, or Vile Condition, forgetting their Eſtate and Families.

[s] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 171. *n.* 36.

[t] *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 231.

On [u] St. *John's* day and the day following, there died little leſs than 1200 at *London*; at *Paris* above 30000 in the whole Year; and beſides the many Thouſands of Common People that died at *Avignon*, there fell no leſs than [x] Nine Cardinals, and Seventy other Prelates. But here in *England* I ſhall not ſtand to enumerate, how many of the Vulgar periſhed; our Loſs will eaſily appear from the Quality and Worth of thoſe Few, whom I ſhall now name.

[u] *Matt. Villani l.* 10. *c.* 45. *p.* 54.

[x] *Matt. Villani* ibid. *Mezeray p.* 63. *& Odoric. Rainal. ad hunc annum* § 4.

And

And first of all there died a Man Worthy to live for ever, even the Great, High-born, Valiant, and Liberal Prince, *Henry Plantagenet*, who was taken away [y] by the Plague, on the 24 of *March*, being the Eve of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, or as some say, [z] on the *Tuesday* after the said Feast, which that Year fell on the 30th of *March*. *England* had less wanted him, now that the War was ended; if he had not been as Eminent for Counsel in Peace, as he was remarkable for Military performances. He was only Son to *Henry de Torto-Collo*, who was younger Brother, and next Heir to *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, who was Eldest Son to *Edmund*, Sirnamed *Crouchback*, Second Son to King *Henry* III of *England*, and Brother to King *Edward* the First, Grandfather to King *Edward* the *Third*. This Illustrious Person in his life time did nothing degenerate from the Blood Royal of *England*, of which he so largely partook; as may be seen in those many foregoing Passages of this History, which speak of his Warlike Actions. His many Heroick Vertues obtain'd him the Glorious Sirname of *Good*, he being generally called the Good Duke of *Lancaster*. Wherefore his Death was universally Lamented, especially by the Poor, by the Clergy, and by Scholars, to whom he was a Constant Friend and Patron. Nor was King *Edward* [a] less concerned for the loss of so Renowned a Kinsman and Captain; as were also all the Barons of *England*, Lords, Knights, and Esquires: For he was in his Days an Ornament to the Nobility, a Patron to the Church, a Prop to Learning, a Glory to the Souldiery, and a shield unto his Prince. He was [b] buried on the *South*-side of the High-Altar in the Collegiate Church of *Leicester*, which [c] himself had founded and set over it one Dean, Twelve Canons, Prebendaries, as many Vicars, and others, all sufficiently provided with Revenues: Besides he consummated the Hospital there, which his Father had begun, wherein were maintain'd an 100 Infirm and Poor people, [d] 50 Men, and 50 Women; together with 10 lusty and able Women, to serve the said Infirm Ones, with Meat and Drink, and other bodily Necessaries, day and night. Both which Hospital and College of Canons he sufficiently endowed for ever; and indeed they were the Greatest Ornament of that City, until the heavy Hand of King *Henry* VIII among other the like Foundations, laid their Ruines at his own Feet: At which time the College Lands [e] were valued at 595 pounds 7 shillings and 6 pence *per annum*.

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[y] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 789.
[z] *Dugd. Warw. p.* 165. *ex Esc.* 35. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *n.* 122.

[a] *Froiss. c.* 216.

[b] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 789.
[c] *Knighton p.* 2625. *Speed's* Maps in *Leicester.*

[d] *Stow p.* 265.

[e] *Stow p.* 265.

He left behind him two Daughters, his Heirs, the Lady *Mathilda* the Eldest, then 22 Years of Age, at that time Married to *William* of *Bavaria*, Son to *Lewis* the Emperour, and Duke of *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Hainalt*, and *Friseland*; the other Daughter, named *Blanch*, then 19 Years of Age, and the Wife of *John* of *Gaunt*, Earl of *Richmond*, but upon the Death of her Eldest Sister (which happen'd shortly after) without Issue, in her Right, Duke of *Lancaster*, Earl of *Darby*, *Lincoln*, and *Leicester*, Steward of *England*, and also Lord of *Brigerac*, *Beaufort*, and *Nogent*: Who had by her *Henry*, Sirnamed of *Bolingbroke*, who afterwards traiterously deposing King *Richard* the Second, became King of *England* by the Name of *Henry* IV.

Soon after his Death the Lady [f] *Mathilda*, his Eldest Daughter, came into *England* to claim her Purparty of the Inheritance; where she died presently; being, [g] as was thought, poison'd, that the Inheritance might not be divided among Foreigners; but go entirely, as thereupon it did, to her Younger Sister, who was Married in *England*.

[f] *Knighton p.* 2625.
[g] *Id. p.* 2626. *n.* 31.

Besides this Great Prince, there [h] died this Year of the same Plague the Lord *John Moubray*, a most Valiant and Noble Knight of *England*, who was styled Lord of the Isle of *Haxiholme*, and of the Honours of *Gower* and *Brembre*. He died at *York* on the 4th of *October*, leaving behind him *John* his Son and Heir, a Valiant Young Gentleman, then of full Age; whom he had by his Wife, the Lady *Joan* of *Lancaster*, Sister to the Duke of *Lancaster* aforesaid. But this Young Lord *John Moubray* brought more [i] Honour and Possessions to his House and Name by taking unto him for Wife, the Lady *Elisabeth*, Daughter and Heir to *John* Lord *Seagrave*, by *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter and sole Heir to *Thomas* of *Brotherton* ([k] Second Son to King *Edward* the First) Earl of *Norfolk* and Marshal of *England*. From which Marriage [l] are Descended all the Dukes of *Norfolk* and Earls of *Nottingham*, of the Sirname of *Moubray* and *Howard*, the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Barkshire*; and particularly the Thrice Noble *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, the present Earl of *Peterborough*, [m] Son of *John* Earl of *Peterborough*, by his Lady *Elisabeth*, sole Daughter and Heir of *William Howard*, Lord *Effingham*, Eldest Son to *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*. Nor ought We to forget the Death of the Valiant Lord [n] *Edward Montague*, Brother to *William* the first Earl of *Salisbury* of that Name, which happen'd in this Year; he leaving behind him only one Daughter,

[h] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 127.

[i] *Dudg. ibid. p.* 128.
[k] *Fifth* Son, but *Second* surviving.
[l] *Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p.* 110.
[m] *Dugd. Bar.* 2 *Vol. p.* 279. & *p.* 312.
[n] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 653. & *Mills Catal. Honor. p.* 531.

An. Dom. 1361. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXV.

at that time XII Years of Age, then Wife to the Lord *William Hufford*, Eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*.

Beſides this [o] there died the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, a Baron of great Renown in thoſe days, leaving behind him a Son of his own Name and Character: Alſo *William* [p] Lord *Fitz-Warine*, of the Houſe of the Lord *Fulk Fitz-Warine*, and Sr. *Nicolas* [q] *St. Maure*, aliàs *Seymor*, a conſiderable Baron of the Realm. Beſides whom there were now taken away ſix Biſhops, [r] as *Michael Northborough*, aliàs *Northbrook*, Biſhop of *London*, who was ſucceeded by *Simon Sudbury*; *Reginald Brian* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, whoſe Chair was ſupply'd by *John Barnet*; *Thomas Lylde* Biſhop of *Ely*, a good Benefactor to *Peter-Houſe* College in *Cambridge*, whoſe loſs was repaired by the Succeſſion of *Simon Langham*; alſo *Robert Stratford* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, into whoſe place came *William Lenne*, aliàs *Lenlimere*; and *John Synwell* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, whoſe Succeſſor was *John Buckingham*, Lord Privy Seal; but theſe two latter died in the beginning of the next Year. There died alſo at this time that Famous Scholar, *Richard Fitz-Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, and Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*; of whom we [s] have ſpoken more largely elſewhere: Only it is here to be added, that this Archbiſhop [t] had ſuch a Reputation for Holineſs and Integrity of Life; that he is ſaid to have been conſpicuous for Miracles even after his Death; ſo that Pope *Boniface* IX gave order for an Inquiſition to be made thereafter, deſigning thereupon to Canonize him; as 'tis generally believ'd, he deſerved.

o *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 68.
p *Id.* 1 *Vol. p.* 447.
q *Id.* 2 *Vol. p.* 89.
r *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 171. *Godw. Catal. Bps & Stow p.* 265.
s *Hujus hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 3. §. 15. *p.* 552.
t Vid. *Odor. Rainal. ad ann.* 1358. § 6. & Wad. *in Annal.* Minor. *Tom.* 4. *ad eund. ann.*

IX. But yet among theſe frequent Funerals, there was a Glorious Torch of *Hymen* lighted up at Court this Year: For the moſt Heroick Prince of *Wales*, who was all along unconquerable in War, laid aſide now his Lions skin, and began to be ſoften'd with the warm Fires of Love. The Object of his Affections was that Incomparable Paragon of Beauty the Lady *Joan*, commonly called the Fair Counteſs of *Kent*, at this time a Widow: And yet neither in Age much unequal to this Great Prince, nor in Vertue, or Nobility, thô a ſubject, unworthy of him. She was now in the 33d Year of her Age, and the Prince in the One and Thirtieth of his: He being Great Grandchild to King *Edward* the Firſt, and ſhe Grandchild to the ſaid King by a ſecond Venture: He, the Glory of his Sex for Military performances and other Princely Vertues; and She the Flower of hers, for a Diſcreet and Honourable Mind, ſweetned with all the Delicacies of a moſt ſurprizing Beauty. However, 'tis [u] ſaid, the Prince only intended at firſt to endeavour to encline her to the Love of a certain Knight, a ſervant of his, whom he deſign'd to advance thereby; but that after ſundry Denials, with which he would not be put off, ſhe told him plainly, "*how when ſhe was* "*under Ward, ſhe had been diſpoſed of by others; but that now being at Years of Diſ-* "*cretion, and Miſtreſs of her own Actions, ſhe would not caſt her ſelf beneath her* "*Rank; but remembred, that ſhe was of the Blood Royal of* England, *and therefore* "*reſolved never to Marry again; but to a Prince for Quality and Vertue, like Him-* "*ſelf.* The *Black-Prince* was a Paſſionate Admirer of every Gallant Spirit; how then could he do otherwiſe, but take ſatisfaction from ſo obliging a Declaration; when he well knew, that all ſhe ſaid, was true, and beheld her ſtill Miſtreſs of ſuch Graces and agreeable Qualities, as might worthily recommend her to the Love of the Greateſt Prince on Earth? He preſently therefore returns her Compliment with an Affectionate Kiſs, and from that inſtant reſolved to become her ſervant. Soon after which, having eaſily obtain'd the Conſent of the King, his Father, and an eſpecial Diſpenſation from the Pope (not only becauſe he was ſo near of Kin unto her, but had [x] alſo ſtood Godfather for her Eldeſt Son *Thomas*) he was ſolemnly Married unto her, to the great ſatisfaction of the King and the whole Court.

u *Joh. Harding c.* 185. *f.* 186.
x *Aſhmole p.* 676.

X. Much about this time alſo his Brother, Prince *Lionel*, one of the Lovelieſt ſhape in the World, being about Twenty three Years of Age, is [y] ſaid to have taken to Wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, ſole Daughter and Heireſs of *William de Burgo*, aliàs *Burgh*, aliàs *Burke*, once Earl of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, in whoſe Right and Title he became Earl of *Ulſter*. But here we muſt excuſe, or at leaſt explain Sr. *William Dugdale*: Whoſe Words run thus, [z] that in the 35 of this King, to wit, this very Year, being made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, he took to Wife *Elizabeth*, &c. Which Words naturally ſeem to imply, that he was not Married till this Year unto the foreſaid Lady. And yet this account is evidently too late by almoſt ſeven Years; for it appears, that his Daughter *Philippa*, which he had by this Lady, [a] was born no leſs than ſix Years before, *An°.* 1355, or the 29th of *Edward* the Third; and that ſeven Years hence, namely *An°.* 1368, [b] ſhe was 13 Years of Age; and that 3 Years after, *viz.* [c] *An°.* 1371 She brought

y *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 167.
z *Id. ibid.*
a *Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p.* 221.
b *Id. ibid. p.* 222. & *Dugd. ipſe Bar.* 2 *Vol. p.* 168.
c *Monaſt. Angl.* 2 *Vol. p.* 228. *a.*

brought forth her First-born Daughter *Elizabeth*, unto her Husband *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*. Otherwise She must have been a Mother at Nine Years of Age, which is impossible. AN. DOM. 1361. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXV.

But to proceed, Prince *Lionel* her Father, [d] was this Year made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to which Charge he repaired immediately: And upon his Coming thither published an Inhibition to all *Irish-born*, not to dare once to approach his Court, nor to take up Arms, or to follow the Wars, thô in his Service, upon any account. After which he vanquished *Obrian* the Rebel; and yet once on a sudden, thô all things were quieted, he lost an Hundred of his Men, no Man could tell how, while they lay in their Quarters. Which secret Mischief was judg'd to have been occasioned by that unpleasant Decree aforesaid: Whereupon Prince *Lionel* taking better Advice, began to receive the Natives of *Ireland* into the same degree of Favour, as other Lieutenants had formerly held them in, shewing a Princely Candour and tender Concern for their Welfare, by which means he wan the Hearts of that stubborn People, and ever after prosper'd in his Affairs relating to that Country. He advanced to the Honour of Knighthood several of their most forward Gentlemen, among whom were these, *Preston* (which Family was since better known by the Name of *Gormanston*) *Holywood*, *Talbot*, *Cusac*, *Delahide*, *alias Hide*, *Patrick*, *Robert* and *John de Fraxinis*, all Persons of great Fame in the Wars. And during his Stay in those Parts he removed the Exchequer to *Catherlagh*, and bestow'd on Defence of that Town 500 *l.* Sterling.

[d] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 167. & Holinsh. Chron. Irel. p. 72.*

XI. Now that the Wars between *England* and *France* were ended, King *Edward* was pleased to restore unto the Priors Aliens their Houses, Lands and Tenements (which [e] 23 Years before he had confiscated to his own Use, letting them out to Farm) as by his Letters Patents may appear, [f] the Tenor whereof followeth, *viz.*

[e] *Vid. hujus Hist. l. 1. c. 10. §. 5. p. 113.*

[f] *Weevers Funer. Monuments p. 339.*

"*EDWARD*, by the Grace of God King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland* and of *A-*
"*quitaine*, to all who shall see or hear these Presents, Greeting. Whereas the Priory
"of *Montacute* in the County of *Somerset*, by reason of the Wars between Us and
"*France*, with all the Lands, Tenements, Fees, Advousons, together with the Goods
"and Chattels belonging to the same, hath been of late taken into our Hands, and
"by Us farmed and rented forth as appeareth by divers Patents: Now therefore since
"Peace is betwixt Us and the Noble Prince, our most Dear Brother King of *France*,
"We for the Honour of God and Holy Church, restore unto the said Prior, the Priory
"with all the Lands, Tenements, Fees, Advousons, and whatsoever else belonging to the
"same, the same to hold in as free manner as they held it before. And withall We
"forgive and Release all Arrearages of Rents, which might be due unto Us by reason
"of any former Grants. In Witness whereof We have made these our Letters Patents:
"Dated at *Westminster* the *Sixth* of *February*, in the *Thirty Fifth* Year of our Reign.

The like Letters of Restitution were granted to all the rest of the Houses of Aliens thrô *England*: All which *Priories Aliens* were many Years after [g] utterly suppressed and dissolved by another Martial King, *Henry* the Fifth, and their Lands given by him and his Son *Henry* VI, to Colleges of Learned Men in *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, and to other Monasteries.

[g] *Weevers Fun. Monum. p. 339.*

CHAPTER the EIGHTH.

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I. *An Embassy from the Kings of* Armenia *and* Cyprus; *whom King* Edward *entertains with Justs and Tourneaments.* II. *King* Edward *creates his Eldest Son Prince of* Aquitain, *with the Copy of his Charter.* III. *The Prince prepares to go over with his Family: An occasional Prophecy concerning the next Successor to the Crown after King* Edward: *The Prince's Reception in* Aquitain; *he creates Officers and settles his Court at* Bourdeaux. IV. *A Parliament at* Westminster, *the* Jubilee *of King* Edwards *Age: He creates his Sons, Prince* Lionel, *Duke of* Clarence, John, *Duke of* Lancaster, *and* Edmund, *Earl of* Cambridge; *and bestows many large Favours upon his People.* V. *The King holds a solemn Hunting with great Royalty. The Lord* Faulconberg *dies*; *Sr.* John Copland *murthered.*

An. Dom. 1362. An. Regni *Anglie* XXXVI.

IN the beginning of this Year there came into *England* an Honourable Embaſſie of Gallant Knights of *Armenia* and of *Cyprus*, ſent from the two Kings of thoſe Countries, who were now engaged hotly in a War with the *Saracens*, to requeſt the King of *England* for his Aid, either in Men or Money, or in both, towards the carrying on of thoſe Holy Wars; or at leaſt-wiſe to prepare the Kings Mind againſt the time that the King of *Cyprus* ſhould come hither for that purpoſe, which he did not long after. The King received them graciouſly, and they were in a fair way to ſucceed with him according to their deſire; and he for his Part as well to entertain theſe Gentlemen Strangers, as to divert the Princes and Lords of *France* now in Hoſtage with him, began [a] on the Firſt of *May* to ſolemnize a Royal Juſts and Tourneament in *Smithfield*, which was held with great Honour for Five Days together, the King himſelf, the Queen and their Children being preſent, with the moſt Part of the Nobility of *England*, and thoſe Noble Gueſts of *France*, *Spain*, *Cyprus* and *Armenia*.

[a] *Walſing. Hiſt. p.* 172. *Stows Survey of* London *p.* 421.

II. A while after King *Edward* adviſed with his Council about the better Eſtabliſhing of his Affairs; and it was reſolved, [b] that ſince the Prince of *Wales* was now upward of Thirty, and a Married Man, the King his Father ſhould give unto him the whole Dutchy of *Aquitain*, to hold by Homage of the Crown of *England*: Eſpecially becauſe the Lords and Knights of thoſe Parts (althô the Lord *Chandos* was not only blameleſs, but dear among them) did perpetually importune the King to ſend his Son the Prince unto them. It is eaſily remembred, that in the late Treaty of Peace, among other things it was agreed and ſworn to, both by the *French* King and his Eldeſt Son, afterwards called *Charles* V, that all the Dutchy of *Aquitain* ſhould from that time forward for ever remain to King *Edward* of *England* and his Heirs and Succeſſors in ſuch manner, as that they ſhould not owe or pay any Homage or Reſort unto the King or Crown of *France* therefore; but to be held by Them with all Freedom and Liberty perpetual, as Sovereign Lords, Allies and Neighbours to the King and Realm of *France*, without acknowledging any kind of Superiority, or making any Obedience, Homage or Subjection, and without yielding in time to come any Service or Recogniſance to the King or Crown of *France*, for either the Whole or any Part of thoſe Lands, whether Cities, Earldoms, Caſtles, Countries, Lands, Iſles, Places or Perſons, named in the Articles of the ſaid Treaty.

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 216.

Now therefore King *Edward* having a full and peaceable Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Agreement, [c] reſigns and gives unto his Son the *Black-Prince*, by his Royal Charter, all the Land of *Guienne* and *Gaſcogne*, by the Name of a Principality for his Life, in which Charter he created him Prince of *Aquitain* and *Gaſcogne*; and alſo granted unto him thoſe other Caſtles, Towns and Counties of *Poictou*, *Saintogne*, *Angouleſmois*, *Agenois*, *Limoſin*, *Quercy*, *Rovergue*, and all other Places on the Borders of *Gaſcogne*, which by Vertue of the Peace were to fall to King *Edward*, reſerving to himſelf Power of Erecting *Guienne* into a Kingdom, and retaining alſo to himſelf the Reſort and Sovereignty both over the Principality and the Reſt that went with it: And this Charter was Dated the 19 of *July* 1362, being the 36 of *Edward* the *Third*. But beſides this Charter of Donation and Creation, there was another bearing Date the ſame Day, of Explanation, whereby the King more particularly declared the Senſe of his Reſervation of the Reſort and Sovereignty, and beſides of an Ounce of Gold Yearly payable unto him by the Prince, at his Palace of *Weſtminſter* on *Eaſter-Day*. The Charter of Creation is incorporated in that of Explanation; the Margin of the [d] Roll being *Pro Edvardo Principe Aquitaniæ & Walliæ*, i. e. *For Edward* Prince of *Aquitain* and of *Wales*. The Charter of Explanation is *French*, and that of Creation *Latine*, in the Originals, which the Reader may find in [e] Mr. *Selden*; I ſhall here take leave to render the whole in *Engliſh*.

[c] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c*, 232. *& Hiſtorici omnes.*

[d] *Rot. Vaſcon.* 36 *Ed.* 3. *m.* 18. *n.* 17.

[e] *Seldens Titl. Honor. Part.* 2. *ch.* 3. *p.* 487. *&c.*

"*The King to all thoſe, who ſhall ſee or hear theſe Letters, Greeting. Whereas this* "*preſent Day We have given to our Right Dear Eldeſt Son,* Edward *Prince of* Wales, "*the Name, Renown and Title of the Principality of* Aquitain, *transferring unto his* "*Perſon for his Life only, all the Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Lands, Countries, Towns,* "*Forts, Iſles, Provinces and Places, which We have and ought to have by Vertue of* "*the Peace laſt made between Us and our Right Dear Brother the King of* France, *in* "*the Country of* Aquitain; *and alſo thoſe which We have and hold, or ought to have and* "*hold in all* Gaſcogne, *together with the Homages, Allegiances, Honours, Obeiſances,* "*Vaſſalages, Fees, Arreer-fees, Services, Recogniſances, Rights, Meer and Mixt Em-*"*pire, and Juriſdictions, High, Mean and Low, Safeguards, Advouſons and Patronages*

"*of*

" *of Churches, Metropolitan and Cathedral, Abbies, Priories, Monaſteries, Hoſpitals,*
" *both Secular and Regular, and of other Benifices of the Church, appertaining unto Us*
" *by Cauſe or on Occaſion of the Premiſes; the Duties, Cens, Rents, Confiſcations, Emo-*
" *luments, Profits, Reverſions, and all manner of Rights, and all other Appurtenances*
" *and Appendages, as entirely and perfectly as We hold them, or as any of our Progeni-*
" *tors have held them in any time paſt, to hold under Us and our Dominion of* Aquitain,
" *by Liege Homage, as theſe and other things are more largely compriſed in our other Let-*
" *ters made to this Purpoſe, the Tenor whereof followeth.*

" *EDWARD*, by the Grace of God King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland* and of *A-*
" *quitain*, to our Moſt Dear Eldeſt Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, Greeting. All tem-
" poral Dignities, as Rays breaking from the Sun, do proceed from the Throne Royal:
" So that from hence the Perfection of their firſt Original may not feel the Detriment
" of Contempt, but rather being exalted above Care and Anxiety, may ſo much the
" more perſiſt ſecurely, and be govern'd and continually protected in Proſperity, by how
" much in Adverſity it was ſuſtained by more and more excellent Defences. The King-
" ly Throne ſtands firm, when it is environ'd with the Power of many Princes; and
" the Subjects rejoyce more frequently to behold the Perſon of their Principal Lord in
" the lively Pictures of their Blood and Lineage; and count it their Happineſs, that
" ſince their Principal Lord cannot be Perſonally preſent in all Provinces of his Domini-
" ons, yet they may behold Him, who if Nature keeps her right Courſe, is to be his
" Heir, continually ſtanding by them: From whence the inſolence of Tranſgreſſors, by
" the Honour and Power of the Right committed unto him, may for the ſafeguard
" of the Loyal, be more frequently puniſhed, and the laudable and fruitfull Perfor-
" mances of others may be recompenced with the return of a worthy Retribution.
" We therefore being moved on this Conſideration, O our moſt Dear Son, and for ma-
" ny other Reaſonable Cauſes, intending by a liberal Recompence to do Honour unto
" You, who lately in the Parts of *Aquitain* and *Gaſcogne*, while there the frequent
" Storms of War raged, for our Sakes did not refuſe the Summer Duſt and the Labour
" of War, but under the Name and Title of our Lieutenant have ſupported the Bur-
" then of our Cares, and with your Preſence ſupplied our Abſence, out of our Princely
" Prerogative do convey and grant unto You by theſe Preſents, the Principality of the
" under-written Lands and Provinces of all *Aquitain* and *Gaſcogne*; Willing and Gran-
" ting, that of all and ſingular the ſaid Places, Lands and Provinces in our Name, next
" and immediate under our Throne and Government, You from henceforth be the true
" Prince, and freely during your Natural Life, enjoy the Honour, Title, Appellation
" and Name of Prince of *Aquitain*; even althô hereafter theſe Provinces ſhould be ere-
" cted unto the Title and Dignity of a Kingdom; and from this time We do eſpecial-
" ly reſerve unto our Selves a Power of Erecting them into a Kingdom. And that the
" Honour of this Name thus granted may prove hereafter, God willing, more advanta-
" geous unto You, of our meer Bounty and certain Knowledge, We give and grant
" unto You, and to your ſingle Perſon only, convey, in the beſt Right and manner that
" We can, the Cities, Caſtles, Towns, Lands, Places and Provinces under-written, and
" whatſoever Right of Poſſeſſion and Propriety We have, or any way have had, or
" that any of our Progenitors hath any way had heretofore to them or in them (the
" direct Lordſhip or Superiority thereof being always eſpecially to Us reſerved) to wit,
" the City and Caſtle, and all the Land and Country of *Poictou*, together with the
" Fief of *Thoüars*, and the Land of *Belleville*; the City and Caſtle, and all the Land
" and Country of *Saintogne* on this ſide and on that ſide the *Charente*; the City and
" Caſtle, and all the Land and Country of *Agennois*; the City and Caſtle, and all
" the Land and Country of *Perigort*; the City and Caſtle, and all the Land and
" Country of *Limoſin*; the City and Caſtle and all the Land and Country of *Quercy*;
" the City and Caſtle, and all the Land and Country of *Tarbe*; the Land, Country
" and Earldom of *Bigorre*; the Earldom, Land and Country of *Gaure*; the City,
" Caſtle, Land and Country of *Angouleſmois*; the City, Caſtle, Land and Country of
" *Rouvergue*; the City and Caſtle of *Dax*, and the Town and Caſtle of St. *Sever*;
" [f and alſo the City and Caſtle of *Bourdeaux*, and the City and Caſtle of *Baionne*]
" and all the Cities and Caſtles, Towns, Places, Lands and the whole Country, as
" well of *Guienne* as of *Gaſcogne*; To *HAVE* and to *HOLD* from Us under Liege
" Homage (the ſaid Direct Lordſhip and Soveraignty to Us as aforeſaid, reſerved) un-
" to your Self, as long as you Live, all and ſingular the Cities, Caſtles, Towns, Places,
" Lands, Counties and Provinces aforeſaid, together with all the Iſles thereto belong-
" ing, Homages, Allegiances, Honours, Obeiſances, Vaſſalages, Fees, Arrear-Fees, Ser-
" vices,

f Theſe enclo-ſed words were at firſt omitted in this Char-ter; but af-terwards inſer-ted in this Place; the Charter being renewed with the ſame Date and the addi-tion only of thoſe words. *Seldens Titl. of Honour. Par. 2. ch. 3. p. 492.*

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"vices, Recogniſances, Rights, Meer and Mixt Empire, and with Juriſdictions, High, "Mean and Low, Safeguards, Advouſons and Patronages of Churches Metropolitan and "Cathedral, both Secular and Regular, and of other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices whatſoe- "ver to Us appertaining, by Occaſion or Cauſe of the Premiſes, the Duties, Cens, "Rents, Confiſcations, Emoluments, Profits, Reverſions, and all their Rights and Pur- "tenances, as entirely and perfectly as we hold or have held them, or as any of our Pro- "genitors had or held them in time paſt. And for the ſtronger Support and Confirma- "tion of your Name and Honour, We grant unto You eſpecial Authority and Power in "the Lands, Places and Rights aforeſaid, to give and grant unto Perſons deſerving ei- "ther in Fee or Demain for ever, or for a time, thoſe Lands or Places, which of old "did not belong to our Demain; as it ſhall pleaſe You and ſeem beſt. Alſo to make "Coin, and ſtamp Monies of Gold and Silver, or any other, and to grant unto the Ma- "ſters and Workmen of the Mint, Indulgences and Privileges, uſually to ſuch given; "and alſo to *Amortize* Lands, Places and Rents, freely or under Finance, which are gi- "ven at preſent to *Mortmaine*, or ſhall be given or left hereafter: Alſo to Enoble Per- "ſons Ignoble; and Seneſchals, Judges, Captains, [g] Conſuls, Secretaries, Publick "Solicitors, Receivers, and any other Officers to create, ordain and ſet in every Place "of the ſaid Provinces; and the ſaid Officers ſo placed and ordained, when and as of- "ten as need ſhould be, to remove and to ſet others in the place of them ſo removed: "Baniſhed Perſons and Criminals whatſoever belonging to the ſaid Provinces, preſent, "paſt and to come, to their Condition, Good-name and Country, together with their "Goods moveable and immoveable, to reſtore and call back; and unto them full Par- "don and Remiſſion of their Offences, done and to be done in the foreſaid Provinces "(althô therefore they have been condemned to Death, or ſhall be condemned, and "have been of other Provinces) to give, grant and confirm: To any Cities, Caſtles "and Places, Churches and Perſons of the Church, Monaſteries, Colleges, Univerſi- "ties, and ſingle Perſons, of what Condition ſoever they be, Privileges, Immunities, "Franchiſes, Liberties and Indulgences, perpetual and temporal whatſoever, to give and "to grant: And if of old given and granted, together with the Cuſtoms and Uſages "(provided they be not contrary to the Peace and Accord laſt made between Us and "our moſt Dear Brother the King of *France*) by our Authority to confirm, when "and as often as you ſhall be required ſo to do; and any other things whatſoever to "do and exerciſe, which the *True Prince of the ſaid Provinces* might or ſhould do "for the Welfare and Government of the Inhabitants thereof, and for the Quiet of "his Subjects. All and ſingular which Premiſes We will have given, alienated, granted, "beſtowed, authorized, reſtored, revoked, pardoned, remitted, conceded, confirmed, "done, acted and performed by You and your Deputies; and from this time as hereto- "fore, they ſhall have a like perpetual Validity, as if by Us they were done, acted and "performed as aforeſaid. And moreover and above, and as there ſhall be need for "their greater Validity, from this time as heretofore, We commend, allow and ap- "prove, and by the Tenor of theſe Preſents confirm them. *Datum ſub Magni Sigilli "Noſtri Teſtimonio in Palatio noſtro* Weſtmonaſterii *die* 19 *Menſis* Julii, *Anno Do- "mini Milleſimo, Tercenteſimo, Sexageſimo, Secundo, & Regni Noſtri Triceſimo Sexto.*

[g] In moſt Cities of *Aquitain* the chief Governors are ſtiled Conſuls, Cotgrave's *French* Dictionary *in voce Conſul.*

"*Now to take away all Doubts and Contentions, which may ariſe hereafter about this "Matter, and to the end that the Affair may be more clear, over and above, and again "We reſerve to our Selves, and to our Majeſty Royal, expreſly and by Tenor of theſe "Preſents, the Direct Supremacy, and all the Sovereignty and Reſort of the whole Prin- "cipality of* Aquitain *and* Gaſcogne, *and of all the Cities, Counties, Caſtles, Lands, "Countries, Towns, Forts, Iſles, Provinces and Places, and of all Prelates, Earls, Vi- "counts, Barons, Nobles and other Subjects, and Inhabitants of the ſaid Provinces, "which We have given to our ſaid Eldeſt Son, and conveyed unto his Perſon by the Te- "nor of our Letters hereabove incorporated: And We will and declare, that the Imme- "diate Supremacy, the whole Sovereignty and Reſort abovemention'd, be and remain for "ever to Us and to our ſaid Majeſty, to uſe the ſaid Reſorts in time and place, as We "ſhall think fit, which We will not, nor intend to, leave nor convey to our ſaid Son, by the "Title of a Principality, nor by any other thing whatſoever compriſed in our ſaid Let- "ters. And for an evident Token and clear Demonſtration, that our ſaid Son ſhall hold, "and ought to hold, under Us of our ſaid Majeſty, and by Liege Homage, the which he "hath made unto Us at preſent, all the ſaid Things and every of them; He ſhall be ob- "liged to pay unto Us every Year at our Palace of* Weſtminſter, *on the Feaſt of* Eaſter, "one Ounce of Gold, *whereof he hath already given Us Poſſeſſion and Seiſin, as in to- "ken and Recognition of our Supream Dominion: The which thing by the Name of Re-*

"*venue*

"*venue and annual Tribute, We impose on, and really and* de facto *ordain of certain* AN. DOM.
"*Knowledge, and of our Authority and full Power; and will, that he pay it at the Place* 1362.
"*and Time abovesaid, reserving unto our Selves express and especial Power, to diminish* An. Regni
"*or enlarge the said Imposition and annual Tribute, or appoint it to be paid unto Us in* *Angliæ*
"*other things at other times and elsewhere, as it shall seem good unto Us to do for the time to* XXXVI.
"*come, in gracious Consideration and Regard had to the Estate of our said Son, and to the*
"*Charges which are convenient of necessity to maintain and support him in the Govern-*
"*ment of the foresaid Countries.* Donne per Tesmoignance de nostre Grant Seal a nostre Palays de *Westmonster* le XIX jour de *Juyl*, lan de Grace Mill. Triscentes. Sexante and Deux & de nostre Regne, Trente, Sisme.

III. When the Prince of *Wales* had made his Homage to the King his Father for this Principality of *Aquitaine*, and had received these Letters Charters, the King order'd him to prepare his Family, according to the Dignity that he now held, and then to pass the Seas in the Name of God, and enter upon his Government. For he saw well, that his Son was of great Conduct, Prudence, and Courage, and in the full Vigour of his Youth, capable for any Government whatsoever: He intended also hereby, to render him the better instructed, and as it were Tutor'd with Experience against the time, that by his Decease he should succeed to the Crown of *England*; and he well understood, that by the Acquisition of so great a Principality, he would be able and Rich enough to keep as Royal a Court, as any King should do; for at this time, not to mention the Earldom of *Kent*, and the other vast Lands and Possessions, which he had with his Princess, He was Prince of *Aquitaine* and *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*. The Young Prince readily obey'd his Fathers Pleasure, and busied himself the remainder of this Year about preparing for the Departure of himself and his Lady, the Princess, with all their Family. After *Christmas* the King and Queen, and all the rest of their Children, Sons, and Daughters, went to *Barkhamsteed* near *London*, a Mannor of the said Princes, to visit and take their last leave of him: And there they were altogether for several days, during which space there were many serious Debates between the King and the Prince, and also many Notable and Royal Diversions and Entertainments. *Froisard*, the *French* Historian [l] was then present in the Prince's Court, and he says, that at that time he heard an Ancient Knight, named Sr. *Bartholomew Bruels*, in discourse among the Ladies, say, how he had seen a certain Book, written by way of Prophesie, called *le Brusc*, in *English* the Broom; alluding, no doubt, to the Sirname of the Kings of *England*, *Plantagenet*, which *Henry* the Second obtain'd from the Flower of the *Broom*, named in *Latine Planta Genistæ*. "This Book, said He, expresly declares, that neither the Prince of *Wales*, "Eldest Son to King *Edward*, nor the Lord *Lionel* Earl of *Ulster*, nor the Lord *Thomas* "of *Woodstock*, should ever come to the Crown; nor none of King *Edwards* Sons "should ever come to the Crown: But that the Realm of *England* should within a "while devolve to the House of *Lancaster*. Whatever this Book was, or by whatever Art written; in this it failed not: For the *Black-Prince* dying before his Father, and Prince *Lionel* also, *Henry* of *Bolingbroke* Earl of *Darby*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, usurped the Crown from *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, Son and Heir to the said *Black-Prince*, and King of *England* at that time; in whose House the Dignity Royal Remain'd to the Third Generation; when the *Yorkists* wrested the Scepter into their own Hands, and held it, till the Uniting of both Houses. But to return.

[l] *Froiss. l. ult. fol. penult. c. 299*

All things being now ready, the Prince of *Wales* [k] in the beginning of *February* went on Board his Fleet, whereof the Earl of *Warwick* was Admiral, and took the Sea with a strong and Princely Retinue, and arrived on the Fourth day at *Rochelle*, where he was received with great Demonstrations of Joy, and tarried among them four Days. The mean [l] while the Lord *John Chandos*, who for more than a Year had Governed all *Aquitaine*, as the King of *England's* Lieutenant, heard, how the King, his Master, had now given all those parts by the Name of a Principality to his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, and how he was come to *Rochelle*, in Order to enter upon his Government. Whereupon He presently made ready Horses and Chariots, and set forth from *Niort* with a goodly company of Men of Arms, Knights, and Esquires, toward the City of *Rochelle*, to pay his respects to the Prince, and to bid him Welcome to his Government. The Prince and Princess received my Lord *Chandos* exceeding Graciously; and there passed many mutual Embraces between the Lords and Knights of *England*. But on the Fifth Day from the Prince's Arrival, the Prince and the Lord *Chandos* with all their Retinues, which were very considerable, rode from *Rochelle* to the

[k] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 233. Walsing. hist. p. 172.*

[l] *Froiss. c. 217.*

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the City of *Poictiers*, in great Pomp and Glory, the double Face of Peace and War, of the Ladies and Men of Arms, making a Delightfull Mixture of *Mars* and *Venus*, of the Court and of the Campaigne. At *Poictiers* he was met with infinite Respect and Joy by all the Lords, Barons and Knights of *Poicton* and *Saintogne*, and here, where his last Triumph was gain'd upon the *French* King, he first received the Fealties and Homages of those *French* Gentlemen, whom he had subjected thereby. From *Poictiers* he went to *Bourdeaux*, where he kept his Court in as Splendid a Manner, as if he had been King of *France*; his Beloved Princess being with him all the while. Unto *Bourdeaux* there came to see him all the Earls, Vicounts, Barons, and Knights of *Gascogne*, such as were subject to the Crown of *England*: Whom he entertain'd most Graciously, behaving himself in the eyes of them all so Honourably; that they were extreamly satisfied with his Noble and Generous Dportment, and promised themselves much prosperity under his Government. Hither also came to visit him and to pay him their Homage, the Earls of *Foix* and of *Armagnac*; Lords of great Power and near of Blood; but at this time there was an High Disgust between them. They had, as we [m] shew'd before, for a long while made Bloody War against each other, on the account of a particular Quarrel of their own; which the King of *France* * durst not undertake to compose, for fear of displeasing the King of *England*, whose Vassals they were for the Lands then in contest between them. But however now Prince [n] *Edward* took up the Matter, and made a final Peace and Agreement between them. For besides the obliging Words he gave them, and the close Arguments he us'd to perswade them, the many mutual heavy Losses, which they had already suffer'd, made them much more inclinable to admit of an Accommodation.

[m] *Vid. l.3. c.6. §.8. p. 581.*
* *Mezeray p. 63.*
[n] *Froiss. c. 217.*

This done the Prince made the Lord *John Chandos*, his Constable of all *Aquitaine*, and the Lord *Guischard D' Angle*, his Marshal; the latter being by Birth a *Frenchman* of *Angoumois*; but by the Tenor of the Peace a subject of *England*, as ever after he continued to his great Honour. And into other great Offices the Prince set such Knights of his House, as he most favour'd, and filled all Constableships and Bailywicks with *English* Knights and *Gascogners*, such as he was most assured of, or were best recommended unto him by their own Vertue, or the testimony of Vertuous Men. And here a while We will leave him Governing in Peace, till War shall call him forth again to reap another Glorious Victory.

IV. The mean while King *Edward* held his High Court of Parliament at *Westminster*, where [o] all the Peers were expresly commanded to be present, and not one permitted to appear by Proxy. This Session lasted from the 13 of *October* to the 13 of *November*, in which one Months time he made more good Laws, and bestow'd more Acts of Grace upon his People, than some other Kings have done in all their Life time. The Causes of this Assembly were [p] declared by the Lord Chief Justice, Sr. *Henry Green*, to be for redress of Matters relating to the Church; for observation of the Peace; to settle Affairs with *Scotland*; and to enhance the Price of Wooll: All which were well order'd, as may be seen in the Records and Printed Statutes of this Year. And whereas some say, [q] that the King at this time, contrary to his Oath, set up a Staple of Wooll at *Calais*; it should have been consider'd, that when a Prince, at the Request of his Parliament, promises to do, or not to do, a thing, if at another time, the Reason of things being then alter'd, this very Parliament requires the Contrary; the King ought not to be charged with breach of promise in complying with them. Because the very occasion of his Promise seems at first to have been the Good of his People, which same thing is also afterwards the occasion of his not observing it. And We find [r] in the Records, that when the Lords were commanded to speak, what they thought of the Repair of Merchants to *Calais*, they all agreed, how it seem'd to them a Matter very profitable to the Realm: To which point the Commons, thô at first they demurr'd, till they might have conference with the Merchants, at last yielded also themselves. Wherefore the King shortly after [s] sent over XXVI of the most considerable Merchants of the Realm, to hold the Staple there for three Years, and to keep and defend the Town, every Merchant having six Men of Arms, and four Archers at the Kings Charges, and besides the Mayor of the Town, he also appointed another to be over the Staple, the King being to receive for *Maletot* Twenty shillings, and the foresaid Merchants, Wardens of the Town, 40 pence, of every Sack of Wooll.

[o] *Walsing. hist. p. 173. Speed 584.*
[p] *M.S. Rot. Parl. 36. Ed. 3. n. 2. p. 88. Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgement p. 92, &c.*
[q] *Stow p. 255.*
[r] *M.S. id. & Sr. Rob. Cotton ibid.*
[s] *Knighton p. 2626. n. 40, &c.*

It was [t] in this Parliament Enacted, that neither Gold, nor Silver should be used in Apparel, Knives, Girdles, Chains, Rings, or other Bodily Ornament by any Man, who could not expend Ten pounds by the Year. And that none, who could not expend

[t] *Walsingh. hist. p. 173. n. 10. & 20.*

expend an 100 *l. per annum*, ſhould preſume to wear Silks, Furs, or other pretious Garments. But I ſhall paſs over the other Statutes made in this Parliament, becauſe they are every where to be had in Print, but only thoſe Acts of Grace, which King *Edward* did unto his People, are not to be left in ſilence. AN. DOM. 1362. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXVI.

Now on the 13 of *November*, which was the Birth-Day of this Great Monarch, at which time he had exactly finiſhed 49 Years of his Age, and was come to the Entrance of the *Fiftieth*, King *Edward*, as he was a Man of more exalted Thoughts than any other in his Days, reſolved to keep a Jubilee of his Age in the moſt remarkable and ſolemn Manner imaginable; at leaſt to the greateſt Satisfaction of thoſe under his Government. Of *Jubilees* in general, and of their Original we [u] have already ſpoken, wherefore we ſhall repeat nothing of that in this Place; but immediately diſpatch our preſent Narration. Only we ſhall obſerve this, that King *Edward* had this extraordinary Privilege to ſee two *Jubilees*, beſides that of Pope *Clement* the Sixth; this Firſt being upon the Account of his having arrived to the Fiftieth Year of his Age, and the other, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its Place, becauſe he had then Reigned as many Years: But now we are entertain'd with this under our Hands. On the 13 of *November*, which was the Firſt Day of our King *Edwards* Life, and the Laſt of this Parliament, when the Petitions of the Commons were anſwer'd, and they with loyal and well-affected Minds had unanimouſly [x] granted unto the King for three Years 26 *s.* & 8 *d.* of every Sack of Wooll, beſides a Subſidy of Woolls, Fells and Skins, [y] then by the Kings Command roſe up the Lord Chancellour Sr. *Henry Green* aforeſaid, and declared, that the King being arrived to the Fiftieth Year of his Age, intended to ſhew ſeveral Acts of Grace and Mercy unto his People; and firſt, that he deſign'd to advance unto Honour ſuch of his Sons as were of full Age; namely, that his Son *Lionel* (then being in *Ireland*) ſhould have the Title of Duke of *Clarence*, to Him and to the Heirs Male of his Body lawfully to be begotten, in Right of his Wife [z] *Eliſabeth*, Daughter of *William* Earl of *Ulſter*, Son of *John de Burgo*, by *Eliſabeth de Clare*, Sole Daughter and Heireſs of *Gilbert Rufus* Earl of *Clare*, the Name of *Clare* being changed into *Clarence*. And hereupon [a] an Addition of the Arms, belonging unto the Houſe of *Clarence*, was elegantly inſerted into the Label of this Dukes Coat, *viz. Argent* with the Fourth Part of a Scutcheon *Gules*. The Lord Chancellor further declared, that his Son *John* ſhould be Duke of *Lancaſter* in Right of his Wife, for her Eldeſt Siſter, Daughter to the late Duke, was now dead in *England*, as we intimated before; and laſtly, that his Son *Edmund* ſhould be Earl of *Cambridge* in Fee. After which in [b] full Parliament the King Girt his Son *John* of *Gaunt* with a Sword, and ſet on his Head a Cap of Furr, and a Circlet of Gold with Pearls thereon, and created him Duke of *Lancaſter*, [c] with all the Liberties and Regalities of an Earl Palatine in the County of *Cheſter*, as alſo Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln* and *Darby*, with the Office of High-Steward of *England*, in the Right of his Wife *Blanch*, whereof he gave him his Charter. This done he [d] Girt his Son *Edmund* with a Sword, and Created him Earl of *Cambridge*, whereof he gave him a Charter: So that the incomparably Diligent Antiquary and Herald Sr. *William Dugdale* himſelf appears here to have ſlipt a little, when he ſays, [e] that Prince *Edmund* (thô he was then in *Ireland* at this time) was created Earl of *Cambridge*: The Miſtake I ſuppoſe, happen'd from the Words foregoing, which take Notice that Prince *Lionel* was then in *Ireland*.

[u] *Vid. L. 2. c. 10 §. 1. p. 449.*

[x] *Walſingh. hiſt. p. 172. n. 30.* [y] *M.S. Rot. Par. p. 90. & Sr. Rob. Cottons Abridg. p. 92, &c.*

[z] *Vid. Mills Catal. Hon. p. 334.*

[a] *Id. Mills Catal. Hon. p. 336.*

[b] *M.S. Rot. Par. p. 90. Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 94.*

[c] *Mills Catal. Honor. p. 326.*

[d] *M.S. Rot Par. p. 90. Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 94.*

[e] *Dugd. Bar. 2 Vol. p. 54.*

At the ſame [f] time the King granted his General and Special Pardon to all, without Fine or paying of Fees for the Seal; ſet all Debtors and Priſoners at Liberty, and recalled thoſe that were Baniſhed; and for the better eaſe of his People in their Law-Sutes, and alſo perhaps leſt *England* ſhould any longer bear thoſe Marks of Slavery, he ordained, that hereafter all Pleas ſhould be uſed in *Engliſh*, and that all Law-Caſes, Pleadings, Sentences, Decrees, Judgments and Contracts, ſhould be written and enrolled in the *Engliſh* or *Latine* Tongue, the *French* being wholly laid aſide. But whether by length of Time the Cuſtom had been too ſtrongly radicated, to be ſo ſuddenly broke off, or whether by the Wit and Subtlety of the Lawyers, this Law was not long after in part eluded: For thô to this Day our Pleadings are in *Engliſh*, yet our Law-Caſes remain in *French*, or rather as *Polydore*, in the *Norman* Language, which Cuſtom was firſt introduced by *William* the Conquerour. Only it is here to be obſerved, that althô the Printed Statute, touching Pleading in the *Engliſh* Tongue (Chap. 15.) doth agree with the Record, yet where the Print ſays, that all ſuch Pleas ſhould be enrolled in *Latine*, the Record doth nothing warrant the ſame. Beſides this King *Edward* now confirmed *Magna Charta*, which in his whole Reign he is ſaid to have done no leſs than 12 ſeveral times. Nor ſhall I omit, that althô of our Kings ſince his Days few have

[f] *Polyd. Virg. l. 19. p. 385. Speed p. 584. Walſing. Hiſt. p. 172. Favine le Pariſ. Theatre of Hon. l. 5. c. 1. p. 60. & M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. c. 232.*

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lived ſo long, none have reigned ſo long; wherefore they had no Opportunity to imitate King *Edward* in theſe things, yet [g] from Occaſion of this *Jubilee* of his they have ſince uſed that Famous Cuſtom on *Maundy Thurſday*, being the Day before *Good-Friday*, to beſtow their Alms more largely than uſually, and in Imitation of our Saviours Humility, to Waſh, Feed and Clothe as many poor People, as they themſelves are Years Old.

[g] *Polyd. Virgil. idid. Speed, &c.*

V. The Parliament being ended, the King rode forth with all the Chief Dukes, Earls, Barons and Lords of the Realm, together with the *French* Hoſtages in his Company to ſeveral great Foreſts, [h] as *Rockingham* Foreſt in *Northamptonſhire*, *Sherwood* Foreſt in *Nottinghamſhire*, and *Clunne* Foreſt in *Shropſhire*, and many other Woods, Parks and Foreſts, where he hunted all ſorts of Noble Game in Seaſon; and all the while he expended extraordinary an 100 Pounds one Day, and an 100 Marks the other; and ſo on while the Sport continued, which was both long and very divertiſing.

[h] *Knighton p. 2627. n. 20.*

About this time the [i] Noble Lord *Walter Fauconberg*, a Valiant and Hardy Baron of this Realm, departed this Life, leaving behind him *Thomas* his Son and Heir, then ſeventeen Years of Age. And thô with all my Diligence, I cannot find the manner or the occaſion, yet for the Eminence of the Perſon, I ſhall not paſs by the Murder of Sr. *John Copland*, the ſame who at the Battle of *Durham* took the King of *Scotland* Priſoner, as we have ſhewn already. This Valiant and Worthy Gentleman, upon what Quarrel doth not appear, was this Year [k] murder'd by the Lord *John Clifford* of *Ewyas*, who thereupon was forced to fly the Land, and could by no means obtain his Pardon till about 15 Years after, or the laſt of King [l] *Edward*, when upon the Teſtimony of divers *Engliſh* Peers in Parliament of his ſingular Valour, and of his ſpecial Services in the Wars in *France*, the King at laſt upon the inſtant Requeſt of the ſaid Peers and Commons of *England*, then aſſembled in Parliament, gave him his Charter of Pardon.

[i] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 4.*

[k] *Knighton p. 2626. n. 30.*

[l] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 341.*

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I. *King* John *of* France, *on the Death of the Duke of* Burgundy *without Iſſue, takes Poſſeſſion of the Country, and goes to viſit the Pope at* Avignon; *Pope* Innocent VI *dying,* Urban V *ſucceeds.* II. *The King of* Cyprus *comes to* Avignon *to get aid againſt the* Saracens; *A Combat fought there; A Croiſade proclaimed, whereof the King of* France *is made the General.* III. *The King of* Cyprus *viſits the Emperour; the Emperours Opinion concerning the Holy War: The King of* Cyprus *goes to other* Chriſtian *Princes.* IV. *King* Edward *allowing the* French *Hoſtages ſome Liberty, the Duke of* Anjou *makes his Eſcape.* V. *The Kings of* Cyprus *and* Denmark, *and the Duke of* Bavaria *come into* England: *King* Edwards *Anſwer to the King of* Cyprus, *upon his demanding Aſſiſtance for the Holy War.* VI. *A Parliament at* Weſtminſter. VII. *A Convocation, wherein the exceſſive Number of Holydays are retrenched.* VIII. *The Death of the Dutcheſs of* Clarence, *of* Edward Bailiol *once King of* Scotland, *and of the Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells. IX. *A Man, who after execution at the Gallows recover'd, is pardon'd by the King.* X. *The King of* Cyprus *and the Shrine of St.* Hugh *of* Lincoln *robbed.* XI. *King* David *of* Scotland *comes into* England *upon a Viſit: A long and hard Froſt.*

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I. IN the preceding Year King *John* of *France* undertook a Journey to *Avignon* to viſit the Pope and Cardinals, but he choſe to ride through the Dukedom of *Burgundy*, becauſe that Provence was newly fallen unto him, by the Death of *Philip* the young Duke, Grandſon of Duke *Eudes* the VI, and Son of that *Philip*, who was ſlain at the Siege of *Aiguillon*, and of the Lady *Jane* of *Boulogne*, who afterwards was married to King *John*, and died the Year before this her Son. In [a] his Perſon was extinct the Firſt Branch of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, being of the Houſe of *France*, which had produced no leſs than twelve Dukes, and had laſted the ſpace of 330 Years. For this young Prince died [b] about *Eaſter* 1362, without Iſſue, himſelf being

[a] *Favine le Pariſiens Theater l' Honour l. 4. c. 3. p. 7.*

[b] *Paradin Annal. Burgund. l. 2. p. 348.*

being but Fifteen, and his Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders* not above Eleven. When therefore King *John* [c] was ready for his Journey, and had appointed his Son *Charles* Regent and Governour during his Abſence, he began his Progreſs from *Paris* about the latter end of *July* 1362, having with him in his Company, his Couſin the Lord *John* of *Artois*, Earl of *Tancarville*, the Earl of *Dampmartin*, the Lord *Bouciquault* Marſhal of *France*, and many other Grandees. Having by ſmall Journeys and great Expence rode thrô *Burgundy*, he came in the beginning of *September* to *Villeneufe* without *Avignon*, where Lodgings were provided for Him and his Attendants. He was entertained with great Magnificence of Feaſting by the Pope and the whole College of Cardinals, and many interchangeable Viſits were made between the King and Them: But in the heighth of all [d] Pope *Innocent* the VI, having ſat Nine Years, Eight Months and Twenty Days, departed this Life at *Avignon* on the Twelfth of *September*. Whereupon there aroſe much Difference among the Cardinals about Chooſing of a new Pope, for each of them aſpired to the Dignity himſelf, eſpecially the Cardinal of *Boulogne*, and the Cardinal of *Perigort*, who were by far the Greateſt, and had moſt powerfull Friends. Wherefore after much Altercation the reſt of the Cardinals agreed to put the Deciſion of the Matter to theſe Two, who finding thereby, that neither of them could obtain the Papacy themſelves, agreed together, that neither any of the reſt ſhould have it, but rather that they would pitch upon ſome other Indifferent Perſon. There was at that time in the Parts of *Lombardy* one, [e] who was employ'd thither by Pope *Innocent* about Affairs with the Lords of *Milain*, named *William Griſant*, by ſome named *Grimoardi*, Abbot of St. *Victor* of *Marſeille*, a Devout and Holy Man, of unblameable Life and eminent Learning, who was called *Anglicus*; whereupon [f] many have believed him an *Engliſh* Man; thô I rather believe he might obtain that name becauſe he was a *Gaſcogner*, and ſo by Birth ſubject to the King of *England*. This Man the Two Ambitious Cardinals choſe, rather out of Envy to their Fellows, than thrô any Love to Him or his Vertue. He [g] was elected on the 28, or as Some ſay on the laſt of *October*, and Crowned on the Sixth of *November* following, being a *Sunday*, at which time he took the Name of *Urban* V. It is ſaid of him, [h] that having long waited at the Court of *Avignon* in fruitleſs expectation of Preferment, he complained to a Friend of his ſaying, "*I believe verily, if all the Churches of the World ſhould fall,* "*there would none fall upon my Head.* Whereupon this Friend of his coming to viſit him after his Coronation, ſaid all ſmiling, "*You lately complain'd* (*moſt Holy Father*) "*that if all the Churches in the World ſhould fall, yet none you thought, would fall up-*"*on your Head. Behold now, how God hath diſpoſed things, for all the Churches in the* "*World are now fallen upon your Head together.* Soon [i] after this Mans Creation, King *John* heard News, that *Peter* of *Luſignan*, King of *Cyprus* intended ſhortly to come to *Avignon*, to give his Holineſs a Viſit, and that in order thereto he had already paſſed the Sea; whereupon he reſolved to tarry ſtill at *Avignon* till his Coming, being very deſirous to ſee him, becauſe of the great Renown he had heard of him both for his Valour and Piety, and particularly of the great Honour he had won in the War againſt the *Saracens*; and that among other his Succeſſes, he had lately taken from them *Sattalia* the chief City of *Pamphylia*, and put all the Infidels to the Sword. This *Peters* Anceſtor, *Guy* of *Luſignan*, King of *Jeruſalem*, [k] purchaſed the Iſland and Kingdom of *Cyprus*, of our *Richard* the Firſt, King of *England*, ſirnamed *Cœur du Lyon*, by Exchange for his Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, ever ſince which it remain'd in the hands of the ſaid *Guy* and his Deſcendants.

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[c] *Froiſ. c.* 216. *fol.* 112.

[d] *Labbei Chron. Techn. ad ann.* 1362.

[e] *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad ann.* 1362. §. 6. & *Ciacon. cum Victor. p.* 925. &c.

[f] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 172.

[g] *Labbei Chron. Techn. ad ann.* 1362. Lit. Domin. B.

[h] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 172.

[i] *Froiſ. c.* 216. *fol.* 112.

[k] *Speed p.* 477. §. 40. *in* Ricardo *Primo.*

II. King *Peter* came to *Avignon* [l] about *Candlemas* in the beginning of this Year, of whoſe Coming the whole Court was glad; and moſt of the Cardinals, together with the *French* King, went forth to meet him, and conducted him with much Honour to the Popes Palace, where they were highly careſſed, and after a ſplendid entertainment the two Kings returned to their Lodgings prepared for them in *Villeneufe*. Thus they tarried during all the ſeaſon of *Lent*, and made frequent Viſits to the Pope, and diſcourſed him of many ſerious Matters, concerning which they came thither. While the Kings were at *Avignon*, there happen'd a Controverſie in Arms (which by the Court Martial was adjudged to be tried by Combat) between two Noble and Experienced Knights, namely Sr. *Edmund de Pamiers* and Sr. *Fulk de Orillac*, the King of *France* being to ſit as Judge of the Field. Both the Knights behaved themſelves with that Activity, Skill and Reſolution, that is was no eaſie matter to ſay who was the Better: So that when after a long and gallant Fight, neither had any apparent Advantage of the other, and both their Spears and Swords being broken, they were proceeding to Pole-Axes, King *John* preſently flang down his Wardour,

[l] *Froiſ. c.* 217.

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and caused the Combat to cease; after which He reconciled them together. Now the King of *Cyprus* spake more than once to the Pope, his Cardinals and the *French* King, "That it would be both an exceeding Honour and Advantage for all "*Christendom*, if some Powerfull *Christian* King would undertake to lead the Way o-"ver the Sea and rear his Banners against the Enemies of the *Christian* Faith; who for "want of such Opposition overran all *Asia*, and hung now like a dreadfull Storm over "*Europe*. These Words the *French* King consider'd well, and resolved with Himself, if he might live Three Years longer, to be One among the Foremost in this Holy Expedition; not only out of a pious Consideration backed with the Words of the Pope, and the King of *Cyprus*, but also for two other Respects; the one because his Father King *Philip* had made a Vow so to do, to the [m] Breach whereof he constantly attributed all the Miseries, which had befell *France* since that time; and the other, that by so doing he should not only drain his own Country of those Evil Companions, who harassed his People without any just Title or Pretence; but also thereby prove an Instrument of saving their Souls, by making them draw their Swords in the more righteous Cause of *Christ*. These were his Reasons, and this his Resolution, which he kept secret to himself till *Good-Fryday*, at which time Pope *Urban* himself preached in his Chappel at *Avignon*, in the Presence of both the Kings of *Cyprus* and of *France*, and also of *Waldemar* King of *Denmark*, who was newly come thither for the same purpose. Sermon ended the *French* King in great Devotion stept forth and professed himself a Champion of *Christ*, and took upon him the *Croisade*, which he solemnly sware personally to set about, and to begin the Voyage within two Years from that Time, it [n] being then the last of *March*. He also requested the Pope to yield his Consent and Furtherance thereto, and by his Bulls to authorise this his pious Undertaking. The Pope not only most readily agreed to this Request, but also granted him his Pontifical *Diploma*, *Dat. Aven. Pridie Kal. April. Anno Pontif. I.* Wherein he constitutes him Governour and Captain General of all the *Christian* Armies, and produces these three Causes of that Expedition; First, the Indignity of the Matter, that *Christians* should suffer those places, which our Saviour had honoured with his Footsteps, and the Mysteries of our Redemption, to be defiled and trodden down of the *Mahometans*: also the seasonable Occasion of Recovering *Syria*; now that the strength of the *Saracens* was exhausted with a Pestilence; and lastly the great Necessity of repressing the growing Tyranny of the *Turks*, when 'twas to be feared, that all *Christendom* would be a prey unto them, unless their Fury should meet with a timely Check. *Talayrand* the Cardinal of *Perigort* was the Popes Legate in this Holy Expedition, and then Methods were taken how to support the Design with Tithes and other pecuniary Collections; the Prelates were commanded to publish this Croisade from their Pulpits, and to distinguish those who took it upon them with the Sign of the Cross. And then Excommunication and an *Anathema* was set forth against them, who should offer to dissuade the *French* King from his pious Design of recovering *Syria*: On which account circular Letters were sent, and solemn Prayers were appointed to engage the Divine Assistance. The Pope also sent his Letters to the Emperour *Charles*, to King *Edward* of *England*, to *Lewis* of *Hungary*, and to other Kings and Princes, that they would now employ all their power and Conduct toward the reducing of *Asia* unto *Christ*; and because King *John* could not conveniently set forth till about two Years after, by reason that his Realm was so unsettled, and he could not in less time finish his Musters, and other vast Preparations thereupon; wherefore he tied himself to a certain Day, which was to be the Kalends of *March* in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand, three Hundred, Sixty and five: The King of *Cyprus* resolved in the mean time to go about and visit all the great Courts in *Europe*, and as he should succeed to go over before the King of *France*, to whom the Pope [o] promised considerable Assistance. And thus a mighty Resolution was taken up, and the Cross of *Jerusalem* was worn by *John* King of *France*, *Waldemar* King of *Denmark*, and *Peter* King of *Cyprus*; [p] also by *Talayrand*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Perigort*, thô he was Earl of *Perigort*, and Bishop Cardinal of *Alba*; the same was done by the Earl of *Artois*, and the Earl of *Eu*, the Earl of *Tancarville*, the Earl of *Dampmartin*, the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, the Lord *Bouciquault*, and the Grand Prior of *France*, and many other Lords and Knights then and there present. The King of *Cyprus* was extreamly overjoy'd at the great Zeal he found in all these *Christian* Worthies, and thought his Journey well bestow'd in so great a purchase towards the Advancement of Religion. But yet not content with this, he design'd to proceed and visit *Charles* the Emperour, and all the Princes and Chief Lords of the Empire; he intended likewise to see the King of *England*, the Prince of *Wales*, and

[m] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an.* §. 14.

[n] *Pascha* 2 *Apr.* Lit. Dom. A.

[o] *Odor. Rain. ad hunc ann.* §. 19.

[p] *Froiss. c.* 217.

and all other Potentates of *Christendom*, to stir them up singly at least to a Contribution in Men or Money toward so pious and general an Undertaking. And the Pope gave him many Absolutions and Pardons, and full Authority to publish them, the better to encline all Devout persons to joyn with him in so Holy and Meritorious a Cause, as it was in those Days accounted. And surely the King of *Cyprus* wherever he went, easily engaged the Love of all Men; for besides the Reputation which he had got in Arms, and that himself had long been a Souldier in the same Quarrel, he gave such good Reasons, and spake so elegantly, and perswaded so pathetically, that all Men of War had far rather hear him than a Sermon of the Pope's to that purpose: And so on this point they rested. Having therefore thus forwarded his Business here, he took his leave saying, how he would go and visit the Emperour, and the Lords of the Empire, and promised to return thither again by *Brabant*, *Flanders* and *Hainalt*; and so he was dismist by the Pope and the *French* King, who both acquitted themselves towards him very honourably, the latter presenting him with many rich Gifts and Jewels, and the former with Pardons, Absolutions and Indulgences for Him and all his Men, which as the Superstition of the Times went were no less Valuable. After the King of *Cyprus* his Departure, whom the King of *Denmark* accompanied, King *John* also took his leave of the Pope, and went to *Mompellier* to visit *Languedoc*; for he had not been in those Parts of many Years before.

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III. The mean while the King of *Cyprus* rode so long by his Journeys, till he came to *Prague* the chief City of *Bohemia*, where the Emperour then was, of whom he was graciously received, as also of all the Lords of the Empire there present. It is said, [q] that the Emperour told the King of *Cyprus*, "That he applauded his Words, and "approved of the Popes pious Endeavours, as also of the *French* Kings Resolution, "and of the King of *Denmarks*; and that for his own part he neither wanted Wealth "nor Will to set about the Holy War, if he thought it would really be so much "for the Benefit of *Christendom*, to shed the Blood of many good Men for the "Affairs of *Syria*; that it was impossible to recover those Countries without much De"struction of *Christian* People, of which Slaughter to make no account was the part "rather of an Hangman than of a Prince. That moreover a Country so surrounded with "Enemies, if it should be won, could not by any be long retain'd in Obedience; where"fore to him it seem'd not the part of a *Christian* to seek the purchase of so little "false Glory with the hazard of so many Lives. But however lest any should imagin, that he declin'd these Matters upon the account of Frugality, he offer'd the King of *Cyprus* as much Money, as might probably suffice for that War, which he presently caused to be paid unto him. The Emperours Liberality was imitated by the Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Austria* and *Saxony* his Brethren, the Marques of *Moravia*, and the Duke of *Luxemburgh* and others; of all whom he received considerable Sums of Gold: Three Weeks he tarried at *Prague*, labouring all the while to bring over Profelytes to his intended Expedition against the Infidels, and wherever he went, while he was within the Bounds of the Empire, his Charges were born by the Emperour. After this he rode into the Dukedom of *Juliers*, and thence into *Brabant*, where he was received with much Honour by the Duke and Dutches, and highly entertain'd in their chief City of *Bruffels* with Feastings, Justs, Tourneaments and other Princely Diversions, and at his Departure he was largely presented with Jewels and other rich Gifts; and after all he went into the Earldom of *Flanders* to visit Earl *Lewis*, who treated him with great Magnificence at *Bruges*, and in all things gave him full Satisfaction. Here he staid therefore the remaining part of the Summer, still minding the main Business, for which he had left his own Country, and earnestly exhorting the Earl, and other Lords and Gentlemen, to embarque in the same Bottom with him, where *Christ* and his Holy Vicar were sure to be the Pilots, and Earthly Honour and Immortal Glory lay ready for them at the end of their Voyage: And all the Lords that heard him approved of his Words, and declared themselves willing to follow him.

[q] *Pantaleon de Ord. Johannitarum Rebus Gestis l.4.p.102.*

IV. The mean while King *Edward* had dealt very Graciously with all the *French* Hostages; but especially [r] unto Four of the Chief of them he shew'd Great Favour, namely, unto the Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Anjou*, the Duke of *Berry*, and the Duke of *Bourbon*. For he permitted these Four Princes to reside at *Calais* for such a time, and during their stay there, each of them to have four days liberty to ride abroad into the *French* Pale, on the Marches of *Calais*; provided, that at the end of four days they return'd to *Calais* by Sun-setting. And this Grace the King allow'd with a Good Design, that so having some opportunity to be near their Friends, they might the sooner gather up the Money still remaining due for King *John's* Ransom,

[r] *Froiss. c. 218.*

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Ransom, and thereby releaſe themſelves and their fellow Hoſtages. Theſe Four Lords being thus at *Calais*, ſent frequent Meſſengers to the *French* King, and to the Duke of *Normandy*, "deſiring them to make quick diſpatch in working their Delivery, as "they had promiſed and ſworn unto them, when they went Hoſtages into *England*: "For if they were neglected any longer, they were reſolved to look to themſelves; "becauſe, as they ſaid, they were not properly Priſoners, but only ſureties for ano- "ther: And that if the Principal would not concern himſelf to perform the Cove- "nants, for which they were Pledges, it would be high time to ſhift, as well as they "could, for themſelves. Thus eager were the Young Princes to be at liberty; but King *John* and the Duke of *Normandy*, and their Council, were ſo deeply taken up in Matters of a more preſſing Nature, what in preparing for the *Croiſade*, and what for other Wars, which the Inconſtant King of *Navarre* began again to renew in *France*, having already ſent into *Lombardy* for certain Troops of the Companions to come to his Aſſiſtance, that they had no leiſure as then, to take the Remonſtrance of theſe Dukes into conſideration, or to ſend them any ſatisfactory Anſwer: Whereupon the Duke of *Anjou*, being young and angry, and neither well conſidering his Fathers Honour, nor his own, took the opportunity, one of the Four Days allow'd him, to ride clear off; whereat King *John* was infinitely diſpleaſed.

V. By this time the King of *Cyprus*, having diſpatch'd his Affairs with the Earl of *Flanders*, came at laſt to *Calais*, where he found the remaining three *French* Dukes of *Orleans*, *Berry*, and *Bourbon*; the Duke of *Anjou*, being, as we ſhew'd, newly eſcaped away. Theſe Three Dukes, together with the King of *England's* Captains, who had the charge of them, received the King of *Cyprus* into *Calais*, where they were all together for two or three days; till there came from *England* a Safe Conduct, bearing Date 6[f] *December*, and to continue in Force, till *Midſummer* following for the King of *Cyprus*, the King of *Denmark*, and *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*. Then theſe two Kings and the Duke aforeſaid, took ſhipping for *England*, and arrived at *Dover* a little before *Chriſtmas*, where tarrying two days to refreſh themſelves and their Retinues, and till all their Carriages and Horſes were unſhipped, they rode by ſmall journeys eaſily, till they came to *London*. Here at the Kings Command they were Honourably met by the Young Earl of *Hereford*, *Eſſex* and *Northampton*, by the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord *Edward Spencer*, the Lord *Ralph Ferrers*, Sr. *Richard Pemburge* and Sr. *Richard Sturry*, together with the Lords of *France*, Hoſtages, who conducted them to the Lodgings prepared for them. 'Tis to no purpoſe to mention all the Great Dinners and Publick Entertainments, wherewith King *Edward* received theſe Grand Perſonages, he ſhewing by all ways imaginable the high Reſpect he had for them, and for the Pious Enterpriſe they had all taken in Hand. But unto the King of *Cyprus* he made a free declaration of his Mind, ſaying, "That from his Soul he deſired to be "reckon'd among the Heroick Champions of the *Chriſtian* Faith; but he added, how "it could not be warranted by the Word of God, that Religion was to be propaga- "ted by the Sword, or that it was a thing pleaſing to God, to endeavour the Reco- "very of the Land of *Paleſtine*; at the expence of ſo much *Chriſtian* Blood, as it "hath too often coſt already, or that it was the Duty of a *Chriſtian* King, without "any abſolute neceſſity to leave his own Subjects, over whom God hath ſet him, to "ruſh into Foreign Wars, which had no immediate relation to him: But only in this "caſe, where a Pagan Prince doth unjuſtly ſeek to ruine or deſtroy any *Chriſtian* "Prince, that it would be the Intereſt of other *Chriſtians*, near unto him, to protect "and maintain his cauſe with their United Powers againſt the ſaid Infidel. That as "for him, he was not to be look'd on in that capacity; neither could he be ſpared "from the Realm; for thô (bleſſed be God!) he had now Peace both abroad and "at home; yet it behov'd him not only to look to the Peaceable Government of "his Realm, but alſo to ſtand upon his Guard; leſt by occaſion of his Abſence an "Advantage might be taken againſt him, which he might never be able ro repair: But as "to a Friend and to a *Chriſtian* King, who had come ſo far for the cauſe of *Chriſtendom*, "he promiſed him very conſiderable Sums of Money, and leave to take as many Volun- "tiers, as he could raiſe thrô the Realm.

[f] *Aſhmole p.* 665.

VI. Before this [t] there was a Parliament Summon'd this Year to meet the King at *Weſtminſter*, as on the *Fryday* in the Octaves of St. *Michael*, being the Sixth of *October*; of which I ſhall take leave to glean ſome few remarkable Obſervations. On the *Fryday* aforeſaid both houſes not being full, the Lord Chief Juſtice, Sr. *Henry Green*, in preſence of the King, Lords, and Commons, by the Kings Order, prorogued the Parliament, till *Fryday* following. At which time *Simon Langham* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Lord

[t] *M.S. Rot. Par. p. 92. An°. 37. Ed. 3. & Sr. Rob. Cotton's* Abridgement *p. 96, &c. Vid.* Statute Book *p.* 120.

Lord Chancellour of *England*, declared before the Lords and Commons the Reaſons, why the King had called the ſaid Parliament; namely, "becauſe he was deſirous "to know the Grievances of his Subjects, and particularly that he might by the "help of their advice redreſs what wrongs had been done againſt the Liberties of Ho-"ly Church; and alſo all Enormities, eſpecially about exhibiting of Petitions. Then there were appointed Receivers and Tryers of Petitions for *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*; alſo for *Aquitaine* and other Foreign Places and Iſles. On the *Wedneſday* after Commandment was given, that no Man ſhould tranſport Woollen Clothes, Sheep, Butter, Cheeſe, Malt, or Ale; only that the Merchants of *Almaine* might export Worſteds, and ſtraight Clothes, and the Merchants of *Gaſcogne* might carry forth Woollen Clothes to the Value of the Wines imported. AN. DOM. 1363. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXVII.

Then the Commons gave the King their moſt humble thanks for the great Goodneſs he had ſhewed, and confirmed unto them with his own Mouth the laſt Parliament: And they humbly pray, that the King would enjoyn the Archbiſhops and all others of the Clergy, that they would put up their joynt Prayers to God Almighty, for the Proſperity of his Majeſty, in Order to the Peace and good Government of the Land, and for the continuance of his Majeſties Good-Will towards his Commons. *The ſame prayeth the King.* That the Coyners be order'd to Coyn half their Bullion into half-pence and farthings, for the uſe of the Poor. *The King hath ſo appointed.* That Remedy may be had againſt Merchants, Hoſtelers, Regraters, and Foreſtallers of Wares, Fiſh, Wine, and Corn. *The Ordinance for Fiſh ſold at* Blackney *in* Norfolk *ſhall be kept, to look to the Execution whereof* William Wickingham *and* John Barry *are appointed.* That an Order be ſet forth againſt Merchants for exporting of Corn, Meal, and other ſuch Proviſion. *A Proclamation to the contrary hath been, and is now again newly made.* That Remedy be had againſt Wears, and ſuch other Engines on Rivers, as are a great annoyance to Boats. *The Statute made for that purpoſe ſhall be kept.* That the Houſe of Commons may chooſe Juſtices of the Peace for every County; and that thoſe whom they ſhall ſo chooſe, be not diſplaced upon any ſurmiſes. *Let the Houſe of Commons name Able Men, and the King will chooſe, as he thinks beſt.* That ſuch Perſons, as in the time of the Great Peſtilence, did let out their Mannors, which they held of the King *in Capite*, to ſundry Perſons for term of Life, without Licence, may accordingly continue the ſame, untill the Land become more populous. *The King will be adviſed.* That thoſe, who bring in any Wines from any of the Kings Dominions, may be obliged to bring Teſtimonial under Chief Officers hands of the Prizes of the ſame; ſo that upon their Arrival the Juſtices of the Peace may ſet Prizes agreeable thereto. *The Statute therefore made ſhall ſtand.* The Printed Statutes for the [u] moſt part agree exactly with the Records, except that where the Print touching Wines hath *Conchers*, the Record hath *Engliſh Conchers*; and that of the Seventh Chapter in the Print touching Silver Veſſels, and of the Nineteenth for finding of Hawks, there is no mention found in the Record.

[u] *Vid. quomodò Rot. Parl. & Sr. Rob. Cotton. p. 97, &c. n. 20. &c.*

This Parliament was continued by ſeveral Prorogations, till the Third of *November*, when the Lord Chancellour in Preſence of the King, Lords, and Commons, declared, that the King was reſolved to execute the Statute of Apparel, and therefore charged them all to promote the ſame. After which he demanded of both Houſes, whether they would have ſuch Matters, as they agreed on, to be by way of Ordinance or of Statute; they anſwer'd by way of Ordinance, that they might amend the ſame at their Pleaſure, and ſo it was done. Then the King thanked them for their Pains taken, and ſo diſmiſt them for that time.

VII. A Convocation [x] of the Province of *Canterbury*, being held this Year under Archbiſhop *Iſlip*, the Holy-days were by a Canon retrenched to a far leſs Number than before; which indeed amounted to few more, than We now obſerve in *England*: Excepting to particular places, the Days of Dedication of Churches and the Saints days, Patrons thereof, and alſo the Double Feſtival of [y] St. *George*; liberty being left to Work on any other Saints Days.

[x] *Regiſt. Arch. Cant. Simon Iſlip fol. 186. b. & Selden's Titl. Honor. c. 5. §. 43. p. 815.*

[y] *Lindwood de Feriis C. ex Scripturis.*

VIII. This Year [z] departed this Life the Fair young Lady *Elizabeth*, Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, leaving one only Daughter behind her by Duke *Lionel*, her Husband, called *Philippa*, who afterwards was Married to *Edmund Mortimer*, Third Earl of *March*, Lord and Baron of *Wigmore*, *Trim*, *Clare*, and *Connaught*, as alſo of the Lordſhip and Town of *Ludlow*: By him She had *Roger Mortimer*, Fourth Earl of *March*, whoſe Son *Edmund* dying without Iſſue, his Daughter *Anne* was Married to *Richard Plantagenet* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund Langley* Duke of *York*, Fifth Son of King

[z] *Knighton p. 2627. n. 40.*

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King *Edward* the Third, and ſo convey'd her Title to her Son *Richard* Duke of *York*, who thereupon openly challenged the Crown of King *Henry* the *Sixth*, the Son of *Henry* the *Fifth*, the Son of *Henry* the *Fourth*, the Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, King *Edwards* Fourth Son; when as by the Mothers ſide, himſelf was the Son and Heir of *Anne*, Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer*, Son and Heir of *Edmund Mortimer*, by the Lady *Philippa*, ſole Daughter and Heireſs of Prince *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, King *Edward's* Third Son. And thô this *Richard* failed in the attempt, yet his Son *Edward*, afterwards call'd the *Fourth*, obtain'd the point, having deſtroy'd the Houſe of *John* of *Gaunt*, in the Third Generation after his Son *Henry* of *Bolingbroke*, had depos'd King *Richard* the Second by Rebellion. King *Edward* ſolemnized the Funerals of this great Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, and [a] gave Command to the Keeper of his great Wardrobe, to deliver out Four Cloths of Gold Baudekin, or Tinſell, and Nine of Baudekin of *Lucca*, to be offer'd for himſelf and his Queen at her Funeral. Her Body [b] was ſolemnly interred in the Chancel of the *Auguſtine* Fryers at *Clare* in *Suffolk*. Queen *Philippa* (who together with the Lady *Catherine* Counteſs of *Warwick*, and Daughter to *Roger Mortimer*, Firſt Earl of *March*, had ſtood her Godmother) took her young Daughter *Philippa* into her Care and Protection, She being then in the Eighth Year of her Age.

[a] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 167.*

[b] *Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p. 220.*

This Year alſo *Edward Bailiol*, who was in his time King of *Scotland*, till he reſign'd his Title to King *Edward* of *England*, [c] departed this Life at *Doncaſter* in *Yorkſhire* without Iſſue, being the laſt of the Family of *John Bailiol*: So that hereby there was no pretence left to any to diſturb the Then-uncontroverted Right of *David Bruce* King of *Scotland*, and conſequently of Prince *Robert Stuart*, who being the Eldeſt Son of King *David's* Eldeſt Siſter, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, upon King *David's* Dying alſo without Iſſue, as we ſhall ſee about Ten Years hence.

[c] *Knighton p. 2627. n. 50.*

On the [d] Fourteenth of *Auguſt* Dr. *Ralph Shrewsbury* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* departed this Life, being ſucceeded by Dr. *John Bernet*, who was tranſlated thither from *Worceſter*, and *William Wittleſey* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, ſupply'd his place at *Worceſter*, whoſe vacant See was filled by Dr. *Thomas Trillick* Dean of St. *Pauls*, *London*.

[d] *Godw. Catal. Bps p. 371. & Walſing. hiſt. p. 173. Dugd. Warw. p. 557.*

IX. About this time [e] one *Walter Winkeburne* was for ſome Capital crime or other ſo violently proſecuted by one of the Knights Hoſpitallers, that whether Guilty or no, he received Judgment to be Hanged, and Hanged he was. Being after ſuch a time cut down, as he was carried for Dead to be laid in the Church-yard of St. *Sepulchers* at *Leiceſter*, he began to revive in the Cart, and being thereupon carried for ſafeguard into the Chnrch, was there perfectly recover'd, and carefully watched by the Clergy of *Leiceſter*, leſt the Sheriff ſhould take him away to hang him again; while ſome were ſent to tell the King, who was then in thoſe Parts, of the Adventure, and to beg his Charter of pardon; ſince the Perſon had in a manner ſatisfied the Law, and that his miraculous Recovery might ſeem no bad Argument of his Innocency: Accordingly King *Edward* preſently after granted him his Charter of pardon in the Abbey of *Leiceſter*, ſaying theſe Words, which *Knighton* affirms, that himſelf heard from him, "*Since God hath given him Life, I'll give him my Charter.* Such another Caſe happen'd at *London* in my Time about the Year 1670, upon the Body of one *Savage* an hopefull young Man, who gave great teſtimony of his Repentance both before and at the place of Execution. After he had hung a full Half Hour, his Body being granted to his Friends for Burial, they perceiving ſome ſigns of Life to remain, put him into a warm Bed, and at laſt perfectly recover'd him; thô by his own Confeſſion he had been guilty of the Murther and Robbery laid to his Charge. But he had not ſuch Fortune as this *Walter Winkeburne*; for before King *Charles* the Second could be made acquainted with the Accident, the Sheriff having an inkling of the matter, by the indiſcretion of his Friends, came and took him away to the Gallows again, where finally he died.

[e] *Knighton p. 2627. n. 40.*

X. In this Seaſon, either becauſe the Wars being now ended, thoſe who had been Souldiers, had rather do any thing than return to their former Occupations, or thrô relaxation of Diſcipline, there [f] aroſe Swarms of Theeves and High-way Men in ſeveral parts of *England*, who ſet upon Travellers and brake up Houſes, and robbed Churches and the Shrines of Saints, and carried away the more pretious Reliques, and all the Rich Offerings: Particularly they robbed the Abbey of *Thornton* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and took away the Image of our Lady of *Mirivale* out of her Chappel, and the Image of our Lady of *Monks-Kirkby*; and the like they did in many other places, thô moſt

[f] *Knighton p. 2628. n. 10, &c.*

most of the Authors were taken and hanged. Some of these People stole away the Head of St. *Hugh*, formerly Bishop of *Lincoln*, which, after they had spoiled it of all the Gold, Silver and precious Stones belonging unto it, they flang away in a Field, and went to *London* to sell their ill-gotten Goods; but afterwards being themselves rob'd of all their Gains, and thereupon confessing their Sacrilege, they received their reward at the Gallows. Among other Instances of these licentious Robbers violence and contempt of the Law, *Peter* King of *Cyprus* himself, as he rode about here in *England*, with a small Attendance in confidence of King *Edwards* protection, was [g] set upon by a Gang of these Fellows, and inhumanely strip'd and rob'd of all he had about him: Which with other things might easily give occasion to Foreigners of concluding our Nation Uncourteous, Barbarous and Inhospitable; but that it is not the part of discreet Judges to attribute that unto an whole People in general, which is only the Character of the most rascally and villanous sort of Theeves among that People. However King *Edward* was extreamly incensed hereat, and did what he could to bring the Authors to condign punishment; and in order thereto granted unto the City of *London* more ample power to do Justice, and to deliver up Prisoners within their Liberties to the Kings Justices, as they used to do before, thô without Licence.

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[g] *Walsing. hist. p.* 173. *n.* 30.

XI. About this time King *David* of *Scotland* [h] came also into *England* to visit King *Edward*, and to see if he might obtain a Relaxation of some part of his Ransom, but we don't hear any thing of his Success therein. However he stayed some time here, as well in respect to King *Edward*, as for the sake of the Kings of *Cyprus* and *Denmark*, whom he had never seen before. So that shortly after, King *John* of *France* coming also into *England*, there were present here at one time Four Stranger Kings, as *John* King of *France*, *David* King of *Scotland*, *Peter* King of *Cyprus*, and *Waldemar* King of *Denmark*.

[h] *Knighton p.* 2627. *n.* 10.

This Year [i] it is remembred, that there happen'd a grievous hard Frost, attended with an unusual Cold, which continued from the Seventh of *September*, as some say, thô others have *December*, to the Fourteenth of the Kalends of *April* following, which was Occasion of incredible Harm, as well to the Land in General, as to poor People in Particular.

[i] *Knighton p.* 2627. *n.* 50. *Walsingh. hist. p.* 173. *n.* 30. *Fabian p.* 246. *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bib. C. C. C.* Cantab. *c.* 232. *Sr. Rich. Baker p.* 143. *&c.*

CHAPTER the TENTH.

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won and demoliſhed; Connay *beſieged.* XVII. *Prince* Lewis *and his Garriſon of* la Charité *do their Pleaſure: The Earl of* Monbelliard *invading* Burgundy, *King* Charles *remands the Duke thither, who yet takes* Connay *firſt, and then goes and chaces away the Earl of* Monbelliard *and waſts his Lands.* XVIII. *The Conſtable of* France *lays Siege to* la Charité, *and is enforced by the Duke of* Burgundy. XIX. *The Place taken by Compoſition.*

I. KING *John* of *France*, who had all this while made vaſt Preparations for the Holy War, which he had ſo ſolemnly undertaken, [a] was now at the City of *Amiens* in *Picardy* with all the Lords of his Council, before whom he ſeriouſly declared, "That he had a Mind to croſs the Seas, and "pay a Viſit to his Brother of *England*, and the Queen his Siſter, for which cauſe "he had aſſembled them to let them know his Reſolution. All his Council for the main were againſt this, ſo raſh Attempt, as they thought it, of their Kings, and ſeveral of their Prelates and Barons told him plainly, "That it would not be either for his Honour "or Advantage, ſo eaſily to put himſelf into the power of a Reconciled Enemy. "*Meſſieurs*, ſaid King *John*, let me believe my own Judgment: I have found by Ex- "perience ſo much Faith and Honour in the King of *England* my Brother, and in the "Queen and their Children, that I can never commend them too highly: Wherefore "as to that Point I am confident they will embrace me with all Sincerity and Friend- "ſhip. I deſire alſo to confer Perſonally with King *Edward* about this *Croiſade*, which "we have undertaken; and beſides I intend to excuſe my Son the Duke of *Anjou*, "who like an indiſcreet Young Man, by his Unlicenſed Return into *France*, has en- "trenched upon my Honour. To theſe Words none durſt make a Rejoinder, for they ſaw he was abſolutely determin'd as to that Matter. Then the King appointed his Son *Charles* the Dauphin, to be again his Lieutenant and Regent of the Realm, during his Abſence, and he promiſed the Lord *Philip* his youngeſt Son, to make him at his Return Duke of *Burgundy*, and Inheritor of that Dutchy. And ſo Order being given to provide all things neceſſary for the Voyage at *Boulogne*, he rode from *Amiens* to *Heſdin*, where he ſolemniſed the Feſtival of our Lords Nativity, together with Earl *Lewis* of *Flanders*, who came thither to meet him, and tarried with him four Days. On St. *Innocents* Day he left *Heſdin* and went to *Boulogne*, where he took up his Lodgings in the Abbey, expecting till the Wind might ſerve, having in his Company the Earl of *Eu*, the Earl of *Dampmartin*, the Grand Prior of *France*, the Lord *Bouciquault*, Sr. *Triſtram de Magnilieu*, Sr. *Peter* and Sr. *John Villers*, Sr. *John de Auneville*, Sr. *Nicolas de Bracquemont* and divers other Lords, Knights and Eſquires.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 218. *fol.* 114.

Many of our Writers ſeem too indiſcreetly to ſurmiſe, as if one Occaſion of King *John's* coming to *England* at this time was for Love of the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, which Opinion the Noble Lord of [b] *Orrery* hath lately authoriſed with his excellent Pen. But it is to be conſider'd, that my Lord wrote a Poem for Delight, and not an Hiſtory for the Eſtabliſhment of Truth; wherefore he is not to be accuſed: And yet Sr. *Richard Baker*, and others of his Character, are by no means to be pardoned, who ſo lightly make ſuch unwarrantable Reflections without weighing the Matter. If they mean by the Counteſs of *Salisbury*, the Firſt Earl *Montagu's* Lady, that was Madam *Catharine*, Daughter of the Lord *Grandiſon*, and ſhe was dead [c] above 12 Years before this time. If they refer to the Fair Lady of *Kent* ſo much talk'd of, we have ſhewn how ſhe was two Years ſince married to Prince *Edward*, and it appears that ſhe was now with him in *Aquitain*, of which King *John* could not be ignorant: And if they ſhall be forced to own the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the Lord *Mohun* of *Dunſtor*, [d] who only was at this time Counteſs of *Salisbury*, and Wife to the Second Earl *Montagu*; let them bring the leaſt ſhadow of Authority, or ſhew that ever they themſelves thought upon that Perſon before, and I yield. But otherwiſe I muſt profeſs, that I cannot without Reſentment ſee the Honour, not only of a Noble Lady, but alſo of two Kings, *John* and *Edward*, who are both ſaid to have been in Love with her, thus ſhamefully traduced by Men of either no Induſtry or no Honeſty: But to proceed.

[b] In his Play called the *Black-Prince.*

[c] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 647.

[d] *Dugd. ibid. p.* 648.

King *John* of *France*, when all things were ready for his Voyage, and the Mariners told him the Wind ſtood fair for *England*, [e] went on Board, and ſet ſail from *Boulogne* with his Guard and other Attendants, about the hour of Midnight, and arrived ſafely at *Dover* about Ten the next Morning, being the Day before the Vigil of the *Epiphany*, or the Fourth of *January*, [f] which was a *Thurſday*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXIV.

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 219. *f.* 114.

[f] G F. Lit. Dom.

II. King *Edward* was at that time with his Queen and the whole Court at *Eltham* in

in *Kent*, about 8 Miles from *London*; to which Place News was brought him of King *Johns* Arrival. Hereupon he presently sent forth certain Honourable Knights of his Court to bid him Welcome, and to conduct him forward on his way; as the Lord *Bartholomew Burwash*, Sr. *Alan Boxhull*, Sr. *Richard Pemburge* and Others, who rode Post to *Dover*, where they found King *John*, and in their Masters Name gave him Welcome, saying, "How the King of *England* was extreamly satisfied with the obli-"ging Honour of that Royal Visit. King *John* replied, he never doubted of a Welcome from his Dear Brother of *England*. The next Day they all mounted their Horses and rode to *Canterbury*, where having din'd, King *John* would needs visit the Cathedral, where he offer'd a Rich Jewel at the Shrine of St. *Thomas*; and there they tarried the remainder of that Day. On the *Sunday* Morning they set forth all together toward *Eltham*, where the King of *England* was, with a great Number of his Nobility, ready to receive his Dear Brother of *France*. On *Sunday* after Dinner King *John* came thither, where he was highly caressed and embraced by the King and Queen of *England*, and between that and Supper-time there was nothing but Princely Diversions, of Dancing, Singing and Carolling. But especially the young Lord *Ingelram* of *Coucy* set himself forth to entertain the two Kings, and danced so pleasantly, and sang so sweetly, that he extreamly satisfied the Whole Presence, and wan the Commendations both of the *French* and *English* Nobility, who were all delighted to behold and hear him; for all that ever he did became him wonderfully. At this time the Lady *Isabella*, Eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, began to cast her Affections upon that Gallant Lord, and became so serious therein, that shortly we shall find it a Match. Soon after the Court removed from *Eltham* toward *London*, but in the way the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with an Honourable Retinue met the two Kings on *Black-Heath*, and so conducted them over the Bridge thrô the City with Sounding of Trumpets. AN. DOM. 1364. AN. REGNI *Angliæ* XXXVIII.

III. King *John* was conducted to the *Savoy* in great Honour, where he was lodged with those Hostages that were of his Blood, as the Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Berry* and the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Alenson*, the Lord *Guy* of *Blois*, the Earl of St. *Paul*, and divers Others. He was well entertain'd among these his Relations, with whom he constantly conversed, at the same time making and receiving frequent Visits to and from King *Edward* of *England*, King *David* of *Scotland*, King *Peter* of *Cyprus*, King *Waldemar* of *Denmark*, *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*; many Sumptuous and Princely Sports and Banquets passing among them. And the City of *London* was at that time so flourishing, that not only the Lord Mayor, but most of the Aldermen in their Turns, had the Generosity and Ability to invite and entertain all these Great Kings and Potentates singly, and together, as Occasion served. Particularly Sr. *Henry Picard*, [g] a Merchant Vintner of *Gascogne*, who some Years before had been Lord Mayor of *London*, one Day made a Splendid Feast at his own House, now called the Vintry, over against St. *Martins* Church; at which Entertainment were present the Kings of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, *Denmark* and *Cyprus*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Chief Hostages of *France*, and King *Edwards* Sons (excepting the *Black-Prince* then in *Aquitain*) and many of the Chief Nobility of *England*. And after Dinner he kept his Hall for all Comers, that were willing to play at Dice and Hazard; his Lady *Margaret* at the same time keeping her Chamber for the Entertainment of the Princesses and Ladies.

[g] *Stows Survey of* London *p.* 87. *&* 255. *a & b.*

IV. King *John* went [h] as often as he pleased, privately by Water to visit King *Edward* at his Palace of *Westminster*, and both the Kings, when upon their Communication they were put in mind of the Lord *James* of *Bourbon*, who was slain two Years before at the Battle of *Brignais* near *Lyons*, greatly bewailed his Loss, as who was a Person of a most agreeable Conversation in all Noble Company. The *French* King had brought with him into *England*, a [i] Moiety of one Million of the Three he was engaged to pay for his Ransom, and desired that some of the Hostages might be deliver'd; but that King *Edward* would not grant. However King *John* tarried still in *England* disporting himself, and taking his Pleasure in and about *London* and *Westminster*, his chief Residence being at the *Savoy*, at that time [k] one of the Faireſt Mansions in *England* belonging to the Duke of *Lancaster*: And the late Duke *Henry* had bestowed no less than 52000 Marks thereon. King *David* of *Scotland* came also to pay some part of his Ransome, and hoped to prevail with King *Edward* to acquit him of the Remainder; but he could not obtain that Point. The King of *Cyprus*, having purchased a Choice Band of *English* Gentlemen Volunteers, and received many large Presents from King *Edward*, [l] repassed the Seas with King *Waldemar* of *Denmark* in his Company, and

[h] *Froiss. c.* 219. *f.* 114. *b.*

[i] *Knighton p.* 2627. *n.* 20.

[k] *Knighton p.* 2627. *n.* 10.

[l] *Froiss. c.* 218.

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and went to *Boulogne*, and thence to *Amiens*, where he found the Duke of *Normandy* and his Council, by whom he was hugely careſſed, and related unto them his Succeſs in *England*, and how he had left King *John* in Health, whereat they were all pleaſed. Having been here a while he ſaid, "That for all this he thought he had neither done "nor ſeen any thing of Moment, untill he ſhould have ſeen the Prince of *Wales*, "adding, that by the Grace of God he would go and viſit him and the Lords of "*Poictou* and of *Aquitain*. The Regent approved of his Reſolution, but deſired him at his Return to come thrô *France* and viſit his Father, whom by that time they expected from *England*. King *Peter* promiſed to do thus much, and ſo took his leave and rode toward *Beauvais*, and paſſed the River of *Seyne*, and ſo thrô *Perche* and *Tourain* over the *Loire*, till he came to *Poictiers*, where he was informed how the *Black-Prince* was at his City of *Angouleſme*. The Prince was then buſie in providing a Solemn Feaſt, Juſts and Tourneaments, which he deſign'd to hold with Fourty Knights and as many Eſquires, for the Love of his Beautifull Princeſs, who was juſt then brought to Bed of an Hopefull Son called *Edward*, after his Fathers Name. When Prince *Edward* heard how the King of *Cyprus* was coming to viſit him, he ſent forth the Lord *John Chandos* with a great Number of Knights and Eſquires of his Court to meet and conduct him forward, which they did accordingly. And ſo King *Peter* was honourably convey'd to *Angouleſme*, where he was received by the Prince with all the Demonſtrations of Joy and Reſpect imaginable. He found himſelf alſo extream Welcome to all the Lords of *England*, and of *Poictou* and *Sainctogne*, ſuch as were then at the Princes Court, namely to Sr. *John Chandos*, to Sr. *Thomas Felton* and his Brother Sr. *William Felton*, Sr. *Thomas Beauchamp*, Sr. *Simon Burley*, Sr. *Neal Loring*, Sr. *Roger Delaware*, Sr. *Richard Pountchardon*, *Sr. Baldwin Frevile* Seneſchal of *Saintogne* and many more, beſides the Lords of *Aquitain*, as the Vicount of *Thoüars*, the young Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Partenay*, Sr. *Guiſchard D' Angle* and Others. The King of *Cyprus* was highly feaſted and careſſed by the Prince, and the Lords of his Court, and when he had tarried there about a Month, the Lord *John Chandos* rode with him thrô the Country to divert his Mind, and ſhew him what was Curious and worth Obſervation. He was Nobly entertain'd at *Rochelle*, and other Places by the *Engliſh* Governors there, and having viſited the Country all about in the moſt Remarkable Places, he returned again to *Angouleſme*, at what time the Prince held the foreſaid Solemnity in Honour of his Princeſs with great Pomp and Splendour, and a Glorious Retinue of Men of Arms. The ſight of theſe Mens valiant Juſtings, made the King deſire to have ſome of their Company along with him againſt the Infidels: And ſo after the Solemnity of the Feaſt was over, he accoſted the Prince and the Lords of his Court, ſhewing unto them diſtinctly the Principal Reaſon of his Coming thither, namely, "How he had taken upon him the Red "Croſs which he wore, and how the Pope had by his Authority confirmed it, and "what Honour and Privileges remain'd for thoſe, who ſhould joyn with him in this Expedi-"tion, and how the *French* King, and the Lord *Talayrand* the Cardinal, and divers other "Great Lords and Princes had devoutly ſworn to embarque in the ſame Enterpriſe. Then the Prince and his Knights anſwer'd him kindly and ſaid, "How truly it was an Expedi-"tion well worthy the Conſideration of all Men of Honour, and that by the Grace of "God, when once the Matter was enter'd upon, and the Paſſage laid open, he ſhould "not be alone; but ſhould find among them thoſe that would be glad at any Rate, "together with Religion, to advance their Honours. With theſe Words the King of *Cyprus* was well pleaſed, and ſo being laden with Gifts from the Prince and Princeſs, he took his leave, the Lord *Chandos* at the Princes Command, waiting upon him to the Bounds of the Principality. But the Lord [m] *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Thomas* [n] *Roos*, and divers [o] other Stout Barons of *England* and *Gaſcogne*, went quite thrô with deſign to aid him in the Wars in the Holy Land: Being no leſs than 300 Select Horſe Knights and Eſquires, beſides Archers and others their Friends and Servants, who at the requeſt of the Pope had Letters of Safe-conduct from the Governour of *Dauphiné* and *le Viennois*, to paſs without any moleſtation or interruption through thoſe Parts; Sr. *James de Arteville* being appointed with Ten Officers in his Company, to guide and conduct them to the Limits of *Piedmont*.

[m] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*232.
[n] *Thoroton Nottingh. p.*116 *ubi* John *male pro* Thomas.
[o] *Walſing. hiſt. p.*174.

V. The mean while King *Peter* having ſent them before, returned to *Paris*, where he thought to have found the *French* King, but he miſt of his Expectation: For that Prince was not returned out of *England*, but lay dangerouſly ſick at his Lodgings in the *Savoy* at *London*, and every day grew worſe and worſe to the infinite Regret of King *Edward* and his Queen: For all the Phyſicians agreed, that his ſickneſs was Mortal. All this was not unknown to the Duke of *Normandy*, who was at *Paris*, being

Regent

Regent in his Fathers Abſence; for the Lord *Bouciquault* was return'd from *England* to inform the Dauphin in what a Deſperate Condition the King lay. The King of *Navarre* alſo was fully acquainted with the News, but was very little concerned at it; for he hoped to make War more eaſily in *France*, if King *John* ſhould die; and it is to be noted, that this unquiet Prince [p] pretended a Right to the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, which King *John* had already ſeiſed into his Hands, but becauſe the Inhabitants ſo earneſtly deſired a Duke of their own, he deſigned to give it to his youngeſt Son *Philip* at his return out of *England*; for he lov'd him the beſt of all his Children, becauſe he ſtuck ſo cloſe to him at the Battle of *Poictiers*. Being therefore deſirous to take hold of the Opportunity of King *Johns* Sickneſs, he ſent his Letters to the Lord *John Greilly* Captal of *Buche* his Couſin, who was at that time with the Earl of *Foix*, deſiring him to come unto him in *Normandy*; for that he deſign'd to make him *Generaliſſimo* of all his Forces. Whereupon the Captal preſently ſet forward toward *Normandy*, and gather'd up as he went along ſeveral Knights and Eſquires, *Engliſh*, *Gaſcogners* and others, who were willing to partake with ſo Renowned a Captain in his Adventures: But they were not over many.

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[p] *Mezeray p.62*

This mean while on the VI [q] of the *Ides*, *aliàs* on the 8 Day of *April*, King *John* of *France* departed this Life at the *Savoy* in *London*, whereat King *Edward*, and the Queen and their Children were exceeding ſorry, becauſe of the great Love and Friendſhip, that was between them ever ſince the Peace of *Bretigny*. One ſays, [r] that upon his Death-bed, having one time ſent for King *Edward*, he began very earneſtly to beg his Pardon, confeſſing unto him, "That from his firſt Coming into *England*, he had "Confederates in *London* and other Places, who ſecretly collected the Fineſt Gold of "the Kingdom, and made it into Plates, and put it up in Barrels hooped with Iron to "ſend into *France*; and how they had bought up to the Number of 1000 Bows and "Arrows, and a great Quantity of other Arms to the ſame Purpoſe: All which he "now confeſſed to the King, and in whoſe Hands the ſaid Things now were; and al"ſo that he had illegally and unjuſtly withheld from him the Crown of *France* untill "the Peace made at *Bretigny*: For all which he now moſt heartily beg'd his Pardon. And King *Edward* forgave him with much Tenderneſs, but cauſed all the Gold and Arms aforeſaid to be ſeiſed on, and ſeverely puniſhed thoſe *Engliſh* Men, whom he found offending in the Premiſes; among whom were [s] many *Lombard* Merchants, who being diſcovered by ſome of their Fellows, were clapt up in the Tower, till they had compounded as the King pleaſed.

[q] *Labbei Chron. Techn. ad hunc annum.*

[r] *Knighton p. 2627. n.60.*

[s] *Walſingh. Hyp. p.128. n.40.*

VI. Immediately upon King *Johns* Death, [t] the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother, and the Duke of *Berry* his Son, who were ſtill in *England* among the Hoſtages, and wonderfully dejected at his Departure, wrote Word thereof to the Duke of *Normandy*, whereat he was extreamly troubled. But knowing that there was now no Remedy, and that Himſelf was the next Heir to the Crown of *France*; and that the King of *Navarre* was preparing to give him a Baffle at his firſt ſetting forth, he thought it high time to rouſe and put on the Spirit of a King, and endeavour to eſtabliſh his Affairs on all hands.

[t] *Froiſ. c. 219. f.115.a.*

At that time there flouriſhed a gallant Captain in *Bretagne* a Valiant and Hardy Knight, named Sr. *Bertram de Clequin*, of whoſe Name and Original it will not be amiſs for us to enquire a little; thô only for the great Renown he afterwards arrived to, and the many Noble Deeds of Arms which he performed, as we ſhall ſee in the Proceſs of this Hiſtory. About the Year of our Lord 800, [u] *Charlemain* being then King of *France*, there reigned in *Bougie* in *Barbary* a King called *Aquin*, in whoſe time the ſaid *Charlemain* was taken up in his *Spaniſh* Wars, which laſted him in all for about Nine Years: For the Kingdom of *Spain* is a large and great Country, whoſe Beginning was reckon'd heretofore at St. *Jean Pied de Port*, and ſo it went along including the Realms of *Biſcay*, *Navarre*, *Aragon* and *Portugal*, of *Conimbria* and *Lisbon*, of *Sevile*, *Toledo*, *Corduba*, *Caſtille* and *Leon*, up as far as the Streights of *Gibralter*, where is the ſhorteſt Paſſage into *Barbary*. In this Country was that Great *French* Monarch, when the foreſaid *Aquin* an *African* King, whoſe Dominions lay directly over *Spain*, undertook to divert him from purſuing his Victories among the *Saracens*, and went into *Bretagne*, and landed at the Port of *Vannes* with a Mighty Army, his Wife and Children being alſo in his Company. On the Sea ſide hard by *Vannes* he built a great and ſtrong Tower called by him *Glay*, which in the *Phœnician* Tongue ſignifies a Caſtle, and there he made his chief Reſidence; but daily he ſent forth his Captains, and conquer'd about in *Bretagne* at his pleaſure. *Charlemain* heard in *Spain* how King *Aquin* proceeded without Oppoſition; however he would not return

[u] *Froiſ. l. ult. c. 90. f.103.*

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turn back to make Head againſt him, but ſaid, "Let him alone in *Bretagne* for a "while, we ſhall eaſily rid the Country of him, when once we have throughly eſta- "bliſhed the *Chriſtian* Faith in theſe Parts. Accordingly when he had finiſhed his Affairs there, he returned into *Bretagne*, and there one Day gave Battle to King *Aquin*, and overthrew him with a mighty Slaughter, ſo that he fled to his Caſtle of *Glay*, where he found a good Ship ready for him at the Foot of the Tower, into which he enter'd with his Wife and Children, and a few of his Servants, and eſcaped away: But in ſuch a Hurry, that he forgot a young Son of his ſcarce a Year old, who then lay aſleep in the Tower. This Child was found and brought to *Charlemain*, who received him gladly, and cauſed him to be baptized, *Rowland* and *Oliver*, two Heroick Princes of thoſe Days, being his Godfathers, who named him *Oliver*, and the King gave unto him all the Lands that his Father *Aquin* had conquer'd in thoſe Parts. The ſame in proceſs of Time became a moſt Valiant Knight, and was called Sr. *Oliver de Glay Aquin*, becauſe he was found in the Tower of *Glay* and was Son to King *Aquin*. This Original, whether true or falſe was afterwards aſſigned to Sr. *Bertram de Clequin*, when he came to the height of his Honour, but at this time he was not greatly taken Notice of, except among the Knights of *Bretagne* that were of his Retinue, with all whom he was highly eſteemed and well beloved, ſtill making War in the Behalf of the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, by whom he was recommended to the Duke of *Normandy*; and he had a little before employed him in thoſe Parts.

VII. Now when the * Duke of *Normandy* heard of his Fathers Death, and of the Preparations of the King of *Navarre* againſt *France*, he ſaid to his Marſhal the Lord *Bouciquault*, "I would have you forthwith ride with your Troops into *Normandy*, where "you ſhall find a Valiant Knight, a True and Loyal *Frenchman*, called Sr. *Bertram* of "*Clequin*, and look that you and he together make up a ſufficient Power of Good "Souldiers to reſiſt the King of *Navarre*, and to guard the Paſſages of the River *Seyne*: And therewithall he gave him ſome ſecret Orders how to proceed. Sr. *Bouciquault* promiſed to do his Devoir, and ſoon after went with a competent Number of Knights and Eſquires, and took his way toward *Normandy* by St. *Germain*, having declared to his Men thô feignedly, how he deſign'd to go to the Caſtle of *Rolebois*, wherein was a Garriſon of thoſe Villanous Companions, who did ſo much Miſchief thrô moſt Parts of *Chriſtendom*. *Rolebois* was a ſtrong Fortreſs on the River of *Seyne* about a League from *Mante*, at that time full of the ſaid Companions, who made War indifferently both againſt the *French* King and the King of *Navarre*; their Captain was one *Vantair Auſtart* an expert Man at Arms, Bold and Hardy, a Native of *Bruſſels*, who kept them at limited Wages, and on ſuch and ſuch Conditions under his Obedience. Whereby he rob'd and held in awe all the Country about him; ſo that none hardly durſt go between *Paris* and *Mante*, towards *Roüen* or to *Pont-Oyſe*, whether they were *French* or *Navarrois*, it was all one to them. But eſpecially they conſtrained thoſe of *Mante*, which was then Garriſon'd by the *Navarrois*, more grievouſly, becauſe of their Neighbourhood to them. Now therefore when the Lord *Bouciquault* left *Paris*, he gave it out openly, that he intended to go againſt *Rolebois*, to revenge himſelf of the Companions there. But before he came thither he made an Halt, waiting for Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who had ſecret Knowledge of all beforehand. However as Sr. *Bertram* marched forth to meet Sr. *Bouciquault*, he attempted by fair Words to obtain the Caſtle of *Eureux*, but being anſwer'd with Stones, he left them, and ſoon after came to the Place where Sr. *Bouciquault* expected him, not far from *Rolebois*. At their joyning they made up 500 Men of Arms; and then the two Captains laid their Heads together about putting their Deſign into Execution, which was indeed to get the City of *Mante* by any means. The Reſult was that Sr. *Bouciquault* with an Hundred in his Company ſhould ride in great haſte toward *Mante*, as if they were in doubt of their Lives, pretending to be chaſed by thoſe of the Garriſon of *Rolebois*, and ſo ſhould beg of them for God-ſake to open their Gates, and let them in for ſafeguard of their Lives. Which Point being once obtain'd, then the Gates were to be ſecur'd, at what time Sr. *Bertram* with his whole Company ſhould be ready at hand to back them, and ſo they thought to enter the Town and do what they pleaſed: But if they ſhould fail this way, they knew of no other how to ſucceed. This Method therefore being reſolved on, the Captains kept the Determination private in their own Breaſts, without the leaſt intimation in the world to any of their Men. Sr. *Bouciquault* early one Morning rode toward *Mante* with his hundred Men, and Sr. *Bertram* with the other 400 wheel'd about another way, and went and laid himſelf in Ambuſh near the ſaid Town, only Sr. *Bertrams* part was firſt acted. As Sr. *Bouciquault* began to come in ſight of the Town, his Compa-

* *Froiſ. c.* 219. *f.* 115.

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ny at his Command fell into Diſorder, like Men utterly routed, and fled toward *Mante* upon the Spur; but ſo that Sr. *Bouciquault* came firſt thither with but Ten Men about him, the reſt following at ſome diſtance one after another. Sr. *Bouciquault* like a Man in great fear, call'd aloud at the Barriers, "Ah! Ye good People of *Mante* for God-"ſake open your Gate and ſave our Lives; for here come after us theſe villanous Mur-"derers and Theeves of *Rolebois*, who have routed us and now purſue us to Death. Then the Watchman demanding who they were, he continued I am the Lord *Bouci-"quault* Marſhal to the Duke of *Normandy*, and ſent by him to fight with thoſe of "*Rolebois*: But the Rogues have prevailed and diſcomfited us, ſo that I am forced "to fly againſt my Will; and here they will take me and thoſe few of my Men who "are left, unleſs you will pleaſe to open your Gate and allow us Sanctuary. Thoſe upon the Watch believing all he ſaid, replied, "Sir, we know well, that the Gar-"riſon of *Rolebois* are our Enemies as well as yours; for they care not upon whom they "make War: But on the other hand the Duke of *Normandy*, to whom you are Mar-"ſhall, hateth us, becauſe of our Lord the King of *Navarre*, ſo that we may well be "afraid of a Trepan, if we ſhould let in any of his Servants. "Sirs, ſaid he, by my Faith "you ſhall have no harm of me; I am not come hither into this Country, but only a-"gainſt the Theeves of *Rolebois*, and we are not paſſing threeſcore of us left alive; "and they are all dead without you have pitty upon us ſpeedily. Upon theſe words they open'd the Gates and let Sr. *Bouciquault* in, and always by little and little the reſt of his Men followed; ſo that between the hindmoſt of his Men, and the foremoſt of Sr. *Bertrams*, who had now left their Ambuſh, the Men of *Mante* had no leiſure to ſhut their Gates again. Yet Sr. *Bouciquault* as a Man wholly innocent, withdrew to an Inn and unarm'd himſelf, the better to blind them of the Town, that they ſhould not too much miſtruſt him. But at that inſtant Sr. *Bertram* with his 400 Men came on upon the Spur, galloping furiouſly into the Town and crying, "St. *Yves*, a *Clequin*! *To the Death of all the Navarrois*; and ſo enter'd and ſlew in the Town and Houſes, and robbed and took Priſoners at their pleaſure. At that ſame time, and by the ſame Directions another Company of *Bretons* was diſpatched away to *Meulan*, about three Leagues from *Mante*, and lying on the *Seyne* alſo, which Place they likewiſe took by Stratagem; "For ſay they, we are Men of Arms ſent hither by the Lord *William* of "*Granville*, who is now at *Mante* with as many more. Now the Men of *Meulan* could not ſuſpect any Falſhood in this; becauſe they came the way from *Mante*, and knew well they could come no other way, nor paſs the River of *Seyne* but at the Bridge of *Mante*; wherefore they eaſily believed them and ſet open their Barriers and Gates, at which time theſe *Bretons* enter'd, but preſently ſet themſelves in an Hoſtile Poſture and cried St. *Yves, a Clequin*! And ſo ſlew all manner of People down before them, none being able to reſiſt, but flying away in Deſpair, when they ſaw themſelves ſo ſuddenly betrayed. Thus were the ſtrong Cities of *Mante* and *Meulan* taken at one time to the great ſatisfaction of the Duke of *Normandy*, but to the no leſs regret of the King of *Navarre*, who by theſe two Places had found an eaſie Entrance into the Iſle of *France* at his Pleaſure; both which were now cut off from him.

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VIII. Wherefore in all other his Towns and Caſtles he began to ſet more diſcreet Captains, and gave more ſtrict Orders concerning Opening their Gates; and that ſame Week the Captal of *Buſche* came to him to *Cherburgh* with 400 Men of Arms, which was a very ſeaſonable and agreeable Refreſhment to the exulcerated Mind of the King of *Navarre*, who made him very welcome; but complain'd of his Loſs of *Mante* and *Meulan* bitterly. "Well Sir ſaid the Captal, if it pleaſe God we ſhall take the Field "ſhortly, and I hope to ſucceed ſo well as to recover thoſe Places again with intereſt. "It is ſaid, how the Duke of *Normandy* is going to *Rheims* to be Crowned; but per-"haps we ſhall a little diſturb the Solemnity. The King of *Navarre* for his part was ſo glad that he had the Captal with him (who was one of the moſt Renowned and Hardy Captains in the World, and as we have ſhewn before, one of the Knights, Founders of the moſt Honourable Order of the Garter) that he declared, how he would forthwith make an Inroad into the *French* Pale; and thereupon he ſent forth his Summons, and ſent for Souldiers into all Parts, where he thought to get any for Love or Money. Among others there was at that time an *Engliſh* Knight in *Normandy* named Sr. *John Jones*, a right Valiant and Expert Man of War, who was Captain of three hundred Choſen Men, and had before that drawn his Sword in the King of *Navarre's* Quarrel: Now again therefore he is invited to the ſame Service, which he readily embraces and comes accordingly.

IX. When the Duke of *Normandy* (for ſo we beg leave to call him for diſtinction ſake,

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sake, till we shall see him Crown'd) understood of these hot Preparations of the King of *Navarre*, and that the Captal of *Busche* was to be his General, he wrote to Sr. *Bertram Clequin*, desiring him and his *Bretons* to keep Frontier War upon the King of *Navarre*; on which account he engaged to supply him with sufficient Forces to dispute with his whole Power, and he commanded the Lord *Bouciquault* at the same time to stay with his Troops and keep *Mante* and *Meulan*. According to these Orders Sr. *Bertram* went with his Troops of *Bretons* to *Vernon*, whither shortly after the Duke of *Normandy* sent unto him the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Vicount *Beaumont*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, and divers other Knights and Esquires, with a competent Number of choice Souldiers. Besides, at that time several Lords and Knights of *Gascogne*, Subjects to the Prince of *Wales* and *Aquitain*, went into *France* to offer their Service to the Duke of *Normandy*; as the Lord of *Albret*, the Lord *Edmund* of *Pamiers*, Sr. *Arnold* of *Cervoles* the Arch-Priest, Sr. *Petiton Courton* or *Coutras*, the *Soldiche* of *Estarrac* and others, to whom the Duke gave many thanks, and order'd them to go into *Normandy* and joyn Sr. *Bertram*; but the Lord of *Albret* only sent his Men, himself tarrying behind with the Duke. At the same time there lay on the Frontiers of *Bretagne* towards *Normandy*, a *Breton* Knight of the *French* Interest, named Sr. *Beaumont de la Val*, who was Captain of fourty Spears besides Others, all of his own Country. This Knight rode one day and came before *Eureux*, where he did much harm to the Out-houses, and alarum'd the whole City and Castle also; the Captain of which latter was Sr. *Guy* of *Granville*, Son to the Lord *William Granville*, who had so subtilly taken the Castle of *Eureux* by stratagem some Years before, as we have related. When he heard the first Noise of the Fray, he presently armed himself, and commanded certain of his Men to do the like, and so mounted his Horse and took the Field; by which time Sr. *Beaumont de la Val*, having accomplished what he had designed, was now marching off again. But Sr. *Guy* rode after him in the Head of his Men, crying aloud, "*Beaumont*, "you shall not go off thus, you must first speak with them of *Eureux*, that they may know "you better against another thime. Sr. *Beaumont* hearing this, faced about like a Couragious Gentleman, and setting his Spear in his Rest, came roughly against Sr. *Guy*, who sat ready to receive him on the Point of his Spear. The two Knights met fully and performed their Course so gallantly, that both their Spears shiver'd to pieces, yet neither of them fell, or was so much as moved. Now as they had passed this first Course, and were returning again with their Swords drawn, both their Companies joyn'd in Fight, at which Meeting many on both sides were overthrown. The *Bretons* fought as well as was possible, but Sr. *Guy's* Men fought so too; and besides he was back'd with continual Assistance from the Town, so that they were every Man either slain or taken. Sr. *Beaumont de la Val* was taken by the hands of Sr. *Guy* himself, who led him as his Prisoner into the Castle of *Eureux* together with the rest, who remained alive. For this Adventure Sr. *Guy* was greatly commended, and grew much in Favour with the King of *Navarre* and the Men of *Eureux*, whom he had so notably revenged.

X. We shewed before how King *Peter* of *Cyprus*, after his Departure from the *Black-Prince*, returned to *Paris* to the Duke of *Normandy*, whom he found there with his Brethren, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Lord *Philip* afterwards Duke of *Burgundy*, all in Mourning, and expecting the Body of the King their Father out of *England*. Now King *Edward* having a pious Regard to the late Love and Good-will between King *John* of *France* and Himself, attended his Death with due Sorrow, and having [y] caused his Bowels to be buried in the Cathedral of St *Pauls*, and [z] appointed for him solemn Obsequies in divers Places of the Land, he conducted his Body to the Sea-side with a Royal Magnificence, and at his own Charges sent it over the Seas into *France*, to be by his Sons deliver'd to the Sepulchre of his Ancestors. The mean while the King of *Cyprus* was extreamly cast down at the News of King *Johns* Death, especially because thereby his intended Expedition against the Infidels was in a manner wholly quash'd, and so he put himself into Mourning also. But [a] when he heard of the Herse's Arrival, he went from *Paris* with most Part of the Clergy of that City on Foot, and a little beyond St. *Dennis* met with the Royal Body, which was attended thither out of *England* by the Earl of *Artois*, the Earl of *Dampmartin*, the Grand Prior of *France* and Others; all who had been lately joyn'd with the Duke of *Normandy* and his Brethren. And so in the Church of St. *Dennis* he was interred with great Solemnity on the Seventh of *May* being a *Tuesday*, the Archbishop of *Sens* saying the Mass at his Funeral; after which succeeded a Magnificent Supper, and the next Day all the Princes, Lords and Prelates return'd to *Paris*, where a Parliament was held by the Duke of *Normandy*, to advise about

[y] *John Harding c.* 184.
[z] *Ex vet. Cod. de Epis. & Priorib.* Dunelm. *Eccles. & Walsing. hist. p.* 173. *& Ashmole p.* 665. *Speed, &c.*
[a] *Froiss. c.* 220. *fol.* 116.

about Settling the Kingdom. Here it was concluded, that on *Trinity-Sunday* following, [b] being the 19 of *May*, the Duke of *Normandy*, who hitherto had used no greater Title, should be solemnly Crowned in the Cathedral of *Rheims*, to which Coronation the Duke invited his Uncle *Wenceslaus*, Duke of *Brabant* and of *Luxemburgh*, and Son to *Charles* the Emperour; together with *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, and other Princes his Relations and Allies.

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[b] *Pascha* 24 Martii, Lit. Dom. GF.

XI. But while these things were in Agitation, the *Frenchmen* and *Navarrois* were drawing near each other toward the obtaining of a Battle, to which they came, about two or three Days before the Coronation. Now [c] the Captal of *Busche* had made his Rendezvous in and about the City of *Eureux* in *Normandy*, and being fully provided, and having left Sr. *Michael Dorgery* Captain of the Place, instead of Sr. *Guy* of *Granville*, whom he had sent to *Conches* to keep Frontier War there, he began his March from *Eureux* with an Army of 700 Spears, 300 *English* Archers on Horseback, and 500 other Chosen Men of War, Archers and Footmen. For he was fully informed, how the *Frenchmen* were abroad near those Parts, thô at that time he knew not exactly where they were, but resolved to find them out. In this small but well-compacted Body of Men were several Valiant Knights and Esquires, particularly a Banneret of the Realm of *Navarre*, called the Lord of *Salses*, an expert Man at Arms, also the Lord Peter of *Samville*, the Lord *William* of *Granville*, the Lord *Bertram de la Franque*, Sr. *Bascels* of *Mareville*, Sr. *Geoffry* of *Roussillon* and many Others: But Sr. *John Jones* an *English* Knight lead the greatest Number of Archers and Men of Arms of any Gentleman there; and all of them were very desirous to meet Sr. *Bertram de Clequin*, and to give him Battle.

[c] *Froiss. c.* 220. *f.* 116. *vid. in Vitâ* Captal de Busche *apud Lib. dict.* True Use of Armory *in Bibl. Cotton.*

On *Monday* in *Whitsun-week* the Captal began his March from *Eureux* towards *Passy*, and *Pont de l' Arche*, for he thought the *Frenchmen* would pass the River of *Seyne* either at *Vernon*, or *Pont de l' Arche*, if they had not passed already. But on the *Tuesday* as he rode forth of a Wood, he accidentally met with an *English* Herald called *Faulcon*, who but that same Morning had passed by and seen the *French* Army. The Captal knew him at the first sight, both by his Face and Ensigns of his Office, and began to make much of him for the King of *England* his Masters Sake. He demanded whence he came, he said from *Paris*; then the Captal asked him, if he could tell any News of the *Frenchmen* who were abroad. "Sir said he, in the Name "of God, I should know pretty well where they be, for I came from them but this Mor- "ning, and they seem as desirous to find you, as you are to find them. Where are they, said the Captal, beyond *Pont de l' Arche*, or on this side? They passed the "River, replied *Faulcon*, at *Vernon*, and I believe by this time they are got as far as "*Passy*. What Number do you judge them to be, said the Captal, and who are their "Prime Leaders? Pray Sir, let me know that. Sir said *Faulcon*, I judge them to be at "least 1500 Fighting Men, and their Chief Captains are Sr. *Bertram de Clequin*, who "commands the greatest Number, his Troops consisting mostly of *Bretons*: Then there "is the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Vicount *de Beaumont*, the Lord *Lewis de Châlons*, the Lord "of *Beaujeu*, the Master of the Crossbows, the Lord *Edward de Renty*, and of your "*Gascogners*, there is *Arnold de Cervoles* the Arch-Priest, the Lord *Edmund de Pa-* "*miers*, the Lord *Soldiche de l' Estarrac*; and the Lord *Albrets* Men were there. When the Captal heard these *Gascogners* named, he was much surprised, and blushing for Displeasure said, "*Faulcon*, is this true that you say? Are these Lords of *Gas-* "*cogne* there and the Lord of *Albrets* Men? Yes Sir, answered the Herald, most cer- "tainly. And where then is the Lord of *Albret* himself said the Captal? Sir, replied "*Faulcon*, I left him at *Paris* with the New King there, who is now preparing to go to "*Rheims*; for they say, that on *Sunday* next he is to be Crown'd there. Then said the Captal, laying his hand on his own Head in great displeasure, "By St. *Anthonies* "Cap, *Gascogne* against *Gascogne*! Sir, said *Faulcon*, "Hard by there tarries for me an "Herald sent from the Arch-Priest, who earnestly desires to speak with You. "Say "ye so, said the Captal, you may e'n tell the *French* Herald, that he need not trou- "ble himself any further; but let him return and tell the Arch-Priest, since he ap- "pears in the Field against me, I'll have nothing to do with him. At this Sr. *John* "*Jones* stept forth saying, "Sir, why will you not vouchsafe to speak with him? Perhaps "he may have some Proposal or secret Advice for our Advantage. Nay said the Cap- "tal, 'Ill warrant you, there is little Good intended for us; for the Arch-Priest is so "contentious a Person; that if he comes hither, hee'l do nothing but brawl and bran- "gle, and all the while observe our Strength, Order and Number, which may prove of "ill Consequence to us: And for that reason I desire not to speak with him now.

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And with that the Herald *Faulcon* was dismissed back to the *French* Herald, who tarried for an Answer under an Hedge hard by, and excused the Captal unto him so discreetly, that he went away satisfied, and told the Arch-Priest what he had heard from *Faulcon*.

Thus Both Parties were informed of each other, but the Captal, having understood the Number of his Enemies, and doubting by the Greatness of their Leaders, that they were yet far more than Report made them, dispatch'd away immediately a Light Horseman to the Captain of *Eureux*, desiring him presently to send unto him all manner of Companions, or Souldiers of Fortune and Others, whom he could spare, well armed and mounted, and who should all find him at *la Croix St. Leoffroy*; for thereabout he thought to meet the *French*, and he said he would most surely fight them where're he found them. Sr. *Michael Dorgery* the Captain of *Eureux*, sent him accordingly above Sixscore lusty young Men, Natives of the Town, besides Others. So all that *Tuesday* the *Captal* lodged on a Mountain, and the *Frenchmen* the mean while marched forward to find him, till they came to a River which led toward *Eureux*, but had its Rise near *Conches*, and there they took up their Quarters near to *Aquigny* for the remainder of that *Tuesday*, in a fair Meadow along by the Rivers side. The next Morning both Parties sent out their Currours to see, if they could bring any fresh Tidings of each other; and then it appeared, that they were not above two Leagues asunder. At that time the Captal rode by the Guidance of *Faulcon* towards the *French* that same way, by which he had travelled from them, and about Noon he came into the way to *la Croix St. Leoffroy* and passed the River *Eure*; when they might plainly see the *French* before them ordering their Battails; but there were with them so many Ensigns and Streamers, that they seem'd to be double the Number they really were. Wherefore the Captal rested his Men a while near a little Wood that was there, and the mean while called his Captains together, and gave Directions how he would have them order their Men. All the Carriages and Pages he sent into the Wood for their Security, and so ranged his Troops into three Battalions all on Foot in most decent Order. In the Front stood Sr. *John Jones*, with his 300 Men of Arms and Archers of *England*, and his Friend [d] Sr. *James Planchine* with 200 more, both Archers and Men of Arms; and these were all Chosen and Resolute Men. The Second Battail he led himself with 600 Fighting Men, and with him was the Lord of *Salses*, a lusty young Knight of *Navarre*, the Lord *William* of *Granville*, and the Lord *Peter* of *Samville*. The Third he committed to the Lord *Geoffry* of *Roussillon*, the Lord *Bertram de la Franque*, and Sr. *Bascels* of *Mareville*; and that Battail also consisted of 600 Men. Being thus order'd, he took the Advantage of a little Hill hard by on the Right hand, between the place where he order'd his Men, and the Wood. And on the Brow of the Hill he stood in Battle Array directly before his Enemies, with his Banner raised high on a Bush of Thorn, about which stood sixty Chosen Men of Arms for its safeguard: To the intent, that if his Men should be scatter'd, they might repair thither and rally again, and so he determin'd not to descend from the Mountain for any Cause whatsoever, but to let his Enemies come to him, if they intended to fight him. The Captals Banner was *Or*, Five Escalopes *Argent* on a Cross *Sable*, which Arms were richly depicted on his Shield; and on the Crest of his Helmet was a dreadfull [e] *Medusa's* Head *Sable*, the Snakes *Argent*.

[d] True Use of Armory *p.* 120

[e] True Use of Armory *p.* 110 *p.* 147. *ubi tamen malè legitur* Midas Head: *Vid. Ashmoles Garter.* Plate 5.

By this time were the *Frenchmen* also orderly ranged in three Battalia's, besides a Rereguard, or strong Body for a Reserve: The [f] First was lead by Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* and all his *Bretons*, and he was design'd to oppose the Captal: The Second was govern'd by the Earl of *Auxerre*, with whom were the Vicount *Beaumont*, and the Lord *Baldwin Danequin* Master of the Crossbows, and several other Knights of *France*, *Picardy* and *Normandy*, as Sr. *Edward* of *Renty*, Sr. *Ingelram* of *Hesdin*, Sr. *Lewis* of *Pequescourt* and Others: The Third was commanded by the Lord *Arnold* of *Cervoles*, commonly called the Archpriest, with whom were the Lord of *Châlons*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, the Lord *John de Vienne* and Others, and in the Rereward were all the other *Gascogners*; as the Lord of *Pamiers*, the Lord *Soldiche* of *Estarrac*, Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, with the Lord of *Albrets* Troops, but he himself was not there; together with the Lord *Petiton* of *Courton* and several Others. These *Gascogners* observed particularly the Behaviour of the *Captal*, and how his Standard was raised high on a Bush, and the Guard that was set to defend it. Whereupon they agreed, that when the Armies were hotly joyn'd in Battle, they should themselves endeavour to conquer the Captals Banner, believing if they might gain that Point, to be soon Masters of the Field. And besides they had another Device, which proved that Day very serviceable

[f] *Froiss. c.* 221. *f.* 117.

to

to the Lords of *France*: For while in a Council of War they held a long Debate how to behave themſelves, ſo as morally to ſecure the Victory; a certain *Gaſcogner* Lord let fall a Word, which was very ſeaſonable and well accepted. "Gentlemen, ſays he, "We all know well, that the *Captal* is as Worthy a Knight as can be found in any "Land, and that as long as he is able to endure, he will be very terrible to Us; both "by reaſon of his extraordinary Valour and Conduct: Let us therefore ſet apart Thir- "ty Choſen Men of Arms on Horſeback, and let theſe Thirty mind nothing elſe this "Day, but to ſet upon the *Captal*, at the ſame time that our Rereguard attempts to "win his Standard; and ſo by the ſtrength of their Horſes to break the ſtreſs, till they "can get to him to take him; immediately upon which to bear him out of the Field: "For otherwiſe I cannot bode any good end of this Battle; the Perſon of the *Captal* is "that, whereon all his Men do wholly depend: If he is ſafe, they win all; if we win "him, the Victory comes to us of Courſe. The Knights of *France* and *Bretagne* ap- proved hugely of this Project, and reſolved to put it in Execution; ſo they ſelected accordingly Thirty of the moſt Valiant Men of Arms, and mounted them on Thirty of the beſt Horſes in all the Company, and drew them out on one ſide of the Field, well informed before-hand what to do, and all the reſt of the Army remained on Foot in Battle Array as they had been ranged. Now as yet there was no one, that pretended to have the Chief Command over all, in the *French* Army, becauſe there were ſeveral Perſons of far higher Quality than Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*: Wherefore in this Council of War they conſulted what ſhould be their Word that Day, and to whoſe Banner they ſhould all repair. At laſt they all agreed to cry our Lady of *Auxerre*, and to make the noble young Earl of *Auxerre* their Captain. But he began with great Modeſty to excuſe himſelf ſaying, "Gentlemen, I moſt heartily thank you all for the great Ho- "nour you are pleaſed to confer upon me, but certainly as for my Part, I ſhall by no "means at this time accept thereof. No-- I am too Young and Unexpert to ſuſtain "ſo great a Charge; for this is the Firſt Expedition that ever I was concern'd in: Here "are many good Captains, as Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Sr. *Arnold* of *Cervoles*, the Ma- "ſter of the Croſsbows, the Lord *Lewis* of *Châlons*, the Lord *Edmund* of *Pamiers*, "Sr. *Edward* of *Renty* and the like: Theſe have all been in many great Hazards, and "alſo have held conſiderable Employs in the Wars, and I am ſure underſtand Milita- "ry Conduct far better than as yet I do. Wherefore Lords, I deſire your Pardon at "this time. Then the Lords and Captains began to look on one another, and at laſt ſaid, "O Noble Earl of *Auxerre*, you are the moſt Eminent among us all, and therefore it is "all the Reaſon in the World You ſhould now be our Head: For Nobility reconciles "Authority to a Captain. Certainly Gentlemen, replied the Earl, You ſay after your "Pleaſure: But this Day I am reſolved to be but as one of your Companions; and till "I ſhall be able to rule, will learn to obey. Come Life, come Death, I promiſe to ſhare "with you in this Adventure; but as to the Chief Rule, You ſhall never perſwade me "to that. Then again the Captains beheld each other, and at laſt unanimouſly agreed, that ſince Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* was the moſt practiſed in War among them all, they would for that Day obey him, and the Word ſhould be our Lady of *Clequin*. And thus the *Tueſday* was ſpent, and both Armies prepared to fight the next Morning.

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Early the next Day the *Frenchmen* being drawn out in Battle-array into the former Field, came and preſented themſelves before their Enemies; and ſtood a long while without receiving any offer of Battle. They beheld the *Navarrois* on the heighth of the Hill, who ſeemed reſolved not to ſtirr thence, but rather to expect them to attack them there in their Strength, which was very diſpleaſing to the *Frenchmen*, becauſe it was apparently diſadvantageous to mount the Hill; and the Sun was alſo very hot, and the beſt of them began to grow faint and weary: For they were in a manner Faſting, having neither taken Wine nor other Victuals that Morning, becauſe they imagin'd to have Battle preſently, but they miſtook their Aim; and ſo the Day was nigh half gone before things were brought to a Reſolution. For when the *French* Lords perceived the *Captals* humour, they went to Counſel again, to learn what was beſt to be done, and whether they ſhould go and fight with their Enemies or no. Some were directly for it and ſaid, it would be a great diſhonour to do otherwiſe: But the more ſober and beſt adviſed maintained the Contrary, ſaying, "If we go and fight "them in that advantageous Poſt, which now they hold, it will certainly redound to "our great Dammage, if not utter Loſs; for upon our Aſcent of every Fifteen of us, "Three are ſure to fall, if not more. And when once Men drop faſt in an Army, the "Terror and Ruine ſpreads far over all that Side. Thrô ſuch hazardous Repreſentations given forth by the moſt experienced Officers, they were withheld back; and the *Cap-*

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tal in all Probability had ſucceeded, if not for one ſmall Matter, which however ſeem'd well done by him, but contributed not a little to his Overthrow. The *Captal* had with him certain Knights and Eſquires, *Normans*, his Priſoners, whom, when he ſaw the *French* ready to come upon him, leſt in Battle they might turn againſt him, he let go now upon Parole. Theſe Men ſtole privily into the *French* Hoſt, where being brought before the Lords then in Council, they ſaid, "Gentlemen, con-"ſider what you do: For if you let this Day paſs without Fighting, your Enemies "will be much ſtronger by to Morrow; it being confidently diſcourſed among them, "that Prince *Lewis* of *Navarre* will joyn them by that time with 400 Men of Armes. Theſe Words greatly animated them to ſet upon the *Navarrois* forthwith; but ſtill the Diſcreeter ſort held them back ſaying, "Gentlemen, let us but wait a little lon-"ger and ſee what they'll do firſt: For their Hearts are ſo bold and preſumptuous, "that they would as gladly fight with us, as we with them; and ſince we are ſo wea-"ry and faſting, and many of our Men chafed by ſtanding thus long in our Armour, "ſurely if after all we attempt the difficult Aſcent of that Hill, we are no better "than loſt. You ſee it is now Noon, therefore let us withdraw for the preſent to our "Lodgings, and there having refreſhed our ſelves, we may take other Counſel againſt "to Morrow. Theſe Conſiderations much ſhook the Reſolution of the ſtouteſt Men there, for they were loth to defer Fighting, till the Enemy might be rendred more ſtrong, and yet they durſt not attack him in that Place, becauſe many of their ſide were faint and weak, and to go up-Hill againſt an Enemy requires the greateſt Vi-gour that may be. At laſt Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* their General, pitch'd upon the Right Counſel; for he ſaid, "Gentlemen, we know well our Enemies are deſirous e-"nough to fight with us; and yet we ſee, that they intend not to leave their Poſt, "unleſs we draw them thence by the means that I ſhall ſhew you. Let us make an "Offer, as if we deſign'd to retreat, and not to give them Battle this Day; and to "that end we will ſend our Valets with our few Carriages and Horſes over the Bridge, "and pretend all to march back to our Quarters. But ſtill as we go, we muſt all be "ready to return upon Occaſion: And ſo we ſhall try what they will do. If they are "willing to fight us, they'll come down the Hill in purſuit of us: And if once we gain "that Point, we ſhall readily Face about upon them, and deal with them more eaſily. But "if they come not, our own Men will be more encouraged to ſee them ſtand in fear "of us; and however we ſhall be the Freſher for to Morrows Service. This Counſel being approved by all the Chief Captains, they went to their ſeveral Enſigns, and cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and commanded all their Valets to repaſs the Ri-ver before them, and take over their Carriages; and theſe were followed by ſome Troops of Men of Arms, who for the greater blind, went over in a careleſs Manner faintly.

When Sr. *John Jones*, who was an Experienced Knight (thô now he committed a fatal Errour) and had always a huge deſire to give the *Frenchmen* Battle, ſaw the manner of their Retreat, he ſaid to the Captal, "Sir, let us immediately purſue them: "Don't you ſee how they fly; they fly by St. *George*. Ah! ſaid the Captal, Sr. "*John*, Sr. *John*, never believe that. For what they now do is by Stratagem, only to "deceive us to our Ruine. Sr. *John* ſeem'd content with the Captals Opinion; but being come among his Men in the firſt Battalion, he ſaid aloud, "St. *George*, they "that love me, let them now follow, for I am reſolved to go and fight theſe *French-*"*men*, that are ſtealing away from us. And with that he graſped his Spear in his hand, and went forth in the Head of his Men before all the Battails, and made ſuch haſte, that he had got down the Hill with moſt of his own Troops, before the Captal knew any thing of the Matter. But when now he underſtood and ſaw, that Sr. *John Jones* was gone down the Hill againſt the Enemy, without the Conſent of his Chief Cap-tain, he thought it proceeded of Preſumption and Contempt of Martial Diſcipline. However knowing it not a time to chide as then, nor to diſhearten his Men by vainly complaining of the Raſhneſs of the Action, he ſaid aloud to thoſe that were about him, "Sr. *John Jones* ſhall not fight without me this Day; Courage my Friends, and "Banner advance in the Name of God and St. *George*! And therewithall the other two Battails began to march in good Array down the Hill into the open Field. When the *Frenchmen* ſaw all their Demeanor, and how the Enemy voluntarily quitted their Place of Advantage, they were very glad and ſaid one to another, "*Lo! now we may* "*ſee, what we have ſo much deſired all this day.* And with that they all faced about in their appointed Order, and returned to meet their Enemies, being ranged on Foot, except thoſe Thirty Horſemen, who had Orders to ſeiſe the Captal. But as ſoon as Sr.

Arnold

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Arnold of *Cervoles* the Archprieſt, ſaw that a Battle muſt needs enſue, he ſaid to his Standard-Bearer and to all his Officers, "I charge you all as you love me, or fear my "diſpleaſure to keep the Field, and to do your Devoirs, till the Buſineſs of the Day "ſhall be decided. But as for me I muſt withdraw, and not come among you again "during this Fight: For I am under an Oath never to fight nor bear Arms in Perſon "againſt one certain Knight, who is now in the Field on the other ſide: And ſo I "would have you ſay to thoſe, who ſhall chance to ask for me. This Oath the Archprieſt had made to the *Captal* of *Buſche*, and therefore, before the Battle, endeavour'd to accommodate Affairs by ſpeaking with him, or at leaſt to have warned him of the *Frenchmens* ſtratagem againſt his Perſon. But the [g] *Captal* ſeeing him now armed in the Field againſt him contrary to his Oath, was ſo diſpleaſed, as not to vouchſafe him a Conference, whereby he loſt himſelf. However the *Arch-prieſt* being now mindfull of his Obligation left the Field, with one only Eſquire to wait on him, and repaſſed the River, leaving his Troops notwithſtanding behind him: Whereupon the reſt of the Army never miſt him, becauſe they ſaw his Banner there all the while, and ſo verily believed him to be Perſonally preſent.

[g] True Uſe of Armory *p.* 122 *in Vitâ* Captal *de* Buſche *id. p.* 128.

In the beginning of the Battle, when Sr. *John Jones* ſaw the *Frenchmen* returning in ſuch good Order upon him, he perceived his Error, and knew well he had too unadviſedly left his former Poſt; but however, like a Man not uſed to fear, when he found the *Captal* and the reſt of the Army would not forſake him, he marched toward his Enemies with great Reſolution, hoping to extort a Victory by pure Valour. He chanced to be matched with Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* and his *Bretons*, all expert and choſen Men of War, who notwithſtanding found no Childrens Play from Sr. *John* and his *Engliſh* Troops. He for his part before he joyned, made an Halt to review and encourage his Men, and then he brought his Archers forward, who before were in the Reer; and ſo the Archers began the Battle, ſhooting fiercely againſt the *Frenchmen*. But they were ſo well armed, that they received but little harm thereby; wherefore ſoon they came to Handy-ſtroaks on all ſides, and the Men of Arms fell on one another with Spears, Swords and Axes; ſo that the Fight was bloody and furious. The *Gaſcogners* eſpecially, who were on the *French* Part, came againſt the *Captal* and his *Gaſcogners* with ſuch fury and animoſity, as is uſually ſeen between Countrymen, when they come againſt one another in a civil War or otherwiſe. Thus were the *French* and *Navarrois* hotly engaged on all Hands, and by wreſtling and ſtrength of Arms, they wan Spears, Axes and other Weapons from one another, and took Priſoners, and ſlew and wounded on both Sides with ſuch Courage and Bravery, that it was wonderfull to behold. And truly the *Frenchmen* had need at that time not to ſleep or ſtand idle, for they dealt with Men of approved Valour and Conduct; wherefore it behoved them all to play the Men, and to defend their Bodies to the utmoſt of their power, and to take all manner of Advantages; or elſe moſt certainly they had loſt the Day. And ſurely the *Bretons* and *Gaſcogners* on the *French* ſide behav'd themſelves like good Souldiers, and did many Wonders in Arms; as alſo did the *Navarrois*, *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners* on their Part. But now while the Battle waxed thus hot, and Victory was gallantly courted on both Sides, but ſeem'd as yet inclinable to neither; the Thirty choſen Men of Arms, who were appointed to ſet upon the Captal, and ſtood hitherto aloof on Horſeback, caring for nothing but the execution of their Deſign, came all together upon the *Captal* of a ſudden, as he was fighting with a maſſy Ax in his Hand, wherewith he gave ſuch Mortal ſtroaks, that hitherto none durſt abide him. But theſe Thirty Men breaking the Preaſs by force of their Barbed Horſes, fell all together upon him at once, and ſo ſeiſed his Perſon and took him Priſoner. At that inſtant the fury of the Battle waxed much hotter than before, the *Frenchmen* being animated with ſo notable a Succeſs, and the Captals Men crying out *To the Reſcue*. But all their Endeavours for his Reſcue prevailed little, all their Horſes being removed far out of the way; and beſide the *Captal* was immediatly convey'd out of the Field by thoſe Horſemen that had taken him, who never reſted till they had convey'd him as far as *Vernon* upon the *Seyne*. Before the *Captals* taking, it was hard to judge to whom the Victory enclin'd; but now the Matter was preſently decided: For at that inſtant, while the *Engliſhmen* and the other *Navarrois* were labouring to reſcue their General, the *Gaſcogners* on the *French* Part, as namely the Troops of the Lord of *Albret*, and the Lord *Edward Pamiers*, the Lord *Soldiche* of *Eſtarrac*, and Sr. *Petiton* of *Courton* with their Retinues, divided themſelves into two Bodies, the one whereof kept the Field where they fought before, and the other addreſſed themſelves couragiouſly toward the *Captals* Standard, which ſtood high on a buſh of Thorn, with ſixty Choſen Men of Arms for its Defence.

They

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They came on with a mighty Shout, but were bravely received; for those who guarded the Standard were Chosen Men of War, especially Sr. *Bascells* of *Mareville*, and Sr. *Geoffry* of *Roussillon* their chief Captains: Wherefore many were taken and rescued on both Sides, and many wounded, reversed and slain, before the matter was determin'd. But at last the *Navarrois* that kept the Standard, being far outnumbred were overcome; and the Lord *Bascels* of *Mareville* slain, and the Lord *Geoffry* of *Roussillon* taken Prisoner, and the *Captals* Standard was pulled down and torn all to pieces. The mean while the *Bretons*, *Frenchmen*, *Picards* and *Burgundians* acquitted themselves to their great Commendation, which they had need enough to do, for the *Navarrois* had once made them give back; at which time they slew the Vicount of *Beaumont*, which alone was a great Loss on the *French* Side; for he was a young Valiant Knight, and of fair hopes, whose Body yet his Friends made shift to bear out of the Field. And at that time the *Navarrois* stood so fair for the winning Cast, that 'tis thought they had notwithstanding obtain'd the Victory, if just then as they were upon the very point of Prevailing, the other Battle, who had won the Captals Standard had not come upon them, and the Rereward also was brought by Sr. *Bertrams* order, who together wholly turned the Scales on the other Side: However 'tis said by Authors of those Days, how it was hardly ever seen, that two such little Armies should so long maintain themselves with such obstinate Valour, all on Foot fighing hand to hand, as they were intermingled together, with Swords, Spears and Axes of Steel, contending for the Day. On the *French* Part, Sr. *Petiton* of *Courton*, and the Lord *Soldiche* of *Estarrac*, received so many Wounds, that they were carried out of the Field, in a condition almost as hopeless as the Vicount *Beaumonts*: The Lord *Baldwin Danekin*, Master of the Crossbows of *France*, was slain, together with Sr. *Lewis* of *Pequescourt* and divers others. On the part of the *Navarrois* Sr. *John Jones*, who began the Fight, did that day all that was possible for a good Knight to perform; but at last, after he had received many grievous Hurts, he was taken Prisoner by an Esquire of *Breton* of Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequins* Retinue, and by him born out of the Field; but he died of his Wounds before next Morning. With him was slain the Lord of *Salses* and most of his Men, and as we have shewn the Lord *Bascels* of *Mareville*; there were taken the Lord *William* of *Granville*, the Lord *Peter* of *Samville*, the Lord *Geoffry* of *Roussillon*, Sr. *Bertram de la Franque*, and many Others; and in short, few or none of the *Navarrois* escaped, being now ranked either among the Prisoners or the Dead. This Battle was fought in *Normandy*, [h] near to a Place named *Cocherel* and *la Croix St. Leoffroy*, almost exactly between *Eureux* and *Vernon*, on the *Wednesday* before *Trinity-Sunday*, being the 15 of *May*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXIV.

[h] *Mezeray Chr. Abridg. Tom. 3. Part. 2. p. 70.*

XII. After this Discomfiture, when all the Dead were spoiled, and the Wounded dressed, and the most part of the *French* Army had repassed the Bridge to draw to their Quarters, to rest and refresh themselves after this hard Service; there appeared in the Field another Body of Men marching up against them. The Captain of this Company was Sr. *Guy* of *Granville*, Son to the Lord *William* of *Granville*; who had that morning left his Garrison of *Conches*, and with fifty Spears rode with all convenient speed to the *Captals* aid, if by any means he might come time enough to the Battle. When the *Frenchmen* saw him they call'd out to their Fellows, that had passed the River, and sent several over to acquaint the whole Army, saying, "Gentlemen, turn hither "again; for here is a Fresh Body of our Enemies coming hitherward. Now Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* and his Troops were still on this side; but every of them extream weary: However when Sr. *Bertram* saw this appearance of more *Navarrois*, he raised his Standard on high upon a Bush; that his Men might all draw thitherward, and sounded his Trumpets, and faced about toward the Enemy, setting his Men in order with great Diligence. But when Sr. *Guy* of *Granville* heard them cry our Lady of *Clequin*, and saw neither the *Captal*, nor any other of his Friends there; but many Dead Men lying on the Ground, he concluded, that his Party had lost the day, and so return'd back without doing any thing. And surely this Valiant young Gentleman, thô he came not time enough to save his Father from being a Prisoner, did yet make a shift both to save his Life, when he was in Danger of losing his Head, and also to redeem him from Prison afterward. For *Charles* the King of *France*, [i] who not being of that Honourable Disposition with his Father *John*, was rather enclin'd to subtlety and unprincelike Cruelty, shortly after caused the Lord *Peter* of *Samville* to lose his Head, and had done the like to the Lord *William* of *Granville*, the same who by stratagem won the strong Castle of *Eureux* in *Normandy*; thô Prisoners of War and none of his Subjects: But Sr. *Guy* of *Granville* sent word to the *French* King, that if he put his Dear Father

[i] True Use of Armory in the Life of the Captal of *Buche* p. 129.

Father to Death, or to any Bodily loſs or pain, he would ſerve the Lord *De la Val*, a conſiderable *French* Nobleman, then his Priſoner, in the ſame manner, and alſo all other *Frenchmen*, that ſhould ever after fall into his Hands. By this means the Valiant young Gentleman commendably ſav'd his Fathers Life, and ſhortly after he was deliver'd in Exchange for the foreſaid Lord of *Bretagne*. The [k] Night enſuing the Battle, the *Frenchmen* lodged in their own Camp on the other ſide the River, and took good Care of their Priſoners, and then there was much ſpeaking and enquiring after the Archprieſt, it being now known, that he was not preſent at the Fight; but his Men excuſed him, as he had directed them: However they could not preſently clear him from all ſuſpicion of Treachery; for his Courage, no Man there could doubt in the leaſt. The next day the *Frenchmen* diſlodged, and went to *Rouën*, where they left the greater Part of their Priſoners; but the *Captal* was convey'd from *Vernon* to *Paris*.

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[k] *Froiſ. c. 222.*

XIII. This was an auſpicious Hanſel to King *Charles*, now upon the entrance of his Reign; and we ſhall find him hereafter to have frequently ſuch Succeſſes againſt his Enemies, thô moſtly by Fineneſs and Stratagem, and altogether without his Preſence, as this happen'd. On the [l] *Trinity-Sunday* following this Succeſs, being the 19 of *May*, *Charles* Duke of *Normandy*, Eldeſt Son and Heir to *John* late King of *France*, was Crowned and anointed King of the ſaid Realm in the Cathedral Church of our Lady at *Rheims*, and together with him his Beautifull Conſort, Queen [m] *Jane*, Daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Lady *Iſabella de Valois*. The Ceremony was performed by the hands of the Archbiſhop of the ſaid Place: And it is [n] remarkable, that the Emperours Son, *Wenceſlaus* of *Bohemia*, Duke of *Luxemburgh* and *Brabant*, *John* Duke of *Lorraine*, and *Robert* Duke of *Bar*, notwithſtanding they were Strangers and Vaſſals of the Empire (thô indeed related to the King) did at that time perform the Office of Peers of *France*, the firſt repreſenting the Duke of *Normandy*, the Second perſonating the Earl of *Champagne*, and the Third the Earl of *Tholouſe*. The Duke of *Burgundy* (which *Philip* his Brother was now in Title and Deſignation) and *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, held their uſual Places, and *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, repreſented the Duke of *Aquitaine*. Beſides theſe Great Perſonages, there were preſent at this Solemnity, [o] *Peter* King of *Cyprus*, *Waldemar* King of *Denmark*, the Earls of *Eu* and of *Dampmartin*, of *Tancarville*, and of *Vaudemont*, with the Chief Prelates of that Kingdom, and many other Lords, all who were Feaſted for five days together. On the *Fryday* following the New King return'd in great Pomp to *Paris*; where he was received with infinite expreſſions of Publick Joy and ſatisfaction. And then he put his younger Brother *Philip* into Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, [p] who ſhortly after rode into thoſe Parts, with a great and ſplendid Retinue, and took Livery and Seiſin of the Country, and received Homage of all the Barons, Knights, Cities, Caſtles, and good Towns of the ſaid Dutchy, and having ſettled all things there, return'd to *Paris* to the King, his Brother. At that time it was, that the *Archprieſt* found himſelf obliged to make uſe of all his Friends to excuſe him to the King, who was much offended at him; becauſe he was not preſent in the Battle of *Cocherel*; but now being admitted into the Preſence he made it appear, that he was bound by Oath not to be armed in Perſon againſt his Friend, the *Captal*, who himſelf, at the requeſt and inſtance of the Lord of *Albret*, had been a little before releaſed of his Impriſonment only upon his Parole; and being by this time ſufficiently convinced, that he had unjuſtly ſuſpected the *Archprieſt's* Faith, was now very ſerviceable in helping to make his excuſe to the King; and to thoſe Lords of the Council, that held him in ſuſpicion. Beſides all which the *Archprieſt* himſelf (not to mention the many great Services, he had formerly rendred to the Crown of *France*) had lately near *Dijon* in *Burgundy* overthrown 300 Companions, robbers of the Country, whoſe Captains were *Guyot du Pyn*, *Taillebert* of *Talleboton*, and *John de Chafour*.

[l] *Froiſ. c. 223. Labbe Chron. Techn. ad hunc ann. & Mezeray p. 69.*

[m] *Mezer. p. 106*

[n] *Mezeray p. 69*

[o] *Froiſ. c. 223.*

[p] *Paradin Annal. de Bourgogne l. 3. p. 352*

About this time the ſaid King *Charles* of *France* cauſed the Lord *Peter* of *Samville*, who had been taken in the Battle of *Cocherel*, to loſe his Head in the City of *Rouën*, and had ſerved the Lord *William* of *Granville* in the ſame manner; had not his Son Sr. *Guy* of *Granville* threatned the Lord *Beaumont de la Val*, then his Priſoner, with the like ſeverity. Whereupon that Lords Kindred and Friends made ſuch earneſt ſuit to the King; that he was content to deliver the Lord *Granville* in Exchange for the Lord *de la Val*, as we ſaid before.

XIV. Soon after the foreſaid Battle of *Cocherel*, Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* bought the ſtrong Caſtle of *Rolebois* for the Sum of 3000 Franks, which he paid to Sr. *Vantaire Auſtard*, the Captain thereof; whereupon he return'd quietly into *Brabant*, from whence he

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he came. Yet there were other Troops of Companions, that held ſtill together in Fortreſſes in *Normandy*, *le Caulx*, *Perche*, *Beauſſe*, and other places, which prov'd very incommodious to the Realm of *France*, ſome of them making War in the Name of the King of *Navarre*, others on their own account only to get ſpoil, and to rob, without Law or Reaſon. Wherefore King *Charles* [q] ſent his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, againſt theſe Pillagers, commanding him to root them out of the Land; in order whereto the ſaid Duke made his Rendezvous in the City of *Chartres*. Soon after he took the Field, his Forces conſiſting of 5000 Men of Arms, beſides Footmen, and others; among whom were Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Sr. *Bouciquault* Marſhal of *France*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, Sr. *Lewis* of *Châlons*, Sr. *Edmund* of *Pamiers*, Sr. *Lewis* of *Ravenal*, the *Beague* of *Vilaine*, Sr. *Nicolas du Line*, New-made Maſter of the Croſsbows, Sr. *Edward* of *Renty*, Sr. *Ingelram* of *Heſdin*, and many other Eminent Captains. When they found themſelves ſo ſtrong, they thought to divide into Three Bodies; One whereof conſiſting of a 1000 Men of Arms, Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* led into *Coutantine*, even to the Marches of *Cherburgh* to keep the Frontiers there, that the *Navarrois* ſhould not paſs to endamage the Country of *Normandy*; and with Sr. *Bertram* were the Earl of *Auxerre*, and the Earl of *Joigny*, the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, and many Knights and Eſquires, both of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*. The Second Body was committed to the Lord *de la Riviere*, with whom were many good Knights and Eſquires of *France* and *Picardy*, as Sr. *Hugh de Chaſtillon*, the Lord of *Samny*, Sr. *Matthew* of *Röye*, the Lord of St. *Eloy*, the Lord of *Creſpy*, the Lord of *Campy*, Sr. *Edward* of *Renty*, Sr. *Ingelram* of *Heſdin*, Sr. *Monſange*, and others, to the Number of 2000 Men of Arms; and theſe were ſent into the Earldom of *Eureux*; but the Duke himſelf with the remaining 2000 Men of Arms, and a vaſt Number of others went and laid Siege to *Marcheville* in *Chartraine*, a ſtrong Caſtle, held by the *Navarrois*, againſt which he carried many Engines from *Chartres*, which perpetually play'd upon the Caſtle with huge ſtones, to the infinite trouble of thoſe within.

[q] *Froiſ. c. 223. & Guil. Paradin Annal. de Bourgogne l. 3 p. 252*

XV. While theſe Three Armies were thus in *Beauſſe* and in *Normandy*, making War againſt the *Navarrois*, the King of *Navarre* was not aſleep as to his own Defence. The Lord *Philip* of *Eureux*, his Brother, was dead indeed a little before this; but he had another younger Brother, called *Lewis* of *Navarre*, of no leſs towardlineſs for the War, nor leſs addicted to his Intereſt. This Lord *Lewis* had likewiſe defy'd King *Charles* of *France*, becauſe the War which the King his Brother undertook, did alſo concern a good part of his Inheritance. After the Battle of *Cocherel* he made his Muſters on all hands; and wan certain notable Captains of the Companions to enter his pay; ſo that by this he was at leaſt 1200 Spears ſtrong: The Chief Captains of which Troops were Sr. *Robert Knolles*, and Sr. *Robert Cheiny*, Knights of *England*; and Sr. *Robert Briquet* of *Larſuel*, but as yet Sr. *Robert Knolles* had not joyn'd him. However his Forces encreaſed daily, his Head Quarters being between the Rivers of *Loire* and *Allier*; ſo that he overran a great part of the Country of *Bourbonnois*, as about *Moulins*, St. *Pierre le Moutier*, and St. *Pourcain*. One day 300 of his Men, having Sr. *Bernard de la Salle* and *Ortingo* for their Captains, went, and paſſed the *Loire*, hard by *les Marches*, and rode till they came to *la Charité* on the River *Loire*, a Town large and well-encloſed; which they immediately enter'd by Scalado, but ſtood ſtill together in one place, till the Morning; for doubt of ſome Ambuſh laid to entrap them by the Townſmen, whom they heard to be in a perpetual hurry: The mean while the Townſmen, giving up the Place for loſt, only took care to convey all their beſt Moveables into Boats, which were ready in good Number on the *Loire*, and ſo before Morning got off with them, their Wives and Children, and went to *Nivers*, which was not above ſix Leagues from thence. When it was day, the *Navarrois*, *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners*, that had thus ſcaled the Town, marched thrô the Streets, where they found all the Houſes void: However they determin'd to keep a Garriſon there, and make it more defenſible; becauſe it ſtood ſo opportunely to command the Country on both ſides the *Loire*. Wherefore preſently they ſent word to Prince *Lewis* of *Navarre*, who was then in the Marches of *Auvergne*, for a Reinforcement; and he furniſh'd them with 300 Spears, who were led by Sr. *Robert Briquet*, and paſſing thrô the Country without the leaſt Oppoſition, went over the ſtone Bridge, and entred *la Charité*. And now being all together, they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to make good the Place, and ſo began to fortifie apace, and to ravage about to let the Country know, who they were.

XVI. All this while the Duke of *Burgundy* had held Siege before *Marcheville*, where-

by

by he ſo ſtreightned the Garriſon, that at laſt they were content to yield up the Town, their Lives and Goods ſaved; which Conditions being granted them, they departed. The Duke order'd Sr. *Bouciquault* Marſhal of *France*, and Sr. *John de Vienna* Marſhal of *Burgundy*, to take poſſeſſion of the Town; over which he ſet an Eſquire of his, named *William* of *Chartres*, with Fourty Men of Arms, and ſo departed, and went to *Cameroles*; to which he laid Siege, becauſe it ſtood in the plain Country, and had been a very troubleſome Neighbour to the Inhabitants of *Chartres*. AN. DOM. 1364. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXVIII.

While this Siege laſted, the Lord *John de la Riviere*, who had the Second Diviſion, conſiſting of 2000 Spears, laid his Siege to *Aquigny*, near to *Louviers* in the County of *Eureux*; wherein was a Garriſon of *Engliſh*, *Normans*, *Frenchmen*, and *Gaſcogners*, all *Navarrois*, who had held that place ever ſince the Battle of *Cocherel*, and now maintain'd it with great Obſtinacy; for they had good ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſion of all ſorts; and yet notwithſtanding they were at laſt ſo ſtreightned, that they were fain to yield up the Caſtle, their Lives and Goods ſaved: After which they went with all they had, and were by the Lord *de la Riviere's* Conduct ſafely convey'd to *Cherburgh*; where they remain'd. The Lord *de la Riviere*, having Garriſon'd *Aquigny*, marched directly toward the City of *Eureux*, but there he was not able to prevail.

And now the Duke of *Burgundy* had conſtrained the Garriſon of *Cameroles* to yield up to his pleaſure; which done all the Souldiers Strangers he took to Mercy; but as for thoſe *Frenchmen*, whom he found among them, becauſe they had been Renegado's, Robbers, and Enemies to their King and Country, he hanged them up every Mothers Son. And then certain of the Chief Burgeſſes of *Chartres* came unto the Duke, humbly deſiring that of his Goodneſs, and as a reward for the Engines of Battery, which they had lent him, he would pleaſe to grant unto them the ſole Diſpoſal of the Fortreſs of *Cameroles*, which had formerly been ſo troubleſome to them. To this requeſt the Duke readily agreed, and then the Burgeſſes immediately ſet Labourers at Work, who raſed the Caſtle down to the ground. After this the Duke went to the Caſtle of *Dreux* on the River *Blaiſe*, in the plain Country of *Beauſſe*, which was a Neſt of the Companions likewiſe; all whom, having carried the Place by fine force, he cauſed to be put to the Sword. Thence he marched to *Preux*, and inveſted it round, and gave many vigorous Aſſaults, before he could obtain any advantage; at laſt the Beſieged thought beſt to yield, their Lives only ſaved, but as for their Goods they all fell to the Conquerour; with whom alſo the *Frenchmen* found therein, were detained Priſoners. When the Duke had taken poſſeſſion of this place, he committed it to the Cuſtody of Sr. *Peter du Bois*, a Knight of *Beauſſe*, whom he order'd to repair the Fortifications, and defend the Place. After this he went to *Chartres*, where he tarried five days to refreſh himſelf and his Men; and then he laid his Siege to *Connay*, a Caſtle, that had been troubleſom to the whole Country; and cauſed ſix great Engines of Battery to be raiſed up againſt it.

XVII. But while he did theſe things, his Enemies gave him ſundry Diverſions: For the Lord *Lewis* of *Navarre* overran all the Low-Country of *Auvergne*, and brought thoſe Parts into much Diſtreſs; for thô he kept the Field, there was none to oppoſe him. Thoſe alſo of the Garriſon of *la Charité* did what they pleas'd round about them. And the Earl of *Monbelliard* likewiſe with his Allies of *Almain*, was entred into the Dutchy of *Burgundy* by the way of *Bezancon*, where he began to ravage over all the Country, in revenge, that his Pretences to the ſaid Dukedom were not allowed; but another was brought in over his Head. Upon News of theſe unexpected Commotions in *Burgundy*, the King ſent to the Duke, commanding him immediately to raiſe his Siege from before *Connay*, and come back to *Paris* in order to march into *Burgundy* againſt the new Invaders. The Duke, however his own Dominions were in danger, was not a little concerned at this Meſſage; becauſe he had made a ſolemn Vow not to riſe from before *Connay*, till he ſhould be Maſter of the Place. But now thoſe of his Council told him; "That ſince the King ſent for him, he might lawfully de-"part notwithſtanding his Vow, for that no Vow could cancell that previous Duty, "wherein he was bound to his Prince: Hereupon he reſolved to quit the Siege, but making as yet no ſhew thereof, he ſent his Marſhal to demand of the Beſieged, whether they would yield up abſolutely to the Dukes Pleaſure or no? They returned Anſwer, "No, they would not do that; but however on Condition they might have "their Lives and Goods ſaved, they were now content to yield. The Offer was gladly accepted, and they permitted to depart with Bag and Baggage: After which, the Duke having deliver'd the Caſtle to a Knight of *Beauſſe*, called Sr. *Philip* of *Artenay*,

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with Order to repair the Fortifications, went from thence to *Chartres*, where he left the greater Part of his Forces under the Care of the Earl of *Auxerre*; the Lord *Bouciquault*, and Sr. *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, and so rode forth to *Paris* with Sr. *Lewis* of *Alenson*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, the Lord *John de Vienna*, and all the *Burgundians* in his Company, and went thence to the King his Brother, whom he found at *Meaux* in *Brie*; and there he tarried but one Day. On the Morrow he rode on till he came to *Troyes* in *Champaigne*: Thence he went to *Langres*, and still as he proceeded he enforced himself with Men of War. At *Langres* he was met by a considerable Body of *Burgundians*, who to their Power had maintained themselves hitherto against their Enemies, and were now extream glad of their Lord, the Dukes so seasonable coming among them. The Chief Captains of these Troops were the Arch-priest, the Lord of *Chasteau Villain*, the Lord of *Grancy*, the Lord of *Vergny*, the Lord of *Sobournon*, the Lord of *Rugemont*, Sr. *Hugh de Vienna*, the Bishop of *Langres*, and a Wealthy Man called *John* of *Boulogne*, with others. Being thus enforced he marched against his Enemies, who made at least 1500 Spears, and yet durst not abide him, but retired beyond the *Rhine*: Notwithstanding he followed them beyond *Monbelliard*, burning and destroying the Earls Lands as he went; and so having sufficiently revenged his Wrongs for that time, he returned with most of his Troops to *Paris*.

XVIII. This mean while King *Charles*, his Brother, had sent the Lord *Moreau de Fiennes* his Constable, and his two Marshals, Sr. *Bouciquault* and Sr. *Moron de Branville*, with a goodly Number of Men of Arms, to go and lay Siege to *la Charité* on the River of *Loire*, which they did, and skirmished almost every Day with the Besieged: But as yet prevailed not. Wherefore now the King sent the Duke of *Burgundy* with a 1000 Spears more to reinforce the Siege; so that now they made up in all 3000 Men of Arms besides Others. These held frequent Skirmishes with the Besieged, wherein both Parties suffer'd considerably; but especially those of the Garrison, who were not in all a Thousand Men. And the Duke of *Burgundy* to encourage his Men the more, at one Sally of the *Navarrois* made many Knights Bannerets, who at that time raised their Banners, as *Robert* of *Alenson*, Son to *Charles* Earl of *Alenson*, who being King *Philips* Brother, was slain at the Battle of *Cressy*, about 18 Years before; the same Honour had Sr. *Lewis* of *Auxerre*, Son to the Earl of *Auxerre*, who died at the same time, and younger Brother to the present Earl. Thus the Siege continued to the great Terror of that Garrison, who were so mightily streightned therewith, that they would willingly have yielded up the Fortress upon Composition; but that the Duke refused them so much Grace. "I'll have them yield up absolutely to my Pleasure, says "he, I have already taken away from them the use of the River, so that they must "expect no more Provision that way: Let them stand out longer at their utmost peril.

XIX. Now Prince *Lewis* of *Navarre* knew of all these Difficulties his Friends were in, and having ravaged a while at his Pleasure in the Marches of *Auvergne*, he ardently desired to raise the Siege before *la Charité*. He had already 2000 Fighting Men, but not thinking them sufficient to cope with the Duke, he sent into *Bretagne* to Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, and other Valiant Knights and Esquires of *England*, then in those Parts, to come and serve him in this Action. These Knights would all very willingly have come to his Aid, but they were already engaged in the Siege before *Auray*, a Town of Lesser *Bretagne*, about 3 Leagues from *Vannes* Westward, towards *Blavet*. For now the two Pretenders to the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, having rejected all terms and Methods of Reconciliation, flew out into open Hostility; the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* making his Musters at *Nantes*, and the Lord *John* of *Monford* laying Siege at the same time to *Auray*. So that when the Lord *Lewis* of *Navarre* saw, that he could not obtain the Service of those *English* Knights, who now assisted the Earl of *Monford* in the said Siege, he returned by Command of the King, his Brother, to *Cherburgh*, leaving *la Charité* to her Fortune. But however this Garrison had the good Luck to escape by the same Occasion, which had hindred their Relief: For immediately after Prince *Lewis* was retired into *Normandy*, because Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* might be more powerfully aided, the King of *France* sent to the Duke of *Burgundy*, commanding him to receive the Garrison of *la Charité*, their Lives saved, on condition they would swear not to bear Arms on the King of *Navarre's* Behalf for three Years to come. Thus the Garrison had their Lives saved, but were fain to leave all their Goods behind, and so being secur'd by the Dukes Safe Conduct, went away on foot thrô the Realm of *France*. And then the old Inhabitants, whom they had before frighted away to the City of *Nivers*, came back again to their former Habitations, and the Duke returned with Honour to *Paris*.

CHAP. XI.

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CHAPTER the ELEVENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *The* French *King assists* Charles *of* Blois, *and King* Edward *at the same time sends Help to* John *of* Monford, *both who prepare to decide their Right to the Dukedom of* Bretagne *by Battail.* II. Charles *of* Blois *marches forth of* Nantes *against* John *of* Monford. III. *Who prepares to receive him.* IV. *The* Frenchmen *order their Men.* V. *And the Lord* John Chandos *orders his* Engliſh, *giving a Reserve to be menaged by Sr.* Hugh Calverley. VI. *The Lord of* Beaumanoire *obtains a Truce between the Parties for one Day, in order to bring them to some Agreement.* VII. *The Lord* Chandos *breaks off the Treaty, and both Sides prepare for Fight.* VIII. *The famous Battle of* Auray *fought between* Charles *of* Blois *and* John *of* Monford, *wherein the latter wins the Day and the Dukedom, by the Death of the former.* IX. *The Number of the slain and Prisoners on both Sides.* X. *Earl* Monford *weeps over the Body of* Charles *of* Blois, *with the Character and Praise of the said* Charles. XI. *Earl* Monford *gives Truce to the Country to come in and bury their Dead; he returns to the Siege before* Auray; *the Kings of* France *and of* England *diversly affected with the News.* XII. *A Treaty for a Match between the Daughter and Heiress of* Lewis *Earl of* Flanders, *and* Edmund *Earl of* Cambridge, *King* Edwards *Fifth Son, being pretty forward, is suddainly dash'd by the* French *Kings subtlety.* XIII. *The* Christians *obtain a* Cadmean *Victory against the* Turks *and Infidels.*

I. KING [a] *Charles* of *France* at the Request of his Cousin the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, had yielded to lend him towards the Conquest of his Inheritance a Thousand Spears, and besides that he wrote to Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who was then in *Normandy*, enjoyning him by all means, on sight of his Letters, to go as strong as he could into *Bretagne* to the Aid of his Cousin *Charles* of *Blois*, against his Antagonist Sr. *John* of *Monford*. Sr. *Bertram* having received the Letters, was glad at his heart to be thus commanded to what he so earnestly desired himself; for he always took the Lord *Charles* to be his only Lawfull Lord, and true Duke of *Bretagne*. Wherefore as speedily as he could, he went out of *Normandy* into *Bretagne* with his own Retinue only, and such Troops as he could raise of himself, the Marshal *Bouciquault* prosecuting the War in *Normandy* in his stead. He found the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* and his good Lady at the City of *Nantes* in *Bretagne*, to whom he was extream Welcome for this his seasonable and eminent Succour. Then they held a Council of War, what Course they had best take; for there was the greater part of all the Lords and Knights of *Bretagne* come thither to the Lord *Charles* his Assistance, whom they all reputed and held for the True Duke of *Bretagne*: And they were all of Opinion, that 'twas best to go and raise the Siege of *Auray*, and fight Earl *Monford* if he would abide it. Thither also were come many Great Barons of *France*, as the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of *Joigny*, the Lord of *Franville*, the Lord of *Prye*, the *Beague* of *Villers*, and many other Lords, Knights and Esquires. But of these Preparations there were brought Tidings to the Earl of *Monford* (who together with the Lord [b] *William Latimer* of *England*, lay now at the Siege before *Auray*) and how the Lord *Charles* had purchased many Powerfull Assistants out of the Realm of *France*, besides the great Forces he had gather'd up in *Bretagne*. Wherefore immediately he sent word thereof into the Principality of *Aquitain*, to the *English* Knights and Esquires of the Princes Court; but especially to the Noble Lord *John Chandos*, desiring him and them heartily, now at this great and last Pinch to send him a Competent Assistance, not doubting, but that in *Bretagne* they should find many a fair and honourable Adventure, for which all men of Honour ought especially to seek, toward the Advancement of their Names. When the Lord *John Chandos*, who greatly desired the Prosperity of this Noble Earl, saw how earnestly he wrote unto him, he went immediately and asked leave of the *Black-Prince* his Lord and Master, who told him, "He "was well content, that he should go to the Assistance of his Dear Brother-in-Law;

[a] *Froiss. c.* 224. *f.* 120. *b. &c.*

[b] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 32. *& Walsing. hist. p.* 174.

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[c] *Vid. l.* 3. *c.* 6. §. 10. *Art.* 22. *p.* 588.

"becauſe (ſaid he) this is no Breach of the Peace between *England* and *France*: For "the *Frenchmen* in like manner take Part with Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* againſt the Earl of "*Monford*, and have a Licence ſo to do from the *French* King himſelf. And thus "much was expreſly agreed on in the [c] XXII Article of the Peace of *Bretigny*, that if the "two Parties cannot be reconciled, the Friends of either of them ſhall aid either Par-"ty, as they pleaſe, without any impeachment from the ſaid two Kings, or without "incurring, or bearing any dammage, blame, or reproach for the cauſe aforeſaid. With this anſwer Sr. *John Chandos* was extreamly ſatisfied, and provided accordingly; deſiring ſeveral Knights and Eſquires, both of *England* and *Aquitain* to bear him Company in this his Attempt: Thô but a few *Gaſcogners* (I know not upon what Grounds, for 'tis evident they lov'd him well) went with him; but ſeveral *Engliſh* Knights that were there, except ſuch whom the Prince's Service detain'd, embraced the Invitation heartily. So having collected 200 Spears, and as many Archers Voluntiers (for the Prince would not appear in the Matter) he lead them thrô *Sainctogne* and *Poicton*, till paſſing the *Loire* he entred into *Bretagne*, and came ſafely to the Siege before *Auray*. Here he found the young Earl of *Monford*, who received him with great joy, as who divin'd himſelf a Victory from his Coming; and ſo did Sr. *Oliver Cliſſon*, Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, and others both *Engliſh* and *Bretons*, who all generally concluded there could no ill Succeſs fall unto them, now that they had the Lord *Chandos* in their Company. Upon the account of whoſe Reputation in Arms ſundry Knights and Eſquires of *England* paſſed the Sea, being deſirous to advance their Honour in Fighting againſt the *Frenchmen*; all who came in good time before *Auray*, where they were heartily welcome to the Earl of *Monford*; and ſome of them brought [d] Letters from the King of *England* directed to the Lord *Chandos*, wherein he was required to take particular care of his moſt Dear Son *Monford*, and in time of Battle conſtantly to attend his Perſon. And now the whole Number of *Engliſh* and *Bretons* amounted to about 2000 Men of Arms, and about 900 Archers on Horſeback, beſides Footmen.

[d] True Uſe of Armory *in Bib. Cotton.* Lord *Chandos* his Life *p.* 62.

II. All this while Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* was in the City of *Nantes*, where he made his Muſters, and gather'd together Men of War from all Parts, where he could procure them for Love or Money: For he had perfect Intelligence of all the Earl of *Monfords* Preparations. But eſpecially he required all thoſe Lords, Knights and Eſquires of *Bretagne*, who had already own'd his Cauſe and Title, and rendred Homage unto him, as to their Lord, to come now and help him to defend his Inheritance againſt his Enemies. Upon theſe Summons there came unto him the Vicount of *Rohan*, the Lord of *Rochefort*, the Lord of *Leon*, the Lord of *Raix*, and the Lord of *Rieux*, the Lord of *Maleſtroit*, the Lord of *Quintin*, the Lord of *Avaugeur*, the Lord of *Lodeac*, the Lord of *Ancenis*, the Lord of *Lomine*, the Lord of *Ponto*, and Sr. *Charles* of *Dinant* with divers others, whoſe Names we cannot at ſuch a Diſtance recover. All theſe together with their ſeveral Retinues were quarter'd in the City of *Nantes*, and in the Villages thereabout, and together with the Aid from *France*, conſiſted of 4500 Men of Arms, beſides Croſsbows and Footmen. Theſe Lords in a Council of War adviſed the Lord *Charles*, now that he was ſo ſtrong, not to waſte any more time there, but preſently to march forth againſt his Enemy and give him Battle.

This Counſel the Lord *Charles* reſolved to purſue, and being now ready to march, the ſprightly and Maſculine Lady, his Wife, the Lady *Jane*, Daughter of *Guy* Earl of *Pentebria*, who was Elder Brother to *John* of *Monford*, ſtept forth and ſaid theſe Words unto him, in preſence of Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, and many other Lords and Knights of *France* and *Bretagne*, "Sir, You are now going to fight for mine Inheri-"tance and your own (for what is mine, is yours alſo) which the Earl of *Monford* "claims wrongfully, and without cauſe, God Almighty knows! And all the Lords of "*Bretagne* here preſent know very well, that I am indubitate Heireſs thereto. There-"fore, my Dear Lord and Husband, I heartily require of You, not to make or accept "any Compoſition, Agreement, or Treaty of Peace with Earl *Monford*; unleſs the "whole Body of the Dutchy ſhall be yielded to remain entire with Us and our "Heirs for ever. This her Husband promiſed to do, and then ſaluted, and took leave of his Dutcheſs, as they call'd her; and ſo directed his march toward *Vannes*: At which place he made an Halt, as well to refreſh his Army, as to inform himſelf of his Enemies behaviour, and to adviſe, how to get ſome advantage in ordering his Men. Here there was much altercation and debate among his Council, for certain of the graver ſort, who were wholly ſway'd by *Chriſtian* Principles of Charity, made ſuch friendly Overtures, that the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who was of a ſweet and Can-

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did Diſpoſition, had perhaps been perſwaded to accept of a Peace, and to Divide the Dukedom, had he not been ſo adjured by the laſt Words of his Lady, and alſo now ſet on by the encouragement of the Hotter ſort of his Captains; that he abſolutely declared, he neither could, nor would propoſe, or admit of any ſuch kind of Treaty. AN. DOM. 1364. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXVIII.

III. Now between *Vannes* and *Auray*, where the Earl of *Monford* held Siege, it was about the ſpace of Three Leagues; ſo that News was preſently brought to the Earl, that the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* was coming with the goodlieſt Company of Men, armed at all Points, that ever was ſeen in *France*. [c] *Froiſ. c.* 225.

At theſe tidings the *Engliſhmen* rejoyced greatly, the better ſort for the opportunity of gaining Honour, and the Companions for the occaſion of reaping benefit: For being almoſt bankrupt with the long Peace, they deſired nothing more than War, in hopes of Spoil and Riches. Then they all made ready their Harneſs with great exactneſs, new furbiſhed their Spears, Swords, Daggers, and Axes, Helmets, Habergeons, Shields, and all manner of Weapons and Armour: For they expected to uſe them very ſhortly. But the Chief Captains eſpecially drew together in Council, being thereto called by the Lord *John Chandos*, to whoſe Conduct all the reſt ſubmitted themſelves, not only on the account of his Quality, but alſo of his known Wiſdom and Experience in the Wars; beſides which he had a ſecret Commiſſion from the King of *England* to be the Chief Captain in this action. With him was the Lord *John Nereford* an *Engliſh* Baron, *William* Lord *Latimer*, the Lord *John Bourchier*, Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, Sr. *Richard Burley*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *Richard Taunton*, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, and the Valiant Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, all who were of the Opinion, that the Earl of *Monford* ſhould riſe from the Siege, and take the Field early next Morning, and ſo expect his Adverſary, and if he came forward give him Battle. This being reſolved on in Council, all the Captains of the Army were acquainted therewith, who told it to their reſpective Officers; by whom the whole Army was informed, that the next Morning they were to be all ready to take the Field, to fight the Enemy. Before ſix the next Morning, being a *Saturday*, and the Eve of St. *Michael*, the *Engliſhmen* and *Bretons*, left their Trenches, and marched forth in Battle-Array, the Lord *John Chandos* leading them to a convenient plat of ground behind the Caſtle of *Auray*. And ſoon there came toward the ſame place the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who had left *Vannes* the Evening before, with all his Army, which was diſpoſed in the beſt manner imaginable: For 'tis ſaid, they rode in ſuch good Cloſe Order; that if any thing had been caſt among them, it muſt have reſted on their Spears points; ſo that the [f] *Engliſhmen* were extreamly delighted to behold them. The *Frenchmen* being come in ſight of their Enemies made an halt, as they were in Battle-Array before them, chooſing their Field among the Buſhes; and the Marſhals gave Command, that no man ſhould ſtir forward without Order. Wherefore both Armies ſtood ſtill, confronting each other, being ready ranged for Fight; which they all eagerly deſired. [f] *Froiſ. c.* 225. *fol.* 121.

IV. The Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, with the advice of Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who was an experienc'd Captain, and well belov'd by the Barons of *Bretagne*, made Three Battails and a Rereguard: The firſt was led by Sr. *Bertram* himſelf, who had with him more than a 1000 Choice Men of Arms, Knights and Eſquires of *Bretagne*. The Second was headed by the Earls of *Auxerre* and *Joigny*, and the Lord of *Prye*, with the *French* Auxiliaries, conſiſting of 1500 Spears and upwards: The Third was brought up by the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* himſelf; with whom were the Chief Barons of *Bretagne*, that held of his ſide; as the Vicount of *Rohan*, the Lord of *Leon*, the Lord of *Avaugeur*, the Lord of *Rieux*, the Lord of *Maleſtroit*, and divers others, as aforenamed. In the Rereguard, or Fourth Battail ſtood *John* the Baſtard of *Blois*, a moſt Valiant Young Gentleman with Eight or Ten ſtout Barons of *Normandy*, and many other Knights and Eſquires, and in every [g] Battail there were at leaſt a 1000 Men of Arms, beſides others. And the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* rode about to every Battail, earneſtly deſiring them all to do their utmoſt that day, and for their better aſſurance, he took it on his Soul, and on his part in Paradiſe, that they were to Fight in a Righteous Quarrel; and moreover he promiſed to reward every Man liberally, according to his Performances. [g] *Froiſ. c.* 225. *fol.* 121. *b.*

V. Now on the other part the Lord *Chandos*, who becauſe of his Abilities in the War was the Principal Captain, thô the Earl of *Monford* was head of the Cauſe, began wiſely to conſider, how he might with a leſſer Number overthrow a greater in plain Field, where no advantage of ground might be had. Eſpecially his concern was now encreaſed, becauſe the King of *England*, his Maſter, had given him ſuch a Charge

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to look moſt carefully to the Buſineſs of his Son in Law; for the Earl of *Monford* had [h] Married the Lady *Mary*, his Daughter. Wherefore like a Loyal Gentleman, he fully determin'd with his utmoſt diligence to advance the Affairs of the Earl of *Monford*, and to ſtick cloſe to him that day. He had perfectly noted the exact order and diſcipline of the *Frenchmen* upon their approach, and hugely applauded to himſelf the great Conduct and Diſcretion, that appeared among them, and therewithall ſaid aloud to his Friends, the Lords and Captains about him, "Gentlemen, it is high time "for Us to order our Battails: For our Enemies are giving Us an example. Thoſe, who heard him, anſwer'd, "Sir, You are in the Right; But this is your Province: "You are our Chief Maſter, and beſt Counſellour; therefore order Us at Your plea- "ſure; for no Soul here ſhall contradict You, ſince we know, the King has committed "this Charge to You, and ſurely You have the moſt experience in theſe Affairs of any "among Us.

[h] *Speed p.*590. *Sandford's Geneal. hiſt. p.*179. *Aſhmole's Garter p.*669.

Thereupon the Lord *Chandos* began alſo to form Three Battails, and a Rereguard, The Firſt he committed to the Care of Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, and Sr. *Richard Burley*, with whom was the Lord *John Nereford*; the Second was led by the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, who [i] bare *Gules*, a Lion Rampant *Argent*, Crown'd *Or*; with him were the Lord *John Bourchier*, Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, and Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, whoſe Arms were [k] *Or*, Three Pales *Azure*. The Third was govern'd by the Earl of *Monford*, who himſelf was governed by the Lord *Chandos*, and here was *William* Lord *Latimer*; and in each of theſe Battails were 500 Men of Arms, and 400 Archers. But when Sr. *John* came to the ordering the Rereguard, he called unto him Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, and ſaid, "Sr. *Hugh*, You muſt be Governour of the Rereguard, "with 500 Men of Arms in your Company: But you are to ſtand on a Wing, and by "no means to quit your Station for any thing, that may happen, unleſs you ſee an ab- "ſolute neceſſity. As when any of our Battails are diſorder'd or broke by the force of our "Enemies, if you think there is Danger, then come you on with your Battail, and en- "tertain the Enemy, till our Men are rallied again: And when you have done thus "much, draw off, and keep your former Poſt, till ſuch another occaſion calls to a like "aſſiſtance: For ſurely this will be the beſt piece of Service You can do Us this day. When Sr. *Hugh Calverley* had fully heard the Lord *Chandos* his Words, he was aſham'd and diſpleaſed in his Mind, and ſaid, "My Lord, pray commend this Rereguard "to ſome other Man beſides me: For I have no deſire to meddle with it. And Sir, "I admire in my heart, what You have ſeen in me, that You ſhould not give me leave "to be one of the foremoſt of thoſe, that are to Fight our Enemies this day. The Lord *Chandos*, who well knew his own Reaſons, reply'd, "Sr. *Hugh*, I do not appoint "You to command this Rereguard, becauſe You are not as good a Knight, as any other; "No certainly, that was never in my mind: But I chooſe You for this purpoſe; be- "cauſe I know You to be a prudent and well-adviſed Gentleman. And Sir, believe "me, it is abſolutely neceſſary, that either You or I take this Office, if We intend "to ſurvive this day. Wherefore once again I heartily require You to do it, and I "dare engage, that if You undertake it, You will not only do a very notable piece of "Service; but alſo obtain to your ſelf much Honour thereby: And yet over and a- "bove, I here faithfully promiſe to grant You the firſt reaſonable requeſt, You ſhall "ever deſire of me. But all theſe Words could not Work upon Sr. *Hugh*; for he did not as then imagine any ſuch neceſſity of a Reſerve, and he thought it reflecting upon his Honour to ſtand in a manner idle, when others ſhould be adventuring their Lives in the heat of Action. Wherefore again he deſired him for Gods ſake, holding up his hands, "That he would pleaſe to give this Charge to ſome other; ſince he "for his part deſired nothing more, than to fight among the foremoſt. The Lord *Chandos* was ready to weep at theſe Words, but he added ſeriouſly, "Sr. *Hugh*, con- "ſider well what I ſay: For to be ſhort, this matter is of ſuch concern to Us all; "that either You or I muſt undertake it, and then think with your ſelf who of Us "can beſt be ſpared. But don't trouble your ſelf about a falſe Notion of Honour: "For he fights beſt, who is moſt ſerviceable to his Friends; althô he ſtands ſtill all "the while. At this Sr. *Hugh* began to reflect upon the Matter; for with theſe laſt words all his former thoughts were daſhed and confounded, and then he ſaid, "Cer- "tainly, my Lord, I know well, You are too much my Friend, to put me upon any "thing, which may redound to my diſhonour: Since therefore it can be no otherwiſe, "I accept of your Commands with all my heart, and to my Power ſhall obey your Or- "ders. And with that he took upon him the Charge, and drew out his Men aſide on a Wing, where he ſet them in very good Order to give or receive an Onſet: His Banner waving

[i] True Uſe of Armory in *Chandos* his Life *p.* 62.

[k] *Id. p.* 67.

waving aloft in the Front, which [1] was *Argent*, a Fess *Gules*, between Three Calves *Sable*. AN. DOM. 1364. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXVIII.

[1] True Use of Armory p. 66. G F Dom. Lit.

Thus on a *Saturday*, which was the 28 of *October*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXIV, were both these Rival Dukes embattail'd each against other in a Fair Plain near to *Auray* in *Bretagne*; which no doubt was a delectable sight to behold. For there were many embroider'd Banners and Penons waving in the Wind, and Rich Surcoats of Sattin, diapred with Gold and Silver, and bright Armour shining against the Sun: But especially the *Frenchmen* were so well armed at all Points, and so Richly beseen, that it was a great pleasure to view them. And in this manner they fronted one another; neither Party, as yet making offer to begin.

VI. Now there was at this time with the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* a Great and Potent Baron of *Bretagne*, called the Lord of *Beaumanoir*, who was at that time a sworn Prisoner to *England*, and so was not to bear Arms; but being otherwise at liberty might go too and fro between the two Armies, or elsewhere, as he pleased: Of which Power he made this Advantage, to endeavour to accommodate Matters between the two Powerfull Competitors. All *Saturday* Morning he went in and out frequently, till Noon; so that at last he obtain'd a Respite between both Parties for the remainder of that day, and for the Night following, untill the Sun-rise next Morning. Whereupon on both sides they drew to their respective Lodgings, and took their ease, and refreshed themselves with what they had by them, That Evening the Captain of *Auray* issued out of his Garrison peaceably, because the Truce also extended unto him, and went to the Lord *Charles* his Camp, who received him joyfully. His Name was *Henry* of *Tintineac*, an Esquire, and a good Man at Arms, who brought 40 Spears well Horsed and Armed, of those who had holpen him to defend the Fortress. When the Lord *Charles* saw him, he asked him all smiling, of the Condition of his Castle, and the Esquire answer'd him, "Sir, blessed be God, We have Provision enough to "hold Us two or three Months longer, if need were. Well, *Henry*, said the Lord "*Charles*, to morrow You shall be wholly rid of the trouble of a Siege, either by "Peaceable Agreement, or the Decision of open Battle. "God give Grace Sir, said "the Esquire. By my Faith, continued the Lord *Charles*, I have here in my Com- "pany 4500 Men of Arms, besides others, all as well provided, and as likely to ac- "quit themselves Nobly, as ever yet did any Company, that came out of *France* And "my Lord, said the Esquire, that is a great Advantage; for which You are to thank "God, and Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, and those other Barons, Knights, and Esquires of "*France* and *Bretagne*, that are come with so much Zeal to your Service. Thus the Lord *Charles* passed his time in discoursing with One or Other about the present State of Affairs: But on the other hand, the Lord *John Chandos* was that same Night earnestly desired by the Officers of the *English* Companions, then in his Service, by no means to admit of any Accord or Agreement to be had between the Earl of *Monford* and the Lord of *Blois*. For they said, they had already spent all that they had, and were almost reduced to Poverty, wherefore they resolved now to win something by fighting, or to lose all together: Upon which account it is said, that Sr. *John* promised them that whatever Treaty he might hold, not to yield however to any Agreement, otherwise, than what the Sword shall appoint. From whence there arose a Proverb, [m] *Chandos his Treaty*; spoken, when Men make or receive many Overtures in order to an Agreement; thô at the same time they are determin'd to decide all by Battle.

[m] *John Hardinge* c. 184. *fol.* 185. True Use of Armory *fol.*

VII. On the *Sunday* Morning early both Armies drew again into their former Field in their appointed Order, having first heard Mass and shrived themselves; but about Sun-rise the Lord of *Beaumanoir* came again toward the *English* Army with a design to renew the Treaty, and compose Matters if possible, to avoid the Effusion of *Christian* Bloud, which was his earnest Desire. He took his way directly to the Lord *Chandos*, where he saw his Banner next to that of the Earl of *Monford*: At his approach my Lord *Chandos* stept aside to speak with him, because he would not have the Earl of *Monford* hear what was said. At the first meeting the Lord of *Beaumanoir* gave a reverent Salute to the *English* General, and said, "Sir *John Chandos*, I de- "sire you for Gods Sake, that you would seriously endeavour to bring these two Par- "ties to an Agreement. For 'tis a great Pity, that so many Gallant Men, as are here "in the Field on both Sides, should engage together in Mortal Battle upon their Ac- "counts. The Lord *Chandos* replied, "Monsieur *de Beaumanoir*, it will not be: "Wherefore I advise you as a Friend to ride no further about these Matters; for our "Men are resolved, if they can get you in among them to destroy you: Your best "way

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"way is to turn back and tell the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* from me, that whatever be "the Event, Earl *Monford* is resolved to come to Battle, and renounces all Treaty of "Peace: For he says, he will either be Duke of *Bretagne* this Day, or else die upon the Spot. When the Lord of *Beaumanoir* heard Sr. *John* say these Words, he was extreamly offended in his Mind, and shaking his Head said, "Ah! *Chandos*, *Chandos*, "my Lord hath as great a Courage to fight as your Lord hath, and so have all his "Men; but yet he is ready like a good *Christian* Knight to offer Terms of Peace, if "you had not thus rejected them. And so without any more Words he parted, and rode back to the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and the other Lords of *Bretagne* who tarried for him; and said aloud to the Lord *Charles*, "Sir, Sir, by my Lord St. *Yves*, I have "heard just now the proudest Word from Sr. *John Chandos*, that ever I heard in all my "life. For he said, that the Earl of *Monford* should be this Day Duke of *Bretagne*, "and declares plainly that you have no Right unto the same. At which Words Sr. *Charles* changed Colour and said, "As for the Right God above knows it is mine, and the same said all the Barons of *Bretagne*: And therewithall he commanded his Banners to be advanced in the Name of God.

The mean while the Lord *Chandos* also returned to the Earl of *Monford*, who enquired of him how Affairs went, and what his Adversary said; the Lord *Chandos* to encourage him the more, pretended the Matter otherwise than it was, and answer'd, "Sir, he sent you Word by the Lord of *Beaumanoir*, from whom I parted but now; "that whatever comes of it, he is resolved to give you Battle, and either be this Day "Duke of *Bretagne*, or else to leave his Body in the Field. This the Lord *Chandos* fained, thereby to divert the Earl from all Hopes of Peace, and so to enflame his Courage the higher, and then he continued; "Now therefore consider Sir, quickly what you "intend to do, and whether you will put all to the hazard of a Battle or no? "Sir, "said the Earl, in the Name of God and St. *George*, let us then go to it with a good "Courage, and God help the Right! Cause our Banners to advance. So the Banner of *Bretagne* which was *Ermins*, went forward, and the Guidon[n] of the Lord *Chandos*, being *Or* a Pile *Gules*, was bore next unto it.

[n] True Use of Armory in the life of the Lord *Chandos p.* 67.

VIII. Thus a little before the hour of Prime the Armies approached near together, all so well order'd, that it was a delightfull Terrour to behold them: For some that were there present, declared unto my [o] Author, that the *Frenchmen* were in manner of a *Phalanx*, so close knit together, that a man could not cast a Glove among them, but it should have fallen on the Point of a Spear or Helmet: For every Man bore his Spear of five foot length upright before him, and they had all short Axes hanging by their sides; and thus they came against the *English* fair and softly, all in good Array after their Banners breathing War and Slaughter, and all well instructed how to behave themselves. Nor was the Order of the *English* less to be commended, who marched forth to meet them, being led by as bold and expert Commanders as any living. First Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* and his Troops of *Bretagne* encountred with the Battail of Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, Sr. *Richard Burley* and the Lord *Nereford*; at which time the Lords of *Bretagne* on both Sides set up the Banners of their Lords, who both claim'd the Dukedom, directly one against the other, both being *Ermins*, which are the Arms of *Bretagne*. At the first Encounter there began a cruel and terrible Battle, especially when they joyn'd hand to hand: For thô the *English* Archers at the beginning shot most fiercely, yet as then they did but little Execution, the *Frenchmen* were all so well arm'd, and defended with broad Shields and Targets. Which [p] when the Archers saw, who were big and lusty Men, thrô great Disdain, that they should do nothing now, who at other times had a chief stroke in all Victories, they flang away their Bows and Empty Quivers, and ran up to the *Frenchmen* that bare the Axes, and at the first Meeting they began to wrestle and trip with them, and laid hold on their Weapons, so that they wrested several Axes out of their Enemies Hands, with which they slew several of their Owners, and fought couragiously the remainder of that Day. But now the Men of Arms meet on both sides, and begin a Fight full of Horrour, wherein many a notable Feat of Arms was done, and many a Man taken and rescued again; but he that was once down was never like to rise again without some suddain and extraordinary Succour. The Lord *Charles* of *Blois* his Battail was engaged with that of the Earl of *Monford*, where the Fight was very cruel beyond Imagination; and first the Earl began to have the Worst of it: But at that Instant Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, who stood on a Wing with 500 Chosen Men of Arms, heedfully observing every Circumstance, when he saw his Friends begin to disorder, rode up immediately to the Place, and with his fresh Men held the Enemy at Play, till the Lord *Chandos* had repaired

[o] *Froiss.* c 225. *f.* 122. *b.*

[p] *Froiss. c.* 225. *f.* 122. *b.*

repaired the Breaches, and ſet his Men in Order again; and then Sr. *Hugh* retreated to his former Poſt, and the Lord *Chandos* returned to the Battail. Surely this Device of that Noble Captains proved of no ſmall Advantage to him that Day: For no leſs than four times were his Men broken, and yet as often reſtored again by Sr. *Hugh* and his Troops. AN. DOM. 1364. An. Regni *Angliæ*, XXXVIII.

While thus the two Rivals were contending with each other, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, the Lord *John Bourchier*, Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, and Sr. *Matthew Gournay* and their Men were matched with the Earls of *Auxerre* and *Joigny*, who had a great Battail, and well furniſhed with Choſen Men: And long and couragiouſly this Fight was menaged with Spears, Swords and Axes, that no more could be expected from Men of Valour. However this tough Reſiſtance was no way pleaſing to the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, who raged in the Head of his Men like a Wild Boar, and did Wonders with a great, ſharp and heavy Ax in his hands, wherewith he brake and opened the Preaſs, ſo that none durſt abide his ſtroaks. More than once he adventur'd ſo far among his Enemies, that he was in great danger of being loſt; but he was alſo ſeconded by Men like himſelf, who yet had all enough to do to ſave themſelves. The Lord *Cliſſon* not only gave, but received alſo many great ſtroaks, but his Armour was ſo good it preſerved him; and yet one time he received a Blow with an Axe on the Viſor of his Helmet, ſo that the Corner Point of the Ax graſed croſs his Right eye, whereby for ever after he loſt the ſight of that Eye: But yet for all this Wound, he ſtill behaved himſelf like a Noble Champion, and like *Sampſon*, ſought to revenge the loſs of his Sight with the Death of his Enemies.

It is in vain to ſeek to particularize every Mans Actions; Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *John Bourchier*, Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, and the reſt were nothing inferiour to the Lord *Cliſſon*, but ſignalized their Valour abundantly: And ſurely every Man muſt do his Devoir, or elſe he could not have eſcaped: For the Enemy was both Numerous, and fought with as much Bravery as was poſſible.

The Lord *Charles* of *Blois* more eſpecially approved himſelf a moſt Accompliſhed Knight, and well Worthy of the Dukedom he fought for: And yet Sr. *John Monford* was not a whit behind him; but bare himſelf with ſuch incredible Courage and Proweſs, that he ever after obtain'd the Sirname of *Valiant*. The Lord *John Chandos* did that Day many Wonders in Arms, and fought valiantly with a maſſy Ax of Steel that he had in his Hands, wherewith he gave ſuch Blows, that no Armour could reſiſt; ſo that the boldeſt of his Enemies durſt not abide him. For he was a great and mighty Man, well formed of all his Limbs, and together with his notable Strength and Courage, had much Diſcretion, Skill and Experience. All the time of the Battle he menaged the Earl of *Monford*, being very carefull to comfort Him and his Men, and ſaid, as he ſaw Occaſion, "*Sir, do thus and thus, and draw to this or that ſide*; and the Earl conſtantly follow'd his Directions.

In another part Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* and his *Bretons* fought couragiouſly with Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, and their Men, that none could tell to which ſide the Victory would encline: For both *Engliſh* and *Bretons* were Men of approved Courage, and neither Part knew how to turn their Backs. All the Lords, Captains, Knights and Eſquires on all hands fought with extream Animoſity and Reſolution, and every Battail had its hands full, and were hard at it together, except only that of the *Engliſh*, whereof Sr. *Hugh Calverley* had the Conduct; he all along kept on a Wing ſomething aloof, and minded nothing elſe, but to repair what Breaches he ſaw to be made among his Friends, in any part as they were fighting. At laſt the Lord *John Chandos* having by this means, and by the exalted Courage of his Men, very much prevail'd againſt the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, brake quite thrô him, making a mighty ſlaughter among his Men, and came and fought with the Earls of *Auxerre* and *Joigny*, who were hard enough put to it before; and whatever brave Reſiſtance he found here, it laſted not long, for being animated with Succeſs, he ſoon brake that Battail alſo to pieces, ſo that it was utterly diſcomfited; all their Banners and Penons taken or overthrown to the Earth, and the Lords and Captains put to Flight, ſlain or taken: For they had no refreſhment from any other of their Battails, every one had their Hands full already. And indeed it ought to be remembred, that the Baſtard of *Blois* was afterwards by new Counſels remanded to joyn the Lord *Charles*, becauſe all the ſtreſs of the Matter lay upon him, and the Earl of *Monford*; and the Lord *Chandos* began to prevail; but ſtill by the Aſſiſtance of Sr. *Hugh Calverley* and his Men, this Great Battail was at laſt broken and overthrown, as we have ſhewn. After which now the Earls of *Auxerre* and *Joigny* ſuffer'd the ſame Fate, for they had no Succour to aid them againſt theſe New-

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Comers. And to say Truth, when a Discomfiture begins, a small Matter decides the Controversie; for if one flies, there follow three more, and ten after them, and after the ten thirty, and then an Hundred.

Thus it was in this famous Battle of *Auray*, the Lords of the *French* Party cried their Cries, so that those, who heard them, took Heart and rallied again; but many could not hear them at all, or not return unto them for the Preass, noise and confusion of the Field. The Earl of *Auxerre* being very much wounded, was by Force of Arms taken Prisoner under the Standard of the Lord *John Chandos*, together with the Lord of *Joigny*, and the Lord of *Prier* a Great Baron of *Normandy*.

Yet all this while the other Battail kept entire and fought couragiously, and indeed all the *Bretons* and *Frenchmen* on Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* his Part held a long while together with Bravery enough, like Good Men of War: But to say the Truth, [q] they kept not their Order so well, as the *Englishmen* and the *Bretons*, with the Earl of *Monford*, did. For when they saw their Enemies would not in the least flinch from them, but resolv'd to win all or to die; their Martial Ardour languish'd by Degrees, and they became more remiss in their Discip'ine, as despairing of doing any Good. But surely the Wing which Sr. *Hugh Calverley* lead, stood the *English* in great stead that Day, as we have particularly instanced before: So that at last beginning to have an Advantage against their Enemies, when they saw their Ranks broken, they redoubled their Courage, and flew in among them with such Fury, that nothing was able now to resist them. When some *Frenchmen*, who had their Horses near at hand in the field, perceived how Matters were like to go, they went away to their Beasts, mounted and rode off upon the Spur. Then the Lord *Chandos* with a select Company (leaving the rest to glean the remainders of the Field) began to move against the Battail of Sr. *Bertam* of *Clequin*, which as yet stood firm, having done many notable Deeds; so that hitherto Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, and the rest of that Body with all their Endeavours had gain'd but small Advantage upon them. But now upon the Lord *Chandos* his Coming, this Battail was open'd also, and Ruine rush'd in at the Breaches to the Destruction of many a Valiant Gentleman: For now the *English* gave many terrible stroaks with their heavy Axes, and many an Helmet was cloven in sunder, and many a Man wounded to Death: So that neither Sr. *Bertram* nor his Men were any longer able to hold out against their Enemies.

[q] *Froiss. c.226. f.123.*

IX. There Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* himself was taken by an Esquire of *England*, under the Standard of the Lord *John Chandos*, who at the same time took a Great Lord of *Bretagne* Prisoner with his own hands, called the Lord of *Raix*, a Knight of approved Valour. And by that time this Battail was thus open'd, all the rest were quite discomfited and lost their Array, and every Man began to flee away as fast as he might to save himself: Except certain Valiant and Loyal Gentlemen, Knights and Esquires of *Bretagne*, who would not by any means forsake the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, but chose rather to die with him than to leave the Field with Dishonour: Wherefore they all drew together about him in a Ring, and disputed the Point to the last Man. Thus the Lord *Charles*, accompanied with these Gallant Souls, play'd his last Stake as bravely as was possible; but 'twas not likely those few should hold out against an Army newly flush'd with Victory; especially since the rest of the Field being cleared, the greater Part of the *English* came thither against them. So that at last they also were by fine Force broken, discomfited and slain. There the Banner of the Lord *Charles* was beaten down to the ground, and he that bare it was slain; and with him fell the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* himself, with his Face towards his Enemies, and by his side was slain a valiant Bastard Son of his, called Sr. *John* of *Blois*, and many other Knights and Esquires of *Bretagne*. It is said, that the Captains of *England* had agreed beforehand, that if they had the better in Fight, and Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* were found upon the Place, he should not be taken to Ransom by any Man, but slain outright. And the same Design had the *Frenchmen* and *Bretons* upon the Earl of *Monford*, if they should obtain the Victory: For both Sides were resolved, how that Day should make an end of the Controversie. So when it came to the Rout, there was a great Slaughter, and many a Good Knight slain or taken, which was the lot of the very Flower of all that Side; but a few Men of Honour that escaped, especially of the Bannerets of *Bretagne*. There was slain first of all the Noble and Valiant Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who called himself Duke of *Bretagne*, and his Son Sr. *John* the Bastard, Sr. *Charles* of *Dinant*, the Lord of *Leon*, the Lord of *Ancenis*, the Lord of *Avaugeur*, the Lord of *Lodeac*, the Lord of *Malestroit*, the Lord of *Ponto*, the Lord of *Gargol* and many others, whose Names cannot be recovered, [r] to the number of about a Thousand. Besides whom

[r] *Walsingh. hist. p.128.*

whom there were taken Prisoners the Earls of *Auxerre* and *Joigny*, Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, the Vicount of *Rohan*, Sr. *Guy du Leon*, the Lord of *Rochefort*, the Lord of *Raix*, the Lord of *Rieux*, the Lord of *Lomine*, the Lord of *Quintin*, the Lord of *Franville*, the Lord of *Ravenal*, the Lord *de la Feville'e*, Sr. *Henry* of *Malestroit*, Sr. *Oliver Manny* and divers Others, Lords, Knights and Esquires of *Bretagne*, *France* and *Normandy*; in all, one Vicount, [f] two Earls, Twenty seven Lords, and fifteen Hundred Knights and Esquires. On the *English* Part I can find but one Man of Honour that fell this Day, [t] namely the Lord *John de Nereford*; and the highest Account that appears any where is, [u] that there fell one Knight and five Esquires, at the most there died but [x] Seven in all: But many were grievously wounded. To conclude, this Discomfiture was great and wonderfull, and many Gallant Men were put to the Sword, as well in the Field as in the Chace, which lasted eight long Leagues, even to the Gates of *Rennes*. There happen'd many notable Adventures as well during the Fight as the pursuit, which cannot all be recounted, and then Gentlemen were either taken alive or slain outright, as they fell in the hands of those that were Courteous or Cruel. This Battle was thus fought on the [y] Twenty ninth of *September*, being a *Sunday* and St. *Michaels* Day, near to *Auray* in *Bretagne*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXIV.

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[f] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*32. *& Walsin. hist. p.*128. *& Ashmole p.*703.
[t] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*9.
[u] *Knighton p.* 2628. *n.*30.
[x] *Walsing. ibid. & M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.*232.
[y] *Mezeray p.*71. Lit. Dom. G F.

X. After the Discomfiture, the Lords and Knights of *England* and *Bretagne* having sent out certain Troops to make good the Chace, returned themselves and came to the Earl of *Monford*, who had a rich Tent with the Arms of *Bretagne* thereon, pitch'd up for him in the Field. Thither came to him to his Tent Door the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *John Bourchier*, the Lord *William Latimer*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *Richard Burley*, Sr. *Eustace Dambreticourt*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *Richard Taunton* and Others, who first had retired to the side of an Hedge and unarmed themselves, when they saw the Day was unquestionably their own, and the Chief of them set up their Banners and Standards on the Hedge, and the Banner of *Bretagne* aloft on a Bush, to direct their Men thither. Then the Lord *Chandos* being attended with the other Knights aforesaid, went to the Earl of *Monford*, and with a Smile said unto him, "Sir, Praise God and be merry, for this Day you have conquer'd your In-"heritance of *Bretagne*. Then the Earl enclined his Body very respectfully, and said aloud, "Oh! Sr. *John Chandos*, this Prosperous Adventure, that hath now befallen me, "was brought about thrô your great Conduct and Prowess, as I know very well, and "so do all that hear me at this time. Sir, I pray drink with me. And with that he reach'd him a Flagon of Wine, of which himself had drank just before, and when Sr. *John* had drank and deliver'd the Drink to another, the Earl added, "Sr. *John*, next "to God Almighty and his Grace, I ought to be most thankfull to you, and do here-"by own my self obliged to you above any other Mortal Man. And at that instant came up to them the Lord *Oliver Clisson*, very much chafed and enflamed with his continual Action in the Fight, and the long pursuit of his Enemies; so that he had much ado to return again with his Men in any time, he was so extream weary; but he brought back with him many rich Prisoners. And now he alighted and came to the Earl of *Monford*, and refreshed himself and began to unarm, and had a Chirurgeon called to dress his Eye; when there came up to the Earl two Knights and two Heralds, who had been to view the Field, and to search among the Dead Bodies, if so they might find the Body of Sr. *Charles* of *Blois*, whether he was Dead or no. These Heralds spake aloud to the Duke, "Sir, God give you Joy of your Dukedom of *Bretagne*; for we have seen your Adversary Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* lying dead upon the Earth. At that the Earl of *Monford* rose up from his Chair and said, he would go and view him, for he had as lief see him Dead as Alive; and so he went thither with the Knights who were about him. Being come to the place, where he lay cover'd with a Shield, he caused his Shield to be taken off, and then beheld him with much Compassion, and having look'd stedfastly on him a while, he burst out in these Words, "Ah! Sr. *Charles*, my Fair Cousin, by your indiscreet Obstinacy how many E-"vils have fell out in *Bretagne*? And yet so God help me, as I am sorry at my Heart "to find you in this Condition! But now it is past Remedy. And with that he began to weep over him; not that he was not well satisfied with the Victory, he had so hardly obtained, but that this cruel and costly Decision of his Quarrel did much affect his Generous Mind, considering his own Case might have been the same. But Sr. *John Chandos* quickly drew him out of this melancholy and unseasonable Humour, saying, "Sir, pray come away, and thank God for this fair Adventure thus happily fallen to "You: For without the Death of this Man, you could never have enjoyed your Inhe-

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"ritance of *Bretagne*; and perhaps he would have been content to have found You "here in his ſtead. Then the Earl gave order that the Corps of his Couſin Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* ſhould the next Day be conveyed in Great State to *Guerande* a City of *Bretagne*, where he was honourably interred, as he was well worthy: For he was a moſt Noble, Courteous and Valiant Knight; ſo that a while after he obtain'd the Reputation of a Saint, being reported to have done many Miracles after his Death, whatever Bloodſhed he occaſion'd in his Life-time. But 'tis a Miſtake of *Froiſard's*, [z] where he ſays how he was Canonized for a Saint by Pope *Urban* V. When as the Truth is, that thô indeed he had ſome ſuch Matter in his Mind, and there are [a] extant Letters of his to *John* Duke of *Bretagne* to that Purpoſe; yet when he underſtood, that by the manner of his Death he was not to be look'd on as a Martyr; he was very angry with thoſe, who preſum'd without the Approbation of the Apoſtolick See to give ſuch Honours unto his Memory, and by his Letters to the Biſhops of *Bretagne*, enjoyned them in their ſeveral Diœceſes to prohibit, that any ſuch thing be done for the future. *Dat. apud Montem Flaſconem XVII Kalen. Octobris Anno Pontificat. VI.* Which agrees with the Year of our Lord 1368, being the Fourth Year after his Death.

[z] *Froiſ. c.* 226. *ad fin.*

[a] *Tom.* 6. *Ep. ſecr. p.* 160. *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1368. §. 11.

XI. Now when all the Dead were ſpoiled, and the *Engliſhmen* were all returned from the Chace, the whole Army drew off to their former Camp, and unarmed themſelves, and took their eaſe, having firſt ſet a good Watch, and ſecured their Priſoners, and cauſed the Wounded to be well dreſſed. On the *Monday* in the Morning the Earl of *Monford* cauſed Proclamation to be made to the Citizens of *Rennes*, and all the Towns and Villages thereabout, that he would moſt inviolably grant them a Truce for Three Days following; whereby they might be emboldened to come forth, and gather up the Dead Bodies, and bury them in Holy Ground; which *Chriſtianlike* Proclamation was both well accepted, and alſo generally prepar'd the Hearts of the People in his behalf. Then the Earl return'd to his Siege before *Auray*, ſaying, that he would not ſtir thence, till he was Maſter of the Place: And ſoon after it yielded unto him.

The mean while Fame was very buſie in carrying tidings abroad into Divers Countries; that the Earl of *Monford* by the Aſſiſtance and Conduct of the *Engliſhmen* had won the Day againſt Sr. *Charles* of *Blois*, and diſcomfited, ſlain, or taken all the Cavalry of *Bretagne*; ſuch as were againſt him. The Lord *John Chandos* eſpecially had great Renown every where; for all manner of People, Lords, Knights, and Eſquires, as well Foes as Friends, that had been preſent in the Field, agreed together in acknowledging, that chiefly by his Conduct and Great Valour his ſide had got the better.

But at this News all the Friends and Aſſiſtants of *Charles* of *Blois* were extreamly caſt down; and eſpecially the *French* King; for this Loſs concerned him very nearly, as well becauſe of the Death of his Kinſman, Sr. *Charles*, as alſo becauſe many of the beſt Knights of his Realm were either there ſlain, or taken; as Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, whom he highly favoured, and the Earls of *Auxerre* and *Joigny*, and all the Barons of *Bretagne*, none excepted. Wherefore preſently he ſent his Brother *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, to the Marches of *Bretagne*, to animate the Country, which was utterly dejected and caſt down with this great blow; and alſo to comfort the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne* (as ſhe was called) Relict of the Lord *Charles*, who took on ſo extreamly for the Death of her Husband, that it was a great Pity to behold her comfortleſs Condition. The Duke of *Anjou* had newly Married a Daughter of hers, and therefore thought himſelf the more ſtrongly engag'd to this Office: And indeed he promis'd faithfully to afford unto all the Good Cities and Caſtles in *Bretagne*, his beſt Counſel, Comfort, and Aſſiſtance in all Caſes; whereby the Poor Afflicted Lady, whom he called Mother, and all the Country, that held for her, had for ſome while a little Confidence yet to ſee better times: Till the *French* King to avoid worſe Inconveniences, took other Meaſures, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. The Earl of *Monford* wrote the News of this Victory to his Father-in-Law, King *Edward* of *England*, five days after the Battle was ended. His Letters bearing Date from before *Auray*, the Fourth of *October*, were ſhortly after brought unto the King, then at *Dover*, by a Purſuivant at Arms; who had been in the Battle: And the King was ſo well pleas'd with the News, that immediately in reward thereof he [b] made him an Herald at Arms by the Name of *Windeſor*. But it will not be amiſs briefly to declare the Occaſion, why King *Edward* was then at *Dover*.

[b] *Froiſ. ibid. Aſhmole p.* 703.

XII. About Three Years before, there began a Treaty concerning a Marriage between Prince *Edmund* of *Langley* Earl of *Cambridge*, King *Edward's* Fifth Son, and the

the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of Earl *Lewis* of *Flanders*. To which Match the said Earl had lately given his Consent, on Condition there might be a Dispensation obtain'd from Pope [c] *Urban* V, because of their Proximity of Blood: And so a Contract was made between the Parties. And on this account the Duke of *Lancaster* and Earl *Edmund*, his Brother, had lately passed over the Sea into *Flanders*, with many Knights and Esquires in their Company, to visit Earl *Lewis*, of whom they were received very Honourably, and with special Tokens of Peace and Love. Insomuch that upon their Return, the Earl of *Flanders* accompanied them to *Calais*, where they took the Sea all together, and Landed at *Dover*; where at that time the King was with certain of his Council ready to receive them, and to Treat further with the Earl of *Flanders* about the Consummation of the foresaid Affair. This was the occasion of the Kings being there at that time, when the foremention'd Pursuivant came and brought him the News of the Victory near *Auray*. Whereat the King was wonderfully pleased, and all the Court; the Earl of *Flanders* being no less glad, than any of them, because of the Advancement of his Cousin German, the Earl of *Monford*, which must needs happen thereby. Thus King *Edward* tarried with the Earl of *Flanders* at *Dover*, for the space of Three Days; which were spent in Royal Feastings and Princely Recreations. And then Matters, concerning which they met being adjusted, He took his solemn leave of the King, and sailed back for *Flanders*, being attended to *Bruges* by the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Earl *Edmund*, his Brother. But yet this Intended Match was soon after [d] broke off by the *French* Kings envious Policy, he craftily hindring the Pope from granting a Dispensation, and then he never left Courting the Earl of *Flanders*, till he had given his Daughter in Marriage to that Kings Brother, *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. Notwithstanding which it appears, [e] that the Year following, Sr. *Nicolas Tamworth* Knight, and *John Wyn* Esquire, were sent by King *Edward* to all the Nobles, and other his Friends beyond the Seas; to sollicit their Help for expelling those Strangers, who had invaded the Lands of *Burgundy*, *Nivers*, and *Reth*, of Right belonging to the Countess of *Flanders* and her Son; which were to return unto *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, and to the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, Daughter to the same Earl of *Flanders*, in regard of that Matrimonial Contract made betwixt them; as the Record doth manifest.

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[c] *Rot. Franc.* 38. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 8. *Walsing. hist. p.* 128. *n.* 40. *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 154. *Froiss. c.* 227.

[d] *Walsing. hist. p.* 128. *n.* 40.

[e] *Rot. Franc.* 39. *Ed.* 3. *m* 9. *Vid. Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 154.

XIII. This Year on the Feast of *All-Saints* [f] there was fought a great Battle on the Plains of *Turkey*, between the *Christians* and *Pagans*, where the *Christians* after a long and doubtfull Fight obtain'd a Bloody and *Cadmean* Victory. For on their side there fell the Great Master of the Hospital of *Rhodes*, and one or two Kings, and of the meaner sort to the Number of 5210: But of the Infidels there were slain more than 40000 of their Men of Arms, besides an incredible Number of the Common Souldiers. The Chief Captains of the Heathens, were the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, and the King of *Turkey*, *Kinstut*, or *Keystut*, the King of *Lithuania*, *Janibech* King of *Tartary*, King *Baldoc*, and King *Belmarine*; three whereof were slain in the Field, and the King of *Lithuania's* Son [g] was taken Prisoner by *Thomas Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, who afterwards brought him into *England*, and made him a *Christian*, calling him *Thomas*, after his own Name, as being at that time his Godfather. But whereas *Walsingham* says, that among other *Christian* Princes, I----- King of *Hungary* was slain at this Fight; there is a double mistake; for it should be written L in stead of I, that King's Name being *Lewis*; and it is most certain, that he lived many Years after, [h] as will appear to any that shall enquire.

[f] *Walsingh. hist. p.* 174. *n.* 20.

[g] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. Bar. p.* 233. & *id.* in Warwickshire *p.* 317. *a.*

[h] *Vid. Odor. Rainal. Contin.* Baron. *Tom.* XVI & *Tom.* XVII.

CHAPTER the TVVELFTH.

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I. BEing now enter'd upon the Thirty Ninth Year of King *Edwards* Reign, it will be neceſſary for the underſtanding of what follows, to ſet down an account of Matters, which happen'd in the cloſe of the foregoing Year, namely after the Battle of *Auray*. And we ſhall find, that the Earl of *Monford* upon that notable and entire Victory, return'd [a] unto the Siege of that Fortreſs, which he follow'd with greater application than ever before, and made a Vow not to Riſe thence, till he had the Beſieged at his Devotion. And ſurely thoſe within were much diminiſhed in Courage, thô not in Proviſion; for they had loſt in the late Battle their Captain, Eſquire *Henry* of *Tintineac*, together with Fourty Men of Arms, the very Flower of all their Garriſon: Wherefore ſince now they could not expect any further Succour, they at laſt reſolved to yield, while they might hope to obtain tolerable Conditions; and ſo they began to enter a Parly with the Earl to that purpoſe. The Earl was not willing to loſe much more time here, and beſides he knew not, how other Places ſtood affected to him, and he had a mind to try the Country, while the Terrour of his Arms was freſh; on which Conſiderations he received them to Mercy, and gave them leave to depart with their Goods; for they would not yet own his Authority; or ſubmit to his Government. Having now placed in *Auray* a good Garriſon of his own, he rode on with his Army, which encreaſed daily; Men of Arms and Archers continually flocking to him. Nay the very *Bretons*, who before rejected his Yoke, being now won by the Reputation of his Sword, came in to him apace, eſpecially the *Bretons Bretonant*, or thoſe of Lower *Bretagne*.

[a] *Froiſ. c. 228. fol. 128.*

First he marched toward the Higher *Bretagne* however, and lay down before the Town of *Jugon*, which had been in the Hands of Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* almoſt 22 Years; for it was taken by him [b] in the latter end of the Year 1342, as we have ſhew'd in due place. Here he tarried Three Days, in which time he gave two terrible Aſſaults, wherein many were hurt on both ſides: But when the Beſieged ſaw with what Vigour they were attacked, and that there was no proſpect of any Succour, they thought not to drive Matters to the extreamity; but on the Third Day accepted the Earl of *Monford* for their Right and Lawfull Lord, and ſo without any further Tryal open'd their Gates unto him, and ſware to continue his true Liegemen for ever. Then the Earl removed all the Officers in the Town, and ſet new Ones in their Places; and ſo proceeded, and went and ſat down before *Dinant*, where he lay'd a Siege, which laſted far in the Winter, to his great Inconvenience. For *Dinant* was of it ſelf a ſtrong Town, well fortifi'd, and ſufficiently furniſhed with Proviſion and Men of War: Beſides the Duke of *Anjou* by his Letters exhorted the Inhabitants and Garriſon to hold out a while boldly, promiſing to ſend them ſpeedy Relief. Theſe Words of the Duke animated them to endure ſo long, and to undergo ſo many hard Aſſaults; but when they ſaw their Proviſions almoſt ſpent, and not the leaſt appearance of any Duke of *Anjou* to relieve them, they requeſted to be admitted to the Earl's Peace: And he for his part freely granted their Requeſt; for he demanded nothing elſe of them, but that they ſhould acknowledge him for their Lord, and ſo they did; and he entred the Place with great Solemnity, and there received all their Oaths and Homages. Soon after he marched to *Quimpercorentin*, which he preſently began to Inveſt, ſaying, He would not ſtir,

[b] *Vid. Lib. 1. c. 20. §. 17. p. 266.*

ſtir, till he was Maſter of that City; to which intent he had brought thither ſeveral great Engines from *Vannes* and *Dinant*. AN. DOM. 1365.

II. Now all this while the Lord *John Chandos*, and other *Engliſhmen* and *Bretons* on *Monford's* ſide, who had taken any Priſoners at the Battle of *Auray*, had all firmly agreed on good deliberation to keep them ſtill in their Hands, and by no means to put them to any Ranſom, till the Earl had ſubdued all his Enemies; leſt they ſhould raiſe New Forces, and put him to any more trouble. Wherefore they ſent all their Priſoners into the parts of *Poicton* and *Sainctogne*, to *Rochelle* and *Bourdeaux*, there to be ſecur'd; the mean while the *Bretons* of *Monford's* ſide on one hand, and the *Engliſh* on the other, rode about and reduced all *Bretagne*. For [c] during the Siege before *Quimpercorentin*, which was ſufficiently alarum'd with Aſſaults and Batteries, ſeveral Detachments being daily ſent from the Army, went ravaging all over the Country, and left nothing, which they took not away with them, except it were too hot, or too cold, or too Heavy for them, to uſe *Froiſard's* expreſſion. But the Spoil was only done among thoſe, who refus'd to yield to *Monford*; thoſe, who acknowledg'd him, were taken into his Protection. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIX.

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 229. *fol.* 124. *b.*

III. Of all this the *French* King was well informed, and frequently adviſed how he ſhould bear himſelf, as to this Matter: For it was plain, that at this time the Country of *Bretagne*, and the Lord *Charles* of *Blois* his Widow were in hard Circumſtances; and yet he ſaw, he could not well apply a Remedy, without raiſing a Royal Army, and thereupon engaging in a War with *England*, for the ſake of *Bretagne*. But this he was adviſ'd by no means to do; and after many great and weighty Conſiderations and Reaſons canvas'd on both ſides, this was the opinion of his Council, "Sir, You have "a long while ſuſtain'd the Quarrel of your late Couſin, the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, "as did alſo the King, your Father, and King *Philip*, your Grandfather, who gave "him in Marriage the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*: Whereby innumerable Miſchiefs, and "much Deſolation and Bloodſhed have ſince befell in *Bretagne*, and the Countries "adjacent. But Sir, now it is ſo; that your Couſin, the Lord *Charles*, in keeping "and maintaining his Right to *Bretagne*, hath loſt his Life, and many a Gallant Soul "with him: And on this ſide the Sea there is none, either to proſecute his Claim, "or to make a juſt War upon *Monford* for this Dukedom: For his two Sons, the "next Heirs, *John* and *Guy*, are both Priſoners in *England*. And Sir, You hear "daily, how he Conquers and takes in Towns and Caſtles, and reckons them his "own true Inheritance. So that at this rate You may at laſt loſe your Right of Ho"mage, that You ought to have of *Bretagne*; which is a Matter both of Honour and "Advantage to your Realm; wherefore it would become your Majeſties Wiſdom, to "be very jealous of loſing that. For if this Earl of *Monford* once become Liege"man to King *Edward*, and hold the Dutchy of *Bretagne* of the King of *England*, "as his Father once did, You cannot recover it again without great War and Conten"tion between You and the ſaid King; whereas at this time (God be thanked) there is "perfect Peace and Amity; which we would not adviſe Your Majeſty to break by any "means. But Sir, We think, all things conſider'd and well weigh'd, that it were good "for Your Majeſty to ſend certain Meſſengers in order to a Treaty between You and "the Earl of *Monford*, and to try, how far he is inclinable to agree with the Lord "*Charles* his Relict, and whether he will be content to hold that Dutchy of your "Majeſty or no: And Sir, as your Meſſengers feel him diſpos'd in theſe things, you "may take your Meaſures accordingly. For if the worſt come, 'tis better for him "to remain Duke of *Bretagne*, provided, he will hold of Your Majeſty, and do un"to you all thoſe ſervices, that a ſubject ought to do unto his Sovereign Lord, than "that you ſhould endanger loſing all, by exaſperating his Mind too far, before you "have made Tryal of Milder ways. This ſafe Advice agreed beſt with the Diſpoſition of that Prince, and ſo he appointed the Lord *John de Craon* Archbiſhop of *Rennes*, and the Lord of *Craon*, his Couſin, with the Lord *Boucicquault* Marſhal of *France*, to go to *Quimpercorentin* to Treat and Diſcourſe with the Earl of *Monford* and his Council on the Premiſes. So theſe Three Lords, being furniſh'd with full Inſtructions, how to behave themſelves, rode from *Paris*, till they came to the Siege, where the *Engliſh* and *Bretons* lay, before *Quimpercorentin*; and preſently they gave notice to the Earl, that they came unto him, as Meſſengers from the King of *France*. The Earl of *Monford*, with the Lord *John Chandos* and his Council, received them joyfully, and gave them audience preſently: At which time the *French* Commiſſioners declared the ſubſtance of their Buſineſs. When the Earl of *Monford* had fully underſtood what they had to ſay, he told them he would take Advice in the matter, and return

them

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them his anſwer on ſuch a day: Till which time the Three Deputies went and lay at *Rennes*. Then ſtreight the Earl ſent *William* Lord *Latimer* into *England*, to certifie the King of the *French* Kings Propoſals, and to crave his opinion and direction in the Matter. King *Edward*, being rightly informed of the whole Affair, ſaid, "How he "would adviſe the Earl of *Monford* to accept of a Peace, on Condition he might ever "after remain Duke of *Bretagne*, and alſo thought good, that he ſhould ſhew him- "ſelf inclinable to yield ſome Honourable Allowance to the Lady, who called her ſelf "Dutcheſs, Widow of the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, and that he ſhould aſſign her ſome "handſom Penſion, or yearly Revenue to be payable out of ſome certain place, where "it ſhould beſt pleaſe her. And he granted alſo, that he might do to the King of "*France* for that Dutchy, as other Dukes his Predeceſſors have done heretofore. This anſwer the Lord *Latimer* brought back again to the Earl, who having read the King, his Father-in-Law's Letters, and underſtood his pleaſure, as to the Premiſes, by advice of his whole Council, ſent preſently for the *French* Commiſſioners to come before him; at which time he gave them a very agreeable Anſwer. But it was ſaid to them expreſly, "that the Earl of *Monford* would by no means lay down his Claim to "the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, but that he would remain Duke thereof, and ſo be called "while he lived. Notwithſtanding, whereas the *French* King would have him peace- "ably to open his Cities, Towns, and Caſtles, and to yield Faith and Homage unto "Him, and to do all other Rights and Services, which the Dukes of *Bretagne* have "done in times paſt, all this the Earl is well content to do, nay he ſhall gladly ac- "knowledge the *French* King for his Natural Lord, and render unto him his Homage "and Service in preſence of the Peers of *France*: And further he makes Offer to give "Friendly Aid, Help, and Comfort to his Couſin, Relict of the Lord *Charles* deceaſed, "and moreover, to uſe his Intereſt to deliver his Couſins, her Sons, out of Priſon in "*England*. This Anſwer extreamly ſatisfied the *French* Lords, and they took a cer- tain day, whereon theſe Matters were to be fully Ratified and Concluded at *Guerande*; and with that the City of *Quimpercorentin*, and all *Bretagne* was to be entirely his. Accordingly the *French* Deputies ſent away to the Duke of *Anjou*, who was then at *Angiers*, having from the King of *France* full Commiſſion and Authority, to conclude this Treaty, or to lay it aſide at his pleaſure. When the Duke of *Anjou* ſaw the Conditions, he had a long Deliberation, for thô he found the Earls Propoſals extreamly reaſonable, conſidering the juncture of Affairs, yet he remembred he had promis'd other things to the Dutcheſs his Mother-in-Law; which notwithſtanding he now ſaw to be exceeding difficult for him to perform. But at laſt he was wholly overrul'd to accept and Ratifie the Treaty, and the two Knights, that were ſent to him returned back to *Rennes* with his Anſwer engroſſed and ſealed. Then the Meſſengers of the *French* King, and the Deputies of Earl *Monford* went and met [d] at *Guerande*, where ſoon after the Peace was fully made and compleated on both Hands, and *Quimpercorentin* was forthwith yielded up, and all other Places, that had hitherto held out againſt the Earl of *Monford*, and He remain'd thenceforth True Duke of *Bretagne* on this Condition; "that if he ſhould leave no Children of his Body lawfully begotten, then the Duke- "dom ſhould return to the Children of the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*; and alſo that the "Lady *Jane*, late Wife to the ſaid Lord *Charles* deceaſed, ſhould be Counteſs of *Pen-* "*tebria*, or *Ponthieure*; which Lands were of the Yearly Value of 20000 Franks: "And alſo that Duke *John* ſhould come into *France*, whenever it ſhould pleaſe the "King to ſend for him, and render unto him his Homage for the Dutchy of *Bretagne*. For the ſurer Confirmation of all which, there were ſundry Charters and Inſtruments interchangeably Engroſſed and Sealed on both Parts. Thus did *John* Earl of *Monford* at length obtain the Dukedom, he had ſo long contended for, and henceforth remain'd Duke thereof without any contradiction; till other Wars broke out again, as We ſhall ſhew in due place.

[d] *Mezeray, &c.*

When this Concord and Agreement was made between King *Charles* of *France*, and the Duke of *Bretagne*, the ſaid King, who was very Politick, and deſired greatly to win to his ſide as many brave Souldiers, as he could, reſtored unto the Gallant Young Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, what his Grandfather, King *Philip* had taken from him, when he ſo cruelly and unjuſtly put his Father to Death, as we have [e] ſhew'd in the XVIII Year of King *Edward's* Reign. After which time this brave Lord *Cliſſon*, did by his Vertuous behaviour ſo win upon King *Charles* by degrees, that at laſt nothing of moment could be done in *France* without him, and he might e'n do, whatever he pleaſed: Which liberty however he uſed to no Mans hurt; but only he utterly forgot his old Friends the *Engliſh*, and ever after prov'd a true *Frenchman*.

[e] *Vid. Lib.* 1. c. 22. §. 8. p. 299

And

And thus at last was the Fertile Country of *Bretagne* allowed a most pleasing Respit after those long and Cruel Wars, which had almost emptied her Veins of the best Blood in *France*. All the Natives were extream glad at this happy Change, and received their New Lord with an universal Respect and unfeigned Joy; he taking Faith and Homage of all the Cities, Towns, and Castles, and of all the Prelates, Barons, Knights and Gentlemen of the whole Country. Shortly after his Dear Lady, *Mary* of *England*, Fourth Daughter of King *Edward*, was honourably convey'd over the Seas into *Bretagne*; and there again the Marriage Rites were solemnly renewed with Feastings and Publick Rejoycing in the City of *Nantes*; and in process of Time he had Issue by this Lady, *John* Duke of *Bretagne*, called the *Sage* (Father of *Peter* and *Francis*, both Dukes of *Bretagne*, who died without issue) *Richard* Earl of *Estampes*, and *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne* also, the Third of that Name. And thus We shall leave this Valiant Duke in the full Enjoyment of his Good Fortune, till the Wars between *France* and *England* being renewed, shall give us an Occasion to bring him upon the Stage again. AN. DOM. 1365. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIX. [f] *Sandford's Geneal. Hist. P.* 179.

IV. Nor was there only a full Peace established thus in *Bretagne*, but about the same time also Queen *Jane*, Aunt to the King of *Navarre*, and Queen *Blanch* his Sister, endeavoured so earnestly, that there was at last a Peace struck up between the *French* King and the King of *Navarre*, chiefly by the prudent and dextrous Menagement of that renowned Lord the Captal of *Busche*, who shew'd himself so diligent in Composing of Differences between these two Princes, that in Consideration thereof King *Charles* wholly discharged him of all Obligations, which lay upon him as to his Ransom; for till now, thô at Liberty, he was but a Prisoner upon Parole. And indeed the *French* King began to shew himself wonderfull Gracious and Favourable to the *Captal*, and gave him freely the fair Castle of *Damemarie* in *Brie* with all its Appurtenances, which Gift was more than 3000 Franks *per annum*. And by this seeming Generosity of that subtle Prince, the Candid Gentleman was easily won to do Homage to the *French* King, and to become his Liegeman, thô only for that Castle; wherewith King *Charles* was wonderfully pleased, for he had an extream Value for all Men of Worth, but especially he prized the Service of so Famous a Knight, as the *Captal* was. But that Service lasted not over long; For when the *Captal* was returned into the Principality of *Aquitaine*, and came before the Prince of *Wales*, who had been fully informed of all that was done, the Prince took him aside, and chid him very smartly, asking him, "how he could acquit himself Loyally and truly to two several Lords of different In-"terests, and whether it was agreeable for a Man of Honour to taint his Mind with "Covetousness, and to sell his service for Bribes, and indeed but to accept of Lands, "lying in *France*, where he knew himself to be neither sincerely loved, nor duly re-"spected? When the *Captal* heard these words, and saw, how he had unawares incurred an evil Opinion from his Natural Lord, the Prince, he was very much ashamed, and began to excuse himself, saying, "Sir, I am not so strictly bound to the *French* King, "but that I may easily undo again all that I have done or promised; since I acted on-"ly conditionally, if it might so please you, my Lord, and the King your Father; to "whom the *French* King knows me bound by Ties far more strong and more early. Then the Prince gave him his Hand, and banished all evil thoughts of him; and the *Captal* presently sent into *France* to the King, an Esquire of his, by whom he flung up all that had been given him, and renounced to hold any thing of him, whereby he might be tempted to divide the Service, which he ow'd entirely to the Prince of *Aquitaine*. He himself tarried still with the Prince at *Bourdeaux*, for he was wholly acquitted of his Imprisonment by Vertue of the Articles of the Peace made between the Kings of *France* and *Navarre*: By which Articles also the Cities of *Mante* and *Meulan* were to remain for ever with the King of *France*, in Consideration whereof the King of *Navarre* had other Castles in *Normandy* restored unto him as an Equivalent.

V. About this time the Young Lord *Lewis* of *Navarre* took his leave of *France*, and went into *Lombardy*, having taken of the *French* King at his Departure 60000 Franks in lieu of certain Castles in *Normandy*, which he deliver'd up: What his business was in *Lombardy* I do not find; for 'tis certain, [g] *Froisard* is in a mistake, who says, he went thither to Marry the Queen of *Naples*, and that accordingly he did Marry the said Queen; when as we are [h] infallibly assured, that *Joan*, Queen of *Sicily* and *Naples* was at this time, and 3 Years before, and many Years after, the Wife of *James*, the Young King of *Majorica*. However Prince *Lewis* of *Navarre* died soon after, without any Issue of his Body; thô he left behind him the Reputation of having

[g] *Froiss. c.* 229.

[h] *Vid. Odor. ad an.* 1362. §. 10. & 11.

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been all along a moſt Valiant, Courteous, and Noble Knight, which is a Character, that Worthy Souls eſteem beyond Life or Children.

VI. On the [i] Fourth of *December* in the Cloſe of the foregoing Year, King *Edward* ſent forth his Summons for the Parliament to meet him at *Weſtminſter* on the *Octaves* of St. *Hilary* following. On which day being aſſembled accordingly, Proclamation was made in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, that for that Day they might depart, but they were to return the next Morning into the Painted Chamber, there to hear the Kings Pleaſure. At which time Dr. *Simon Langham* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Lord Chancellor of *England* began in a long and ſolemn Harangue to open the Parliament, taking for his Theme that of the Royal Prophet, *Vera juſtitia*, &c. *Faithfull Judgement doth adorn the King's ſeat*: "From whence he took occaſion to diſcourſe of the King, his Maſter, "and of the great Proweſs and manifold Victories, which by Gods Aſſiſtance he had "Atchieved in his Youth; not forgetting the conſtant and dutifull Goodwill, and "ready concurrence of the King's Loyal Subjects, towards the Furtherance of thoſe his "Important Undertakings: For which, as now the King did by him return them his "hearty thanks; ſo he let them know, that on his part he was reſolved to ſeek the "Common Peace and Tranquillity of all his People; eſpecially by enforcing a due Ob-"ſervation of all the good and ſound Laws, and by amending ſuch of them, "as were faulty; as alſo by Eſtabliſhing New ones, where Neceſſity ſhould ſo "require.

[i] *M.S.Record. Parl.p.95. Sr. Rob.Cotton's Abridgement p.99*

Then they proceeded to appoint Receivers and Tryers of Petitions for *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*; as alſo for *Aquitaine*, and other foreign Countries and Iſles. That ſame day the King declared with his own Mouth to the Three Eſtates, "how Citations and falſe Suggeſtions were daily made to the Pope, for Matters deter-"minable in his own Court within the Realm, and for procuring Proviſions for Eccle-"ſiaſtical Dignities, to the great Scandal of the Ancient Laws, to the Derogation of "his Crown, to the daily conveying away of the Treaſure of the Land, to the Dimi-"nution of Eccleſiaſtical Livings, to the Withdrawing of Divine Service, Alms, Ho-"ſpitality, and other Good and Acceptable Works, and to the daily encreaſe of all "Miſchiefs; wherefore no Perſon, *&c.* And the King by his own Mouth requireth "them, according to the old Statute heretofore, to provide a ſufficient Remedy. Where-upon (beſides two former Acts made againſt the Popes Proviſions, the One [k] 25 *Ed.* 3. and the other 27 *Ed.* 3. as may be ſeen in the Statute-Book) another Act to the ſame purpoſe was made now; which agreeth in all things with the Print, *c.* 1, 2, 3, 4. Only in the Record are more biting Words, a Myſtery (ſays Sr. *Robert Cotton*) not known of All Men.

[k] *Vid.* Statute-Book *ad an.* 25. *Ed.* 3. *ad an.* 27. *Ed.* 3. *& ad an.* 38. *Ed.* 3.

On the *Saturday* after, being the Converſion of St. *Paul*, or the 25 of *January*, the Biſhops, Lords, and Commons, brought into the Parliament the foreſaid Act, and another touching the Preſervation of the Liberties of the Bodies of Prelates, and other Lords of the Parliament.

Then follow the Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers.

That no Victuals, or Corn be carried from the *North*-Marches into *Scotland*, and that no Protection or Paſs-port be granted to any *Scot* to paſs thrô the Realm. *The King will provide therefore.* That the Fines of the Chancery may be, as they were at the Kings Coronation. *The King would have them to be reaſonable for the eaſe of his People.* That 3 *s.* 4 *d.* laid upon every Sack of Wooll at *Calais*, and all other unreaſonable Impoſitions may ceaſe. *The King willeth, that all unreaſonable Impoſitions ſhould ceaſe.*

It is agreed, that One Staple be at [l] *Melcomb*, and another at *Ipſewich*, and that all Merchants, and others, for their Eaſe may ſhip Woolls at *Lewes*, where the Cuſtomers of *Chicheſter* ſhall take the Cuſtoms, and the Cuſtomers of *Yarmouth* ſhall take in like manner at *Lynn*.

[l] *Melcomb Regis in Dorcetſh.*

As for the Statutes made in this Parliament, I ſhall refer thoſe, who deſire to Inſpect them, to the *Statute-Books* in Print, eſpecially becauſe thoſe of this Year do more exactly agree with the Record. Only for my ſelf I muſt put in this Caution, that whereas in the Record and *Statute-Books*, this Parliament is rightly fixed to the 38 of *Edward* the Third; conſidering, that he began not to Reign till the 25 of *January*, before which time the Parliament ſat; yet I have placed it here, as well becauſe I begin the Year conſtantly with *January*; as becauſe it was indeed the Thirty Ninth of this Kings *Inchoate*, before the Parliament was adjourn'd: For on the [m] Seventh of *February*, after the King in Preſence of the Lords and Commons, had given his Royal Aſſent to all the Premiſes, He gave his Thanks to the Three Eſtates, and ſo gave them leave to depart.

[m] *Ità M.S. Record. Parl, ſed St. Rob. Colton's Abridgement* Seventeenth *legit.*

VII. Now

VII. Now is King *Edward* said to have finiſhed all his Wars; for he had full Peace with *France* and *Scotland*, and all the Quarrels about the Dukedom of *Bretagne* were ended, and *Aquitaine* gladly embraced the Government of his Son, Prince *Edward*; and his other Son, the Duke of *Clarence* had brought *Ireland* to a very good Settlement. Wherefore thô in the Midſt of his Wars he always would find leiſure to exerciſe Actions of Devotion, Piety, and Charity; yet now he more ſeriouſly apply'd himſelf, and in a manner wholly Dedicated his time, to ſuch Matters, as in his Buildings at *Windſor* Caſtle, *Queenborough* Caſtle and Town, St. *Stephen's* Chappel at *Weſtminſter*, *Aberconney* in *Wales*, *Henley*, and *Eaſt-Hamſtead*, and his Royal Foundation of *Kings-Hall* in *Cambridge*; which being afterwards augmented with the Addition of Two or Three other adjoyning Foundations, was by King *Henry* VIII, named *Trinity-College*; and laſtly, by the Beautiſull Acceſſion of a Magnificent Building, called the Library, is rendred now the moſt Auguſt and Famous Structure, that ever the *Chriſtian* World hath ſeen Dedicated to the Studies of good Letters. Which College is no leſs adorned with thoſe Illuſtrious Lights of Learning, that have continually ſhined there: Nor have their Beams been confined to any Limits, but have ſpread themſelves like the Rays of the Sun, over Earth and Heaven, and enlightned the Church and State, and the whole Univerſe. 'Tis now happily Govern'd by the Reverend Doctor *John Montagu*, Brother to the Earl of *Sandwich*, a Perſon nō leſs conſpicuous for his Eminent Parts and Vertues, than for his Birth and Quality. AN. DOM. 1365. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIX.

VIII. This Flouriſhing Condition of our King *Edward*, put the Pope, it ſeems in mind of ſome Old Debts, which he pretended to be due from *England* to the Apoſtolick See, for the Kingdom of *England*, and Lordſhip of *Ireland*; which King *John* promiſed to hold of the Church as a Fee Farm for ever. His [n] Letters bear Date at *Avignon* Idibus *Junii*, An°. Pontif. III; in which Letters it appears, that the Sum demanded was but 1000 Marks ſterling *per annum*, and that the laſt payment was made by this King on the Seventh of *July*, *An°. Dom.* 1333, but had ever ſince by reaſon of the Wars been diſcontinued: So that at this time there was due no leſs than 32000 Marks to the Apoſtolick Chamber. Thô in good truth, ſaving the Authority of theſe Letters, I could never find, [o] that ever this Annual Penſion was paid to *Rome*, ſince the Days of King *John*. But in the next Year we ſhall ſee, how King *Edward* now reſented this Matter: For the Pope had beſides his foreſaid Letters, empower'd his Nuntio, *John* Abbot of the Monaſtery St[i] *Bavonis Gaudenſis* of the Order of St. *Benedict* in the Diœceſe of *Tournay*, by proceſs to cite the King unto his Court to anſwer for his Default, on Condition he ſhould refuſe to pay the Arrears. But the effect of this daring Summons we ſhall ſee in the Parliament of the next Year.

[n] *Extant apud Odor. Rainald. ad hunc an.* §. 13

[o] *Vid. John Speed* in the Reign of King *John p.* 500. §. 48. & 49.

IX. At this time King *Edward* [p] gave his Daughter the Lady *Iſabella* in Marriage to the Young Lord *Ingelram de Guiſnes*; the Rites being performed with Great Pomp and Splendor at the Famous Caſtle of *Windſor*. The ſaid Lord was by Birth a Baron both of *England* and of *France*; and his Titles were Lord and Baron of *Coucy*, of *Oiſey* and *Mount-Mirabel*, of *Doüilly*, of *Beauraine*, and of *Barques*, Earl of *Soiſſons* and of *Nide*, and ſome Years after Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*. Beſides which the King at this time created him Earl of *Albemarle*, to have and to hold the ſaid Earldom for him, and the Heirs Male of his and her Body for ever. He alſo confirmed unto him the Mannor of *Moreholme*, the Moieties of the Mannors of *Wyerſdale* and *Aſhton*, with the Third Part of the Lordſhip of *Whittington* in the County of *Lancaſter*, to him, and to the ſaid *Iſabell*, and to the Heirs of their Bodies lawfully begotten. I ſay, he confirmed them unto him: For the [q] Author of the Catalogue of Honour miſtakes in ſaying, they were now given him in the name of a Dowry, ſince we find the ſaid Places, or the greateſt part of them did belong unto his Grandfather [r] *William de Guiſnes*, Lord *Coucy*. What further Honours he obtain'd, we ſhall ſee next Year; wherefore at this time we ſhall only add this; that the King gave him [s] leave to go over with his Lady into *France*, declaring, that whatever Children, Male, or Female, they might have between them, thô born beyond Sea, they ſhould enjoy and inherit all Lands deſcendible to them in this Realm, as Freely, as if they were born in *England*. He bare for his Arms, [t] the Firſt and Fourth Barry of *Viverry* and *Gules*, the Second and Third, *Gules*, A Feſs *Argent*; and in proceſs of time he was elected into the Moſt Honourable Order of the Garter; of which Grace he was well Worthy.

[p] *Pat. 39. Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 8. & Aſhmole p. 669. & Sandford p. 178 & Dugd. p. 761. & Mills Catal. Hon. p. 440. & Knighton p. 2628. n. 40. &c.*

[q] *Robert Glover Somerſet* Herald: ſet forth by *Tho. Mills.*

[r] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 761.*

[s] *Dugd. ibid. ex Pat. 39. Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 8.*

[t] *Mill's Catal. Hon. p. 440. ubi hæc Arma* Periſcelidi *involuta cernantur.*

X. In theſe days King *Edward* cauſed the Lord Chief Juſtice Sr. *Henry Green*, and Sr. *William Skipworth*, another of his Juſtices, to be arreſted and impriſon'd on the account of many notorious Enormities, which he underſtood they had committed a-

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gainſt Law and Juſtice. Nor could they redeem themſelves from Priſon without refunding to the King many large Sums of Money, which by Injuſtice they had got from others: But for ever after they were ſecluded both their Places and his Favour.

XI. We have frequently heretofore mention'd the great Diligence, which *Peter* King of *Cyprus* us'd in travelling to moſt Courts in *Europe*, in Order to raiſe a Power ſufficient to ſtem the furious Tide of Pagan Inſolence, which threatned a Bloody Inundation to all *Chriſtendom*. Now therefore being pretty well furniſh'd with Valiant Souldiers of ſeveral Nations, after that by the Pope's means he had made a Peace with *Genoa*, which had ſome reſentments againſt him, [a] he went from *Venice* to *Rhodes*, where he was Magnificently received by the Maſter of the Hoſpital, and whither he had ſent before many Ships laden with Armed Men, and about 500 good Horſes for the War. He had ſome Months before wrote to his own Brother the Prince of *Antioch*, his Lieutenant in the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, that having left a ſufficient ſtrength at home, he would by ſuch a time ſend an Army of his Realm of *Cyprus* to meet him at *Rhodes*; which was done. For the King had been but a little while in that Iſland; when an Army of *Cyprus* came thither, namely ſixty ſail, one with another laden with Men of Arms, Arrows, Croſsbows, and other Weapons in good quantity; to which the Maſter of the Hoſpital added an hundred choſen Knights of his Order, and commanded his Gallies to be fitted up. And all the while St. *Peter Thomas*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, the Pope's Legate, who had an extraordinary Zeal for the Work, encouraged the King and his Souldiers, and bleſſed them, and pray'd, and preach'd, and ſigned them with the Croſs, and heard Confeſſions, and abſolved and reconciled Sinners; one while labouring in the Kings Council, another while among the Mariners and poor People; now among the Lords and Knights, and the Maſter of *Rhodes*, and now again with the Common Souldiers in great humility: Now he viſited the ſick, and preſently he fell to pacifying of Rumors; ſometimes he converſed with the *Engliſh*, ſometimes with the *Cypriotes*, *Venetians*, *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Germans*; but always he exhorted to Unity and Charity, to Faith and Courage, and to the War of God: And every *Chriſtian* Soul in this ſmall Army was by this Holy Legate, a few days before they left *Rhodes*, admitted to the Sacrament of Gods Body, and ſtrengthned with Divine Power by feeding on their Redeemer, whoſe Croſs they were going to advance.

[a] Philippus è Mazeriis c. 15. &c. in Vitâ Beati Petri Thomæ apud Bolland. Tom. 2. XXIX Januar.

At the time of their Departure from *Rhodes*, the King in ſecret Council propoſed to invade the *Soldan* of *Babylon*, who uſurped the Holy City of *Jeruſalem* and his Inheritance, not in the Tail, but in the Head, and to Steer his Courſe towards *Alexandria*; and ſo taking leave of the Grand Maſter, he went on board his *Galley*, with a Fleet conſiſting of more than an 100 Veſſels of all ſorts, above 10000 good Souldiers, and about 1400 Nobles and Men of Arms, with their Horſes, beſides Mariners. Being come to the Haven of *Alexandria*, after about an hours reſiſtance made by the *Saracens*, they gain'd Land, and ſoon after put all their Enemies to flight, and made them retire into the City in great Confuſion; and ſhut their Gates. But their Hearts were ſo loſt, that upon the *Chriſtians* approach to the Walls, and ſetting fire to their Gates, they fled away towards Grand *Cairo*, or *New-Babylon*. Wherefore the City of *Alexandria* was taken by the *Chriſtians* on the Fourth of *October*, 1365, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning; and all the *Pagans* found therein put to the Sword. But many of theſe *Chriſtians*, being now ſatiated with ſpoil, began forthwith to cool in their Devotion, and ſo were for leaving the City, now it was rifled, nor could the King of *Cyprus*, nor the Zealous Legate with all their Endeavours prevail with them to the Contrary; wherefore upon News of the *Soldan's* Arrival with the Prince of *Aſſyria*, and a Mighty Army, who were coming to relieve the City, on the Fourth or Fifth day, after he had won it, he was forced to leave it to his great Grief. The occaſion of which diſhonourable Departure is by the Legate in his [x] Letters attributed to the *Engliſh*, and to their Leader, and by [y] *Petrarch* to the *Tranſalpine* Auxiliaries in General; "who he ſays, being always better at Enterpriſing, than "at Compleating, forſook the King in the midſt of a moſt Glorious Work, and be- "cauſe they follow'd him not for Devotion, but for Gain; when they had laden them- "ſelves with ſpoils, went away, and being rendred Maſters of their Greedy deſire, made him fail of his Godly Deſign. The Proſecution of this Matter may be ſeen at large in the foremention'd *Philip* è *Mazeriis*, who was himſelf preſent in this Expedition, and alſo in [z] *Odoricus Rainaldus:* We ſhall only add, that the *Engliſhmen* and *Gaſcogners*, who had been at the taking of *Alexandria*, upon [a] their return into *England* and

[x] *Extant apud Odor. Raynal. ad hunc an.* § 20
[y] *Petrarch. l.* 8. *Senil. Ep.* 8. & *l.* 13. *Ep.* 2.
[z] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc* § 18. *ad* § 22. *Vid. Pantaleon. p.* 103.
[a] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 174. *n.* 30. & *Speed p.* 584. § 129.

and *Aquitaine*, brought many rich pieces of Cloth of Gold, Velvets, and Precious Stones, as witneſſes of their Succeſs in thoſe parts. AN. DOM. 1365. An. Regni *Angliæ* XXXIX.

XII. It is ſaid by ſome, [b] that *John* Lord *Roos* after this Expedition died at *Paphos* in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, leaving no Iſſue behind him by his Wife, the Lady *Mary de Orrebe*: So that his Brother *William* ſucceeded in his Honours. Thô to ſay the Truth this Lord *John* was not Born till this Year: For Sr. *William Dugdale* ſhews, [c] that his Death happen'd about 28 Years after this, *viz.* in the Seventeenth of *Richard* the Second; at which time he was but [d] 28 Years of Age.

Notwithſtanding, I grant, that about this time, as [e] *Thoroton* ſays, there died the Lord *Thomas Furnival*, Sirnamed the *Haſty*, leaving no Iſſue behind him; whereupon he was ſucceeded by his Brother *William* Lord *Furnival*: Who about 17 Years after died alſo, leaving behind only One Daughter *Joan*. Her, Sr. *Thomas Nevile*, Brother to *Ralph* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and Treaſurer of *England*, taking to Wife, became in her Right, Lord *Furnival*. But here again I am fain to correct *Thoroton's* many miſtakes by comparing him [f] with a more accurate and judicious Writer.

XIII. Toward the End of the Year, the Noble and Valiant Hero, *Thomas* Earl of *Warwick*, who had been in the Parts of *Pruſſia*, [g] return'd into *England* with his Retinue, and the Voluntiers, who accompanied him, beſides the King of *Lithuania's* Son, whom as we ſhew'd before, he cauſed to be baptized, and called after his own Name, *Thomas*; he himſelf at that time ſtanding for his Godfather. Soon after that [h] the ſaid Earl of *Warwick* was ſent by the King upon ſpecial Service into *Flanders*, having an allowance of 7 Marks and an half *per diem*; at which time alſo he had his Commiſſion for Earl Marſhal of *England* renewed.

[b] *Thoroton's* Nottinghamſhire *p.* 116.
[c] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. Baron. p.* 551.
[d] For, 18 years old *An°.* 7. *Rich.* 2. *id. Dugd. ibid. p.* 550. *ex Eſc.* 7. *R.* 2. *n.* 68.
[e] *Thoroton* Nottingh. *p.* 455.
[f] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 727.
[g] *Hiſt. M.S. Johan. Rous p.* 253. *&c.*
[h] *Dugd. Bar.* 1 *Vol. p.* 233. & Warwick *p.* 317. *a. ex Clauſ.* 40. *E.* 3. *m.* 4.

CHAPTER the THIRTEENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *A Parliament at* Weſtminſter; *wherein notice is taken of the Pope's forementiond Citation to the King:* Peter-Pence *forbid to be paid thenceforward to the Pope: The Quarrel taken up between the Fryars Mendicants and the two Univerſities: The Kings Son-in-Law, the Lord of* Coucy, *made Earl of* Bedford. II. *A Treaty of Marriage begun between Prince* Lionel, *King* Edward's *ſecond Son, living, and the Lady* Violantis, *Daughter to* Galeas, *Lord of* Milain. III. *Dr.* Simon Iſlip *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *dies; his Foundation of* Canterbury-College *in* Oxford, *now called* Chriſt-Church. *Dr.* Simon Langham *Biſhop of* Ely *tranſlated to* Canterbury. IV. *On the* French *Kings Complaint of the Inſolencies of the Companions, King* Edward *raiſes an Army to repreſs them; but finding the* French *King jealous of his Deſigns, deſiſts in great anger: The King of* France *and the Pope endeavour to have thoſe Licentious Souldiers drawn off into* Hungary; *but they would not ſtir, till a buſineſs from* Spain *invited them that way; the Relation of which Matter is refer'd to the beginning of the* Fourth *Book.* AN. DOM. 1366. An. Regni *Angliæ* XL.

I. IN the beginning of this Year, *viz.* [a] on the 30th of *March*, being the *Monday* next after the Feaſt of the *Annunciation* of our Lady, King *Edward* held his high Court of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*: At the opening whereof *Simon Langham* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Lord Chancellor of *England* declared, in the Painted Chamber, in preſence of the Lords and Commons, the Reaſons, why that Parliament was called; which in effect were theſe: "That ſince the King had ſent his "Eldeſt Son, the Prince of *Wales*, to govern the Country of *Aquitaine*; as alſo the "Duke of *Clarence*, his next Son, then living, into *Ireland*, to be his Lieutenant there, "his chief Care now was, how he might beſt govern his Realm of *England* here at "home. And ſo having appointed Receivers and Tryers of Petitions, for *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, as alſo for *Aquitaine*, and other Foreign Iſles, and Places; they adjourn'd, till the next day. And then the Chancellour in preſence of the King, Lords, and Commons, declar'd, that he had the day before informed them in general of the occaſion of their Aſſembling, "and that now they ſhould know it more particularly;

[a] *MS. Rot. Par. p.* 98. *& Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgment p.* 102. *ſed ibi, tempus allegatur eſſe*, The *Monday* next after the Invention of the Croſs; which is the 4 of *May* this Year; *quod mirè diſcrepat à M.S.*

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"larly; there being a freſh Matter, which the King was reſolved to communicate unto "them, *viz.* "The King had lately received Notice, that the Pope, in conſidera- "tion of the Homage, which King *John* of *England* acknowledged to the See of *Rome*, "for his Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Ireland*, and becauſe of the Tribute then "by him granted unto the ſaid See, intended by Proceſs to cite the King to the Court "of *Rome* [Then at *Avignon*] to anſwer for his Default in not performing what the ſaid "King *John*, his Predeceſſor, had ſo undertaken for him and his Heirs, Kings of *Eng-* "*land*: Whereupon the King required the Advice of his Parliament, what Courſe he "had beſt to take; in caſe any ſuch Matter ſhould be attempted. The Biſhops by "themſelves, and the Lords and Commons by themſelves, deſire Reſpite to give in "their Anſwer, till the next day; which was granted: And then the Three Eſtates being met together with one Conſent, Enacted in effect following, *viz.* "That for- "aſmuch as neither King *John*, nor any other King could bring his Realm and Peo- "ple into ſuch thraldom and ſubjection, but by general Conſent in Parliament, which "was not done; and therefore what he did was againſt his Coronation Oath; and "moreover, that he was notoriouſly compell'd by the neceſſity of his Affairs, and the "iniquity of the times; beſides many other Reaſons; if therefore the Pope ſhould at- "tempt any thing againſt the King by Proceſs, or any other way, that then "the King and all his Subjects ſhould with all their Force and Power, oppoſe and "reſiſt the ſame.

Thus was this buſineſs quaſh'd for ever, and it ſeems the King was ſo moved at the Inſolence of the thing, that over and above, he cauſed it now to be [b] ordain'd, that from that time forward St. *Peter's* Pence ſhould not be paid; which the Noble King *Ina*, ſometime King of *England* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who began his Reign about the Year of our Lord DCLXXV, had firſt granted to the See of *Rome*, in conſideration of an *Engliſh* School there to be continued for ever.

[b] *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c.232.*

That ſame day [c] the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and the Fryars of the Four Orders, Mendicants, within the ſaid Univerſities, made long and grievous Complaints by their Proxies, each againſt the other, to the King in Parliament: But in the end they all ſubmitted themſelves to the Kings Order. Whereupon the Lords having well deliberated on the whole Matter, by full Aſſent in Parliament took Order; "that as well the Chancellour and Scholars, as the Fryars of thoſe Orders within the ſaid "Univerſities, ſhould in all Graces and School-Exerciſes uſe each other in Friendly man- "ner, without any noiſe and diſturbance, as before. And that none of thoſe Orders ſhould "receive any Scholar into their Orders, being under the Age of 18 Years: And that the "Fryars ſhould take no advantage, nor procure any Bull, or other Proceſs from [the Court "of] *Rome* againſt the ſaid Univerſities, or proceed therein. But that the King alone "have Power to redreſs and determine all Controverſies between them from thenceforth, "and the Offenders ſhould be puniſhed at the pleaſure of the King and his Council.

[c] *M.S. Rot. Par. ibid. & Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgment.* ibid.

The Parliament continued till [d] *Monday* the XI of *May*; at which time the Lord Chancellor declared, how the King had given in Marriage the Lady *Iſabell*, his Daughter, to the Lord of *Coucy*, who had a Fair Eſtate, as well in *England*, as elſewhere; and that it would concern the King's Honour to create him an Earl by ſome *Engliſh* Title, which all the Lords yielded to be very convenient. Whereupon the King, by his Letters Patents, bearing [e] Date the ſame XI of *May*, advanced him to the Title of Earl of *Bedford*, and for the better ſupport of himſelf and his Lady *Iſabell*, gave him a Grant of a 1000 Marks *per annum*, to be paid him out of the Exchequer, as alſo Thirty Marks more out of the Iſſues of the County of *Bedford*, to be Yearly paid by the Sheriff of that Shire.

[d] Lit. Dom. D. *Vid M.S. Rot. Parl. p.99. §.13. & Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgment p.103. §. 13.*

[e] *Dugd. 1 Vol.* Baron. *p.761. b.*

At that time [f] Sr. *Thomas Ludlow*, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, declared before the whole Parliament, how *William*, the Son and Heir of *William Stephens*, who held diverſly of the King in *Capite*, as of the Crown, had by Writ of *Ætate probanda* ſued out Livery out of the Kings hands; whereas the ſaid *William*, the Son, for a long time ſhould be within Age, as by a prolix Schedule doth appear. Whereupon the whole Parliament upon ſight of the ſaid *William*, the Son, judged him ſtill to be within Age, and therefore took Order, that all his Hereditaments, ſo ſued out of the Kings hands, ſhould be forthwith reſeiſed into the Kings hands, till his full Age, and that all Obligations, Charters, Statutes, Recogniſances, and all other Writings made by the ſaid *William*, the Son, ſhould be null and void. This done the King gave thanks to the Three Eſtates, and licenſed every One to depart, and ſo this Seſſion ended.

[f] *M.S. Rot. Par. &c. ut ſupra.*

II. *Galeacius*, or *Galeas*, the Second Duke of *Milain*, and Elder Brother to Duke *Bernabo*, [g] being a Perſon of a truly Royal Spirit, had already Married his Son, *John Galeas*, to the Lady *Iſabella*, Siſter to the King of *France*, and now for the more ſure Eſtabliſhing of his

[g] Paul. Jovius *in Vitis Princip. Mediolanenſ. p.151.*

his Affairs, design'd to match his Beautifull Daughter *Violantis* with King *Edward* of *England's* Son, Prince *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*. To that purpose he began to make some Overtures about this time; insomuch that King *Edward* sent over to him an Embassy, whereof the Lord [h] *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Northampton*, *Hereford*, and *Essex*, was the Principal Person, to adjust Matters fully and equally on both sides: The Effect of which Embassy we shall take notice of hereafter.

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[h] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol.* Baron. *p.*186.

III. Dr. *Simon Islip* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, [i] riding to *Magfield* this Year, his Horse chanced to fling him into a Miry Pool: So being very wet, however, he continued his journey, till he came to the said place. Being there, and having changed his Apparel, he fell asleep; but at his waking found himself in a Palsie, and so within a few days died, *viz.* on the 26 of *April*, 1366. This Man [k] founded a College in *Oxford*, then called *Canterbury* College; but since that it hath been mightily augmented and enlarged, and bears the name of *Christ-Church*; being at this time One of the most Magnificent Colleges in the whole World. This College the said Archbishop endow'd with good Possessions, appropriating to the same the Parsonages of *Pagham* and *Magfield*; but some Ages after the Famous and Munificent Cardinal *Woolsey* took it in as a part of his College; and lastly, that and this was accounted the Foundation of King *Henry* VIII; so that now it is wonderfully encreased, and is still acquiring New Magnificence and Beauty every day. Archbishop *Islip* being thus dead, the [l] Monks of *Canterbury* chose Dr. *William Edington*, then Bishop of *Winchester* for Archbishop, but he declin'd the Dignity, saying, as it is reported, "*That* Canterbury *was the Higher Rack; but* Winchester *the* "*better Manger*. Whereupon *Simon Langham*, then Bishop of *Ely*, was translated to that See; and *John Barnet* Bishop of *Bath* and *Welles*, went to *Ely*; and *Bath* and *Welles* was given to a Chaplain of the *Black-Prince*, named Dr. *John Harewell*. 'Tis observable, that Dr. *Simon Langham*, [m] on the day of his Consecration, demanded and had Homage of the Earl of *Stafford*, of Sr. *Thomas Ross*, Sr. *John Tyrrell*, Sr. *Robert Brockhill*, and Sr. *Ralph* St. *Leger*, for their Lands, which they held of the See of *Canterbury*: But of this Great Prelate we shall speak more largely hereafter.

[i] *Godw. Catal. Bps p.* 142.

[k] *Vid.* Anton. Wood *Antiqu.* Oxon. *l.*2. *p.* 246. & *p.*338.

[l] *Godw.* ibid. *p.* 143.

[m] *Philipot's Catal.* Chancell. & Treas. *p.* 37.

IV. In these [n] days there was still in *France* a Mighty Number of Warlike Companions, who, after the Wars of *Bretagne* were ended, knew not what to do; but however were so wickedly frugal; that they had rather do Mischief than be idle. The scene of all their Extravagances was the unhappy Realm of *France*; which they called their Chamber; for they durst not do any harm in *Aquitaine*; the Land would not suffer them. And to say the truth, the greater part of their Captains were *Gascogners* or *Englishmen*, Subjects of King *Edward*, or the Prince, his Son; there were but a few *Bretons* and Runagate *Frenchmen*. Wherefore many *French* Lords began to murmur against King *Edward* and the Prince, and said among themselves, how they did not acquit themselves fairly to the *French* King: Since they did not do their utmost to destroy these kind of People; who now began to be unsufferable. For the Duke of *Anjou* had lately gone against them with an [o] Army of 15000 Men; all whom Sr. *Nicolas Dagworth*, their General, vanquished, and put to flight, and took many Prisoners, among whom were the Duke of *Orleans* and the Duke of *Anjou* himself. It is reported of this same Sr. *Nicolas*, who was a Baron of *England*, and Son to the Famous Sr. *Thomas Dagworth*, of whom we have spoken heretofore in this History; [p] that with Thirteen *English* Horse he fought sixty *French*, near to *Flavigny* in *Burgundy*, and by means of certain Chariots, which he made use of for his Defence (they being placed in a Circle, whereinto he could enter at pleasure) utterly vanquished them. But that he Headed the Companions at this time against the *Frenchmen*, proceeded from the great desire he had to Revenge the Blood of his Father, who about 17 [q] Years before had been basely murder'd by the *French* in time of Truce. However King *Charles* of *France* and his Nobles, being terrified with this great Success of the Companions, [r] sent to King *Edward* of *England*, desiring him to interpose his Authority against the Fury of these Men, who were for the most part *English*, or at least under his Dominion. For it was so provided in the Articles of the Peace at *Bretigny*; that if the Souldiers should refuse to acquiesce, both the Kings should joyn together to compell them. First therefore, King *Edward* sent his Letters of Proclamation, commanding them on their Allegiance to go out of *France*, and no longer to infest that Kingdom. Some few obey'd; but others made answer, "that as they held nothing there of the King of *England*, so neither for him would they leave their Garrisons, and that Livelihood they had got with "so much labour. The King was so enraged at this piece of Insolence, that immediately he prepared to Chastise them in Person with a Royal Army: But when the *French* King heard of his vast Preparations, he began to fear, lest after he had destroy'd the Companions,

[n] *Froiss. c.* 229. *fol.* 125.

[o] *Knighton p.* 2628. *n.*60. & *Dugd.* 2 *Vol.* Baron. *p.*148.

[p] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*148. *ex Leland. Collect. Vol.* 1. *p.*826. *MS. in Bibl.* Bodleian.

[q] *Vid. Lib.* 2. *c.*9. §.6. *p.*445.

[r] *Walsingh. hist. p.*175. *n.*10, &c.

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nions, he himſelf might be prey'd upon by him to the hazard of his Crown, under colour, that he ought to pay the Wages of the Army, or by whatever other pretence a Conquerour ſhould pleaſe to make. Wherefore he now again ſent to him, deſiring him to deſiſt, and keep at home: At which affront the King was ſo diſpleas'd, that he ſware by the Virgin *Mary*, "Never to ſtir again about aiding the King of *France*, no--- thô "the ſaid Companions ſhould endeavour to thruſt him out of his Kingdom. But yet ſoon after theſe outlaw'd Captains, having at the King of *England's* Command deliver'd up their Fortreſſes and Caſtles, were content to go along with Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* into *Spain*, upon an occaſion of which we ſhall diſcourſe more fully by and by. As yet the Wiſe Men of *France*, could find no way to purge the Land of them; but they ſaw evidently, that unleſs they could think of a Remedy, and a ſpeedy One too, either by beating them, or buying them out of the Realm, they would ſhortly prey upon the very Vitals of *France*, and perhaps of a good part of *Chriſtendom*; for they were reckon'd to be about 60000 Fighting Men: And by Succeſs they were like to be augmented with new acceſſions of Men of their own ungracious Principles. At that time [f] *Lewis*, the Valiant King of *Hungary*, having at *Buda* made an Alliance with *John Palæologus*, the Greek Emperour, who requeſted his help againſt the *Turks*, made great Preparations for the War, and among others deſired much to have theſe bold Fellows in his Service: And thereupon [t] wrote to Pope *Urban* V, then at *Avignon*, and to the *French* King, and alſo to the Prince of *Wales*, ſhewing, how deſirous he was to employ theſe Warriers in a more Righteous Cauſe againſt the Enemies of *Chriſt*, and to give them good pay. So theſe Three Grand Perſonages agreed together, and offer'd the Companions Gold and Silver, and free Paſſage, and the Pope's Pardon; but nothing would do; they were not ſo devout to change their Quarters, when they were well, and they ſaid, *they would not go ſo far to fight, when they might do it nearer at home.* For they were well informed by ſome of their own Company, who had already been in *Hungary*, that in thoſe Parts there were ſuch ſtraits, that if among any of them they ſhould meet with an Enemy, they could never eſcape; but muſt inevitably die a ſhamefull Death; with which words, whether true or falſe, they were ſo terrified; that they abſolutely refuſed to go thither. When the Pope and the *French* King ſaw, they could not be rid of them this way, they knew not what courſe to take; till at laſt another occaſion offer'd it ſelf, as we ſhall ſhew in the following Book more largely.

[f] *Vid.* Odor-Rainal. *ad hunc ann.* §. 3, &c.

[t] *Froiſ. t.* 229. *fol.* 125. *b.*

The End of the Third Book.

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THE HISTORY OF King Edward IIId.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER the First.

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[a] *Froiſ. c.* 229. *fol.* 126. *a.*

I. AT this time [a] there Reigned in *Caſtille*, a Kingdom of *Spain*, *Don Pedro*, the Son of *Alphonſo* the Eleventh; who becauſe of his many Barbarous, Inhumane, and Unprincely Actions, was Sirnamed *The Cruel*. He had indeed [b] many notable good Qualities and Perfections both of Body and Mind; for he was Tall of Stature, and of a ſtrong and well-compacted Body; of a Gracefull and Majeſtick Countenance, and of a ſharp and ſound Wit; He was Sweet and Perſuaſive of Language; Affable and Judicious; Able and Expert in Arms; a ſevere Enemy to the Proud and Obſtinate, and eſpecially to Thieves and Robbers on the High-way. In ſhort he had ſuch Courage and other Endowments of Mind, as ſet forth and adorn the Owner, but cannot make him Happy without the Addition of Vertue. For as to his Religion, He either had none, or ſeem'd to take no no ice of it; but lived in continued Adulteries, and rejected all Admonitions of his Clergy, and united himſelf, as was reported, to the Moors and the Kings of *Belmarine*, *Tremiſen*, and *Granada*. He was always an inveterate Enemy to *Pedro* King of *Aragon*, and had lately taken from him a part of his Kingdom, intending at laſt to deprive him of the whole; as indeed he had a deſire to oppreſs all his *Chriſtian* Neighbours. Nay, when [c] *Ruffus Maurus*, King of *Granada*, came to him under ſafe Conduct for Protection to his City of *Sevil*, partly to obtain his Treaſures, which were reported to amount to 800000 pieces of Gold, and alſo to gratifie his natural thirſt of Blood, he cauſed him to be carried into the Field on an Aſs, together with One and Fourty *Moors*, his Servants, and there he transfixed him thrô the Body with his own Lance, and cauſed the reſt of the *Moors* to be trod to Death by his Horſemen. Moreover he had divorced, and as ſome ſay, cauſed to be diſpatched, his own Queen, the Lady *Blanche*, Daughter to [d] *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, and German Siſter to the *French* Queen, and to the Counteſs of *Savoy*; whoſe Death was much bewailed by all that knew her; eſpecially thoſe of her Family; which was then one of the moſt Illuſtrious in the World. The occaſion, why he was ſo Cruel to a Lady of her Worth, Youth, and Beauty (for ſhe was but [e] five and twenty when ſhe died, and once He himſelf lov'd her entirely) is [f] attributed to the Enchantments of a certain *Jew*, who at the Inſtigation of *Don Pedro's* Concubine, *Maria de Padilla*, by Magick ſo charmed a Rich embroidered Girdle, which his Queen *Blanche* had given him; that when he had it on, it appeared both to himſelf and all others, nothing elſe, but a great and terrible Serpent. From that time He could never endure his Queen; who ſoon after either died for grief, or, as it is ſaid, was poiſoned by him: And thus being again at his own Diſpoſe, he took the ſaid *Maria de Padilla* to Wife, and made her his Queen. Now this *Don Pedro*, King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, had Three Baſtard Brethren, whom his Father *Alphonſo* had gotten on the body of the Lady *Leonora Guſman*, called the *Ricco Drue*; the Eldeſt was named *Henry*, Earl of *Traſtamare*; a Man, who ſupply'd the Defect of his Birth, by Vertue and an Honourable Inclination; the Second was *Tellius*, alias *Don Tello*, afterwards Earl of *Sancelloni*, and the Third *Sancho*. When theſe Three Brethren ſaw the many Murthers of the Prime Nobility perpetrated by the King, their Brother, and that he daily grew worſe, and how he had put to Death Three or Four of their Brethren, gotten by King *Alphonſo* on another Lady, they began to doubt their own Lives, and reſolving to get out of his Reach, fled for Protection to *Pedro* King of *Aragon*; whom our *Don Pedro* ſo purſued with Bloody Wars; that finding no further ſecurity there, they were e'n fain to fly to the *French* King. Hereupon *Don Pedro* confiſcated all their Eſtates, and proſcribed them as Traytors, which prov'd an Occaſion of his Ruine. For now that all hope of Pardon was taken away, they began to conſider, how by depriving him of his Life they might ſecure their own: To which Reſolution they were the more enflam'd, becauſe they heard, he had lately put to Death the Lady *Leonora Guſman*, their Mother, having

[b] *Roderic. Sant. Par.* IV. *c.* XIV. §. 40, &c. *Vid. Marian. de Reb. Hiſpan. l.* 17. *c.* 7.

[c] *Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1362. §. 18.

[d] Philippus *dicitur apud Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1353. §. 16.

[e] *Maria. de Reb. Hiſpan. l.* 17. *c.* 4.

[f] *Id. l.* 16. *c.* 18. & Innocent. *PP.* VI, *Vitæ Author apud* Boſq. *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1353. § 16.

having first caused to be burnt in her Presence a *Jacobin*, of the Order of St. *Domingo della Calcade*, [g] who had foretold, that he himself should be slain by the hands of *Henry* of *Castille*, *Conde* of *Trastamare*, his Bastard Brother, in Revenge of his other Brethren, whom he had murdered. About this time also the Prelates of *Castille* sent grievous Complaints to *Avignon* to the Pope, importing, that their King intended to overthrow Holy Church, and had already taken away many Church Lands and Revenues, and held several of the Clergy in Prison, and oppressed the whole Land by Tyranny; against all which they beg'd of his Holiness some Remedy: And moreover, having lately violated the Truce taken between him and the King of *Aragon*, he refus'd to hearken to the Admonitions of the Pope, who by his Letter, (bearing [h] Dat. *Aven. Non. Februar. An°. Pontif.* IV. and sent unto him by *William de Lynne* aliàs *Lulimere* Bishop of *Chichester*) exhorted him earnestly to be at peace with the said King. Upon all these accounts Pope *Urban*, being netled to the quick, sent Messengers forthwith into *Spain* to the King, citing him to appear by his Proxies in his Court, there to answer what should be alledged against him, and to excuse and purge himself of those horrible Matters laid to his Charge. But *Don Pedro*, in stead of bending a little for a while, being full of Pride and Security, not only flatly refus'd to obey this citation, but also abus'd the Popes Messengers; whereby he greatly incurred the Indignation of the Church, and especially of the Chief Bishop thereof, the Pope. And in this manner he persever'd; till at last [i] in the open Consistory at *Avignon*, in the Chamber of Excommunication he was solemnly ejected from the Bosom of the Church, and pronounced to be but as an Infidel. And then after these Censures, it was advised, that he should be deposed by the Arms of the Companions; who were at that time in *France*. Hereupon the King of *Aragon*, who was an Apparent Enemy to *Don Pedro*, and *Henry* the Bastard, who had little cause to be his Friend, were sent for to come and confer with the Pope at *Avignon*. Now this *Henry* the Bastard was a most Valiant and Couragious young Gentleman, and had been many Years in *France* pursuing the Wars on the *French* Kings part with much Honour: But when he saw the Pope's Letters, he went immediately to *Avignon*, where he met the King of *Aragon*. And then and there Pope *Urban* made the Bastard *Henry* Legitimate and capable to Inherit the Realms of *Castille* and *Leon*, as if he had been the true and only Son and Heir of King *Alphonso*, last deceased; and then again he solemnly Deposed, Cursed, and Condemned *Don Pedro* by his Sentence Definitive. There the King of *Aragon* and *Don Henry*, the Bastard, enter'd a mutual Alliance on certain Conditions; namely, that *Henry* should restore unto the King of *Aragon*, all that his Brother *Don Pedro* had at any time taken from him; and the King of *Aragon* promised to open the Passages thrô his Country, and to prepare Victuals and Provision for all manner of Souldiers, and others, that should go along with him in this his Expedition into *Castille*, to overthrow and confound *Don Pedro*, and to put him out of his Kingdom.

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[g] *Favine le Parisien Theatre d' Honneur l.6. c.9, &c.*

[h] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc ann. §. 30, &c.*

[i] *Froiss. c. 229. fol. 126.*

When the *French* King heard of this Design, he was extraordinarily well pleas'd, as he that desired at any rate to be rid of the Companions, and also to be revenged of *Don Pedro* for the Death of his Cousin, the Lady *Blanche* of *Bourbon*: But that this might be done more effectually, he presently cast in his Mind, how he might get that Noble Captain, Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* (who was still Prisoner with the Lord *John Chandos*) at liberty again; because his Skill, Conduct, and Courage seem'd highly necessary to this Grand Enterprize. In short He and the Pope, and *Henry* the Bastard club'd together to pay his Ransom, which came to an Hundred Thousand Franks; at so high a Rate was he valued. Sr. *Bertram* being thus delivered, the Bastard and He fell in Communication with the Captains of the Companions, and promised them large Pay and great Rewards, if they would go along with them into the Realm of *Castille*. They agreed on condition to receive such and such Sums in hand, [k] whereof the Pope paid 200000 Livers (besides Pardons and Indulgences) to be rid of them, and the rest at such and such times afterwards; namely, a present Gratuity, and good Wages for the future. And this their Design was communicated to the Prince of *Wales*, and to the Knights and Esquires of his Court, especially to the Lord *John Chandos*, who was earnestly desired to be one of their Chief Captains, together with Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*: But he excus'd himself by shewing the necessity of his Service about the Prince; but the Expedition went on however, and many of the Princes Knights joyned with them (for abroad the Matter was pretended to be against the *Moors* only) as Sr. *Eustace Dambreticourt*, Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, Sr. *John Devereux*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *John Nevile*, and several others. But the Chief Captain of the whole Enterprize was the young Lord of *Bourbon*,

[k] *Mezeray ad hunc ann.*

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bon, Earl of *Marche*, who went againſt the Tyrant to revenge upon him the Death of his Couſin, late Queen of *Spain*: Thô in all Matters of Moment he was directed and adviſed by Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*. Together with theſe were Aſſociated the Lord *Anthony de Beaujeu*, the Lord *Arnold* D' *Endreghan* Marſhal of *France*, the *Begue* of *Villaine*, the Lord *Dantoing* in *Hainalt*, the Lord of *Bruſnell*, Sr. *Guy Bailleul*, Sr. *John* of *Bergues*, the *Almaine* of St. *Venant*, and many more; beſides the Captains of the Companions; as Sr. *Robert Briquet*, Sr. *John Charnells*, Sr. *Robert Cheney*, Sr. *Ralph Camois*, Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, *Lanny* the little *Mechlin*, the *Bourg de L' Eſparre*, *Batiller Eſpiot*, *Edmund Ortingo*, Captain *Humphry Perot* of *Savoy*, the *Bourg* of *Bartuel*, Sr. *Garſes du Chaſtel*, and others. All theſe Lords and Captains with their Retinues held their Rendezvous in *Languedoc*, and about *Avignon* and *Mompellier*, whence they marched *Weſtward* to *Narbonne*, and ſo to *Perpignan*; on which ſide they were to enter the Realm of *Aragon*. They amounted to more than 60000 Fighting Men, all who were of one Mind, to thruſt out *Don Pedro* from his Realm of *Caſtille*, and to make his Baſtard-Brother, *Henry* Earl of *Traſtamare* King in his ſtead. Upon their entrance into *Aragon*, the more to blind *Don Pedro*, they ſent unto him, "deſiring him to open the Straits of his "Country, and to allow free Paſſage to the Pilgrims of God, who in great Devotion "had undertaken to go into the Kingdom of *Granada*, to Revenge the Death and Paſ"ſion of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, to extirpate the Infidels, and to Eſtabliſh the *Chri*"*ſtian* Faith in thoſe Parts. But King *Pedro* knew already the Bottom of their Deſign, and that they came indeed againſt him; yet he valued them not, but intended to raiſe an Army, and give them Battle at their Entrance into his Realm. So when he heard their diſſembling Meſſage, he laughed them to ſcorn, and ſaid, "he would "do nothing at their deſire, nor in any point be ſerviceable to ſuch a Company of Raſ"cals and Thieves, as they were. When this anſwer was return'd, Sr. *Bertram* and his Captains look'd on him as a Diſdainfull, Proud Tyrant, and ſo, with all Expedition imaginable, marched forward to work his Ruine. Thus they went thrô the Realm of *Aragon*, where they found the Paſſages ready open for them, and Victuals, and all other Neceſſaries to be had at convenient Rates and Prizes. For the King of *Aragon* was very glad of their coming, becauſe now he expected by their means to recover all his Lands, which before *Don Pedro* had taken from him. And Sr. *Bertram* and his Company did nothing deceive his Expectation, for when they had reconquer'd thoſe Towns, Cities, Caſtles, Straights, Ports, and Paſſages, which *Don Pedro* had violently wreſted from him, they faithfully reſtored them all unto him again; conditionally, that for ever after he ſhould aſſiſt the Baſtard againſt *Don Pedro*. After this they paſſed the Great River of *Ebro*, or *Iberus*, which divides *Aragon* into two Parts, and ſo they began to March towards *Caſtiglia la Vieja*, or old *Caſtille*.

II. When *Don Pedro* heard for certain, "how an Army of *Engliſhmen*, *Frenchmen*, "*Bretons*, *Normans*, *Picards*, and *Burgundians*, were coming to invade his Realm, "and had already paſſed the River *Ebro*, having won again the City of *Calatayud* in "*Aragon*, and all on that ſide the River, which ſtood him in ſo much expence and pains to conquer; he was vext at the News to the heart, but ſaid no more than this, "*Well, well, all ſhall not go, as they deſign: This Country yields Men, that are able to* "*defend it*. And there no doubt he ſaid truth; for the Right *Spaniard* is Hardy and Patient in the Field, Valiant in War, and Couragious to the Death. But he forgot to reflect, how he had by his unnatural Cruelties exaſperated all his Subjects; and that nothing renders a Prince more weak, than Vice and Tyranny: For they deprive him of the Hearts of his Subjects, which is a Monarchs beſt ſecurity. However like a Couragious King, he immediately ſet up his Standard, and iſſued forth his Summons, giving ſpecial Command thrô all his Dominions, by his Letters Royal, and by his Meſſengers, which went Poſt into all Parts; that without any delay, they ſhould come to him, and help to reſiſt the Publick Enemy, who had invaded his Kingdom. But when he thought to have had a Royal Army, he found himſelf deceived; for few or none came in to him: Almoſt all the Lords and Knights of *Spain* forſook him, and went over to his Baſtard-Brother, who was now generally adored as the Riſing-Sun. Upon this *Don Pedro* was forced immediately to fly, or elſe he had been taken; he was ſo much hated by his Enemies, and even his own Friends were aſham'd of him: Yet at this very time, [1] meeting with *Don Juan* of *Torres*, Brother to him, who had yielded up the City of *Calahorra* to his Enemies, he cauſed him to be put to Death. There was no Perſon of Quality, that would ſtick to a Prince of this Character in ſo ebbing a Fortune,

[1] *Odor. Rainald. ad hunc ann.* §. 31.

Fortune, but only one Loyal Grandee, *Don Hernando del Caſtro*, he would by no means forſake his Lord and Maſter, whatever came of it. Thus *Don Pedro* being attended with this Lord, and a ſmall Troop of Loyal Gentlemen, went with his Family and a good part of his Treaſures to *Seville* on the River *Guadalquivir*, which was the beſt City then in *Spain*, and from thence he went to his Kinſman *Don Pedro*, Sirnamed the *Juſticeer*, King of *Portugal*; with whom he might have been ſafe; but that *Don Henry* [m] the Baſtard made intereſt with *Don Hernando* the *Infant* of *Portugal*; whereof the unhappy King of *Caſtille* being aware, privately truſſed up all his Treaſure, and put it into Coffers, and took ſhipping at *Lisbon* with his Wife and Children, and *Don Hernando del Caſtro*, and a few others with him, and left *Portugal*, and ſet Sail for *Galizia*, the Fartheſt Part of all *Spain* Weſtward; where there is by the Sea-ſide a ſtrong Caſtle, called *Corunna*; and here he and his Queen *Maria de Padilla*, and his three Daughters, the Ladies *Beatrice*, *Conſtance*, and *Iſabella* arrived and took Harbour; but of all the Great Lords of his Court and Council, he had not One there, except that never-enough-commended ſervant *Don Hernando del Caſtro*. And yet during his ſtay in thoſe parts he is ſaid to have put to Death [n] in the City of *Compoſtella*, *Suero*, the Archbiſhop, and *Pedro*, Dean of *Toledo*. And thus we ſhall for a while leave this unhappy Prince, and ſee what became of his Baſtard Brother, the Earl of *Traſtamare*, from whoſe face he now fled.

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[m] *Odor. Rainal. ibid.* §. 32, &c.

[n] *Odor. Rainal. ibid.* &c.

III. As ſoon [o] as the *Caſtillians* knew, that *Don Henry* was enter'd the Land with ſo great an Army, they all flock'd to him and acknowledged him for their Lord, and ſo rode forth with him; and all along as he went, he cauſed the Cities, Towns, and Caſtles to be open'd to him, and every man to do him Homage, the *Spaniards* ſtill crying out with one voice, "*Live*, Don Henry, *and die* Pedro, *the Cruel*! The Grandees of *Spain* led him thus thrô all the Realm of *Caſtille*; as the Grand Maſter of *Calatrava*, and the Maſter of St. *Iago*, and all men every where obey'd him as their King. And ſo at laſt he was Crown'd in the City of [p] *Aſtorga*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Leon*; all Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Knights, doing unto him, as unto their Sovereign, Reverence and Homage, and ſwearing to uphold him, as their King, or elſe to die in the Quarrel. Thus he rode a Progreſs thrô the Realms of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, having Received a Kingdom without a ſtroke, and being almoſt lifted up to Heaven by the Acclamations of the ſenſeleſs Multitude: Who, as they are always the moſt inſtrumental in ſuch ſudden Revolutions, do alſo commonly pay the deareſt for their Rebellion; when the juſt owner comes with Sword in hand to demand his Right againſt the Uſurper. *Don Henry*, being thus Crowned, diſtributed largely unto the Knights ſtrangers, ſuch as came with him, great Gifts and rich Jewels, beſides the Souldiers pay; ſo that every Man confeſſed him to be a Prince of much Honour and Liberality. And the *Engliſh*, *Normans*, *Frenchmen*, and *Bretons*, ſaid among themſelves frequently, that he was the Fountain of Generoſity, and well Worthy to live and Reign over a great Realm; as he did for a while in high Power and Proſperity: Till the Prince of *Wales* and of *Aquitain* beat him out of his ill-gotten Poſſeſſion, and replaced *Don Pedro* in his Throne again; as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 230. *fol.* 127.

[p] *Alii dicunt* Toleto, *alii* Olgis *coronam accepiſſe.*

When now *Don Henry* ſaw himſelf well ſettled in this Eſtate Royal, and that all the Land without Controverſie obey'd him, and acknowledged him for their only Sovereign, he firſt [q] gain'd the Kings of *Portugal* and *Granada* of his ſide, and then held a Parliament, wherein he cauſed to be Enacted, that if any thing ſhould happen to him after the manner of Men, his Eldeſt Son *John* ſhould be look'd on, and taken as the Right Heir of his Kingdom: And at this time he advanced his two Brethren *Tello* and *Sancho* to the Dignity of Earls, the Former being made Earl of *Sancelloni*, upon whom, together with their Titles, he heaped large Revenues and Poſſeſſions. Then he began to imagine and caſt in his mind, how he might Act moſt Worthy of the Supream Dignity, which he had attained, and render his Name and Memory, as Dear, as his Brother, *Don Pedro*, had made his Abominable. He principally deſired to exalt his Honour by good Actions, and to maintain that Kingdom by Juſtice, which the Injuſtice of another had occaſion'd to fall to him. But as for thoſe Numbers of Companions, which he had now with him, he deſign'd ſhortly to employ them in an Expedition againſt *Mahomet*, King of *Granada*, notwithſtanding the formal Alliance he had lately ſtruck up with him. And of this Deſign he ſpake frequently to ſeveral Lords and Knights, who highly applauded (as they reckon'd) his Pious and Honourable Reſolution: And ſtill he kept about him the Prince of *Wales* his Knights, as Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, and Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, to whom he ſhew'd particular Favours and ſpecial Tokens of his Love and Reſpect, in hopes to tie them the faſter

[q] *Odor. Rainal. ibid.* §. 32.

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to his ſervice in his intended Expedition to *Granada*. But moſt of the Knights of *France* took their leave of him preſently after his Coronation, having firſt received many ample Rewards from his Hands; as namely, the Lord *John* of *Bourbon* Earl of *Marche*, the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, and others: But Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, and Sr. *Oliver Manny*, with all the *Bretons*, and all the *Companions*, tarried ſtill with the King, having convenient Quarters aſſign'd them; and Sr. *Bertram* in conſideration of his good Services, was by King *Henry*, with the Conſent of his Council, made High Conſtable of all the Realm of *Caſtille*.

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 231.

IV. All this while was [r] poor *Don Pedro* in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Corunna* on the Sea, and with him his Wife, his three Daughters, and the Loyal *Don Hernando del Caſtro*, and his Retinue only. But when he heard, how his Baſtard-Brother had made himſelf King, and that all the Land freely own'd him for their Lord, he began to be in fear of his Life: For he knew, that if *Don Henry* once heard where he was, he would beſiege him ſo cloſe by Land and by Sea, that it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape. Wherefore one Night he took his Wife and his Daughters, and *Don Hernando* and his Lady [s] *Joan* of *Caſtille*, natural Daughter of King *Alphonſo* XI, and all the Gold and Silver that he had, with him, and ſet Sail, deſigning for ſome other place: But the Wind was ſo contrary to him, that he could by no means get off from that Coaſt; and ſo he was fain to re-enter the Caſtle of *Corunna*. Then in a great Agony he demanded of *Don Hernando*, his only Counſellor, what Courſe now he had beſt take to preſerve himſelf, and thoſe poor Reliques of his Family, complaining bitterly, how adverſe Fortune was againſt him. After ſome ſtudy, the Knight ſpake thus; "May it pleaſe Your "Majeſty, before You leave this place of Safeguard, it would be well to ſend to your "Couſin, the Heroick Prince of *Wales* and of *Aquitaine*, to know, whether he will be "willing to entertain You or no; and to requeſt him in meer pity, to conſider a little "Your ſad and neceſſitous Condition: For ſurely, beſides, that he is noted for a Per"ſon of extraordinary Courteſie, he will think himſelf ſomething obliged to take notice "of You, upon the account of thoſe ſtrict Alliances made between Your Father and "His. And, althô indeed the Lady died before Conſummation, yet he cannot but "remember, that his Siſter the Lady *Joan*, [t] was given in Marriage to You about 17 "Years ago. And certainly the Prince of *Wales* is ſo Noble, ſo Courteous, and withall "of ſuch exalted Courage; that when he ſhall be fully informed of your Affliction, he "will take ſome Compaſſion on You. And if but once He undertakes to ſet You a"gain in Your Throne; there is no Man in all the World can do it better: He is ſo "Valiant and Succeſsfull in War, and ſo feared, reſpected, and beloved by all Men, e"ſpecially the Souldiery: And Sir, for the preſent You are here in a good ſtrong For"treſs, able either to conceal You or defend You; till You may hear News from *Aqui*"*taine*. This Counſel *Don Pedro* readily embraced, and fell immediately to write Letters, which he did all with his own hand, ſo pathetical, and full of pity, as none, but one in his Condition, or as bad, could eaſily endite. Theſe Letters *Don Hernando* gave to a Knight and two Eſquires of his, with Inſtructions concerning the whole Affair; and ſo they went on board, and ſailed happily, till they came to *Bayonne*, a City of *Gaſcogne*, on the River *Adour*, belonging to the King of *England*. Here they asked tidings of the Prince, and were informed, that he was then at *Bourdeaux*: Wherefore they took Horſe, and rode thither, and choſe out an Inn to lodge in, and changed their Apparel, and ſo went to the Abbey of St. *Andrew*, where the Prince kept his Court. There they gave out, that they were *Spaniards*, and came from *Caſtille*, on a Meſſage from King *Don Pedro*. When the Prince heard thus much, he ſaid, he would ſee them, and learn their buſineſs: So they were introduced before him, and kneeled, and ſaluted him according to the Cuſtom of their Country, and humbly recommended the King their Maſter unto him, and ſo deliver'd the Letters into his Hands. The Prince preſently raiſed the Meſſengers from the ground, and received their Letters, and then ſtepping aſide a little, read them over leiſurely; wherein he found, how pathetically King *Don Pedro* wrote unto him, "declaring his great Misfortune, Danger, and Poverty; "and how his Baſtard-Brother, by the Alliances he had made with the Pope, the *French* "King, and the King of *Aragon*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Companions, had violently "expelled him from his Inheritance of the Realm of *Caſtille*. Wherefore he humbly "and heartily deſired the Prince for Gods ſake, and out of his great Generoſity, to "help him in this his deplorable Condition, and to provide him ſome Counſel and Re"medy; whereby he would atchieve Grace of God, and Honour of all the World. For, "ſaid he, it is a thing not to be allow'd in *Chriſtendom*, that a Pope, or a King ſhould "diſinherit a true and lawfull Heir, and by force of *Tyranny* inveſt a Baſtard with the "Right.

[s] Favine *le Pariſien's Theatre l' Honneur l.* 6. *c.* 7. *p.* 148.

[t] *Vid. Lib.* 2. *c.* 8. §. 9. *p.* 438.

"Right. The Prince, whoſe Wiſdom was no way ſhort of his Courage, having read thus much, cloſed the Letters again in his Hands, and ſpake thus to the Meſſengers; "Gentlemen, You are heartily Welcome to Us from our Couſin, the King of *Ca-* "*ſtille*: Tarry here a while with Us; and before You go, You ſhall have our anſwer. With that the Prince's Attendants, who knew well their Buſineſs, conducted the *Spaniſh* Knight and the two Eſquires to an appartment ready for them, and the Prince tarried ſtill in his Chamber ſeriouſly muſing on theſe freſh Tidings. Preſently he ſent for the Lord *John Chandos*, and the Lord *Thomas Felton*, two of the Chief of his Council; for the Firſt was High-Conſtable of *Aquitaine*, and the latter Seneſchal thereof. At their entrance into the Preſence, the Prince ſaid ſmiling, "My Lords, You ſhall hear freſh "News out of *Spain*: The King, *Don Pedro*, our Couſin, makes Grievous Complaint "of the Baſtard *Henry*, who hath taken from him his Inheritance, and hath thruſt him "out of his Kingdom; as, no doubt, You have heard reported by ſundry that came "from thoſe Parts: And now he inſtantly requireth Us to lend him our Aid and "Aſſiſtance, as it appeareth here by his letters. And with that the Prince read over the Letters to them word for word, two ſeveral times; and theſe two Lords heard all very diſtinctly. Having done with the Letters, he proceeded, "Sr. *John* and Sr. *Tho-* "*mas*, You two are the Chief of my Council, and thoſe, on whoſe Fidelity and Wiſ- "dom I more eſpecially rely: Wherefore now I demand Your Advice, what You "think is beſt for me to do in this Caſe. Shall I, after the manner of the World, "neglect a Man in Adverſity? Or ſhall I, as Vertue requires, lend an helping Hand "unto him? Here is Quiet attended with Silence, or Infamy; and there is Labour "Crown'd with Honour and Immortality. As they ſtood ſilent, looking upon one another, the Prince continued, "My Lords, tell me Your minds freely and plainly, "what is fit to be done in this Matter. Then they both agreed, "that it would be "convenient for his Highneſs to ſend ſome Ships of War to King *Don Pedro* to *Co-* "*runna* in *Galizia*, where according to the Date of his Letters, and the Confeſſion "of his Deputies He then was; and that this Fleet ſhould take in him and all he had, "and bring them ſafe to the City of *Bourdeaux*: Where the Prince might more at "leiſure underſtand the Particulars of his Requeſt, and by Perſonal Conference re- "move all Scruples, and ſo accordingly take ſuch Meaſures, as ſhould ſeem moſt "agreeable.

V. The Prince approved very well of this Counſel, and forthwith order'd, that it ſhould be put in Execution, as ſoon as poſſible. The Fleet was to conſiſt of Twelve Men of War, well furniſhed with Archers and Spears, the Admiral whereof was the Lord *Thomas Felton*, and the Vice-Admiral, the Lord *William Latimer*; with whom were joyn'd Sr. *Richard Pontchardon*, Sr. *Nevale Loringe*, Sr. *Simon Burley*, Sr. *Richard Burley*, and Sr. *John Burley*, all Brethren, and other Men of Worth and Valour; who made all the haſte they could to have this Fleet fitted up for their Voyage to *Galizia*. All things being ready they went to *Bayonne* with *Don Pedro's* Meſſengers in their Company, and here they tarried four days for Wind and Weather. On the Fifth Day, juſt as they were hoiſing Sail, King *Pedro* himſelf arrived in the Port of *Bayonne*, with his Three Daughters, (for his Wife was lately Dead) a few of his Men with him, and ſuch Treaſures, as he had. The occaſion of his ſo unexpected Coming, was becauſe he durſt not ſtay at *Corunna* any longer, for fear *Don Henry* ſhould underſtand that he was there; and alſo becauſe he knew, that by this time the Prince muſt have ſeen his Letters: wherefore he thus adventur'd to fling himſelf into the Hands of One, whoſe Honour, he doubted not, would oblige him to defend a ſuppliant.

VI. When the *Engliſh* Lords and Knights heard of his Coming, they preſented themſelves unto him, and bad him Welcome, and ſhew'd him much Reverence and reſpect; and the Lord *Thomas Felton* told him, "that they were juſt then ready by Command "of the Prince, their Lord, to have made a Voyage unto Him to *Corunna*, or where- "ever elſe he ſhould have been, to have convey'd him in ſafety to the Prince. *Don Pedro* was much refreſhed at this report, and ſaid, "He moſt heartily thanked the "Prince, as he did likewiſe all thoſe Noble Knights and Gentlemen there preſent. Sr. *Thomas* immediately diſpatched away word to the Prince, of *Don Pedro's* Arrival at *Bayonne*; whereat he was well pleas'd, and the next day the King of *Caſtille* was conducted by the *Engliſh* Knights towards *Bourdeaux*. Upon News of his approach, the Prince, who mightily deſired to ſee his Couſin of *Caſtille*, rode forth from his Chief City with a goodly Company of Knights and Gentlemen of his Court, and went, and met the King at the Good Town of *Belin*, ſtanding on the [u] *Leyre*; where he ſhew'd him extraordinary Reſpect and Reverence, ſuch as is due to Crowned Heads: For [x] there was

[u] Or *L' Erre*.
[x] *Froiſ. c.* 231. *fol.* 128.

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was no Prince in his Days, that underſtood, or practis'd Civility and Honour better than Him. After a Royal Feaſt, which was provided ready at the deſign'd place of Enterview, the Prince took Horſe, and the King with him, and ſo they rode toward *Bourdeaux*, the Prince all along giving the King the Right Hand; he would by no means ſuffer it to be otherwiſe. This was the true way of Judgement to look upon Perſons, not as they were thrô the Circumſtances of Fortune, a Priſoner of War, as the King of *France* had been; or a poor Depoſed, Exiled Prince, as this *Don Pedro* was now; but, as they were indeed, as Gods Vicegerents, and bore the Diſtinguiſhing Character of Sacred Majeſty. As they rode thus together, King *Don Pedro* declared very pithily, "how his Baſtard-Brother had driven him out of his Realm of *Caſtille*, "and he mightily exclaim'd on the great Defection of his People, and the Diſloyalty "of his Grandees, ſhewing, how they had all forſaken Him; except that Loyal Knight, which was there with him, named *Don Hernando del Caſtro*. The Prince with much Diſcretion began to comfort him; "deſiring him not to be too much dejected, or caſt "down; for thô as then he had loſt all, yet he truſted God Almighty was able to re-"ſtore him to all again, and to give him beſides, an opportunity of taking Vengeance "of his Enemies. Thus they diſcourſed all the way, till they came to *Bourdeaux*, to the Stately Abbey of St. *Andrew*, where the Prince and Princeſs kept their Court. And immediately the King was conducted to a Fair Chamber, ready prepared for his Apartment. When *Don Pedro* had here changed his Apparel, he went to pay his Reſpects to the Princeſs, and the Great Ladies with her; of whom he was received with extraordinary Courteſie. I purpoſely omit all the Masks and Balls, Feaſts, Sports, and other Entertainments, and Diverſions, wherewith the Generous Prince of *Wales* and his Beautifull Princeſs ſought to mitigate the troubled thoughts of the Unfortunate *Don Pedro*; and ſhall make haſte to declare, how this Exiled King ſucceeded with the Prince, his Couſin; whom he found very full of Concern for him, and ready to embrace his Intereſt heartily; althô ſome of his Council adviſed him to the Contrary; as we ſhall now ſee.

VII. Before *Don Pedro* himſelf was come to *Bourdeaux*, ſeveral Diſcreet Perſons of the Princes Council, as well *Gaſcogners*, as *Engliſhmen*, who ſincerely ſought both his Welfare and Honour, and reſolv'd, while they liv'd to do ſo, ſpake to him ſuch words, as theſe, to divert him from abetting that unhappy Prince's Quarrel. "*Sir* (ſaid they) "*Your Royal Highneſs hath often heard*, That He, who embraceth much, hath the "weaker hold: *Now it is moſt certain, that You are a Prince the moſt Praiſed, Ho-"noured, and admired of any in the World; and that on this ſide the Sea You poſſeſs "large Territories and Dominions (Bleſſed be God!) in full Peace and Tranquillity. "There is no King either far or near, that dares at this preſent diſpleaſe You; Your "Name is ſo renowned for Noble Chevalry, Succeſs, and good Fortune. It would there-"fore well become Your Princely Wiſdom to reſt Content with what You have; and not "to attempt any thing, that may leſſen You either in the Eſteem, or the Affections of "the World. Sir, this We ſay not without a good Deſign: For We are very well in-"formed, how* Don Pedro, *King of* Caſtille, *is a very haughty Perſon, exceeding Wicked "and Cruel, and abounding with many evil Qualities, and he hath cauſed many Noble-"men to loſe their Heads, and to come to an untimely end, without the leaſt Law or "Reaſon; and hath put to Death (as it is reported thrô all* Spain) *his own Queen, your "Couſin, Daughter to the Duke of* Bourbon. *And beſides all this, he is look'd upon, "as an Enemy to Holy Church, and hath incurred the Cenſures thereof before now, and "at this time alſo ſtands again Excommunicate by the Pope of* Rome; *and hath all a-"long reign'd as a Tyrant, and without the leaſt pretence of Reaſon, hath made War up-"on the King of* Aragon, *and alſo upon the King of* Navarre, *and would have thruſt "them from their Inheritance by force of Arms; and indeed his unreaſonable Cruelty "to his Baſtard Brethren, have forced them in their own defence to take Arms againſt "him; till now at laſt by his own Demerits he is thruſt out of his Kingdom. Where-"fore Sir, You are to conſider, that what he now ſuffers are but as ſo many Rods and "ſtrokes of Divine Vengeance, to chaſtiſe him, and to ſet him as an Example for all "*Chriſtian *Kings, that they may be afraid to do, as he hath done.* With theſe Words, or the like, was the Prince adviſed, before *Don Pedro* arrived at *Bayonne*, and the Prince was well enough ſatisfied of the truth of what was laid to his Charge; but this was the thing that he was chiefly moved at, to ſee a Baſtard uſurp a Crown from the Right Heir, and ſo the Fundamental Law of *Succeſſion* to be broken; which he look'd upon as a Matter of high Concern to all Kings and Princes; and that ſo ill a Precedent was not to be ſuffer'd. "*My Lords*, ſaid he, *I verily believe, that this*

Advice

"*Advice of Yours is Cordial, and proceeds from a good purpose; and I question not, but that*
"*You all intend my Honour and Interest, as much as in You lies: Nor will I deny,*
"*but that I am well informed of the Life and Manners of this King,* Don Pedro; *and*
"*also I know and believe, that He has committed horrible Crimes without Number,*
"*whereby he has reduced himself to this forlorn Condition. But that which stirreth Us*
"*up, and gives Us Courage to take his Part, is this; It is no way convenient,*
"*that a Bastard should hold a Kingdom, as by Inheritance, and thrust out his Legiti-*
"*mate Brother, true Heir to the Land. For this violent and unlawfull Interruption*
"*of Rightfull Succession, is a Matter, which no Kings or Kings Sons, ought by any*
"*means to permit, or so much as connive at; Because it is of unspeakable Prejudice*
"*to the State and Dignity Royal, and of evil Example. Not to say, that the King,*
"*my Father, and this King,* Don Pedro, *have for several Years been ally'd together*
"*by frequent and manifold Confederations: So that by all means We are bound to as-*
"*sist him, in case, that he require Us so to do.* Thus was the Prince disposed in his Mind, and thus he answer'd his Council, and they could by no means remove him from his purpose; for he was more and more resolved upon the Matter.

VIII. But when King *Don Pedro* was now come to the Prince himself, and was with him in his City of *Bourdeaux*, he raised much Compassion also in the Prince, and confirmed him much more in his Resolution: For he humbled himself before him greatly, and offer'd him many Royal Gifts, promising to make him Lord of *Biscay*, and of the Castle of *Urdiales*, and also to make his Son *Edward*, King of *Galizia*, and that he would present unto him, and his Captains and Souldiers, all his Goods and Riches, which he had left behind him in the Realm of *Castille*; because he durst not trust them under so small a Guard, as his whole Retinue made: But that they were in so sure Keeping, that none knew where they were, but himself. And these Golden Promises especially pleased the Knights and Captains thereabout; for most Men are moved by the consideration of Advantage; but chiefly the Common sort of Souldiers, who fight more for Booty, than Honour. Particularly *Don Pedro* declared publickly and solemnly, before the Prince and his whole Council, how Gratefull he would be, and how he would not only be just, but bountifull, in satisfying every Man; if the Prince would but undertake to bring him again into his Kingdom. Then the Prince was advised to call together all his Barons throughout the Principality of *Aquitaine*, and so Letters were written, and Messengers sent forth, and the Lords and Knights of the Country Summon'd in from all Parts; as the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Earl of *Cominges*, the Lord of *Albret*, the Vicount of *Carmaine*, the Captal of *Busche*, the Lord of *Cande*, the Vicount of *Chastillon*, the Lord *del' Esparre*, the Lord *de Lescar*, the Lord of *Rozen*, the Lord of *Chaumont*, the Lord of *Mucidan*, the Lord of *Courton*, the Lord of *Pincornet*; and all the other Barons and Knights of *Gascogne*. The Earl of *Foix* also was Summon'd in; but he desired to be excused, because of a disease in his leg, which hindred him from riding; however he sent thither certain of his Council, to act and do, as should seem requisite in his Name. To this Parliament thus holden in the City of *Bourdeaux*, came all the Earls, Vicounts, Barons, and Wisemen of *Aquitaine*, as from *Saintogne*, *Poictou*, *Quercy*, *Limosin*, *Gascogne*, and *Guienne*, who being all met, held a Council for three days, about the business of King *Don Pedro* of *Spain*, who was all the while present among them, with the Prince, his Cousin, arguing and reasoning to confirm them on his side. At last they advis'd the Prince to send into *England* to the King, his Father, to know his pleasure, what was best to be done in that case. So there were Four of the Prince's Knights pitch'd upon to do this Message to King *Edward*, as the Lord *Roger de la Warre*, Sr. *Neale*, *Loringe*, Sr. *John Pamiers*, and Sr. *Elias Pamiers*; and so for the present the Parliament brake up, every Man returning home to his own place: But King *Don Pedro* tarried still at *Bourdeaux* with the Prince and Princess; who Honoured him, and Feasted him Magnificently.

IX. The mean while the Four Knights above named went on board, and arrived safely at *Southampton*; from thence they rode to *London*, where they heard the King was at *Windsor*. Being come thither, they were extream Welcom to the King and Queen, both for their Son the Prince's Sake, and also their own, for they were Persons of noted Worth and Honour: Then they deliver'd their Letters to the King, who open'd, and read them, and after a little pause upon the Matter, said unto them, "Gentlemen, go You for the present to your Lodgings, and when I have confer'd with "my Council, I'll return You an answer. With these words the Knights were well

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satisfied, and return'd the next day for *London*; shortly after which the King also return'd to *Westminster*, and with him the most and Chiefest of his Council; as his Sons, *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* of *Langley* Earl of *Cambridge*, *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, *William Montagu* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, the Lord *Reginald Cobham*, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, the Lord *Ralph Nevil*, and several others; besides these Three Prelates, *Simon Sudbury* Bishop of *London*, *William Edington* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *John Bokingham* Bishop of *Lincoln*. By all these, after a long and serious debate upon the Subject of the Prince's Letters, and the Request which he had made unto the King, his Father, it was at last concluded, to be a thing both just and reasonable, for the Prince to take upon him the Protection of the King of *Spain*; and thereupon Credential Letters were framed, directed from the King of *England* and his Council, to the Prince of *Aquitaine* and his Council; and the Duke of *Lancaster* had leave to go over to visit, and confer with the Prince, his Brother, whom he desired to serve in this Expedition. So the Messengers returned with these Letters, and the Duke in their Company, and came to *Bourdeaux*, where they found the Prince and *Don Pedro*; to the former of whom, they deliver'd their Letters from the King, his Father. Upon this a new day was forthwith assign'd for the Parliament to sit again; at which time there assembled at *Bourdeaux* all the forenamed Lords of *Aquitaine*, and Others, that were Summon'd thereto: And then the King of *England's* Letters were openly read in full Parliament. The Purport was this, "That the King and his Council were well pleased, that the Prince, his "Son, should in the Name of God and St. *George*, seriously undertake to restore "King *Don Pedro* to his Throne and Heritage; which his Bastard-Brother had wrong-"fully taken from him, without either Law or Reason; and as it appeareth, traite-"rously deposed him. That the King thought himself obliged to wish his Son to do "thus much for his Cousin, the King of *Castille*, not only for the sake of Justice and "Honour, but also for the Common Interest and Right of Kings; and especially be-"cause of certain Alliances, Treaties, and Confederations, heretofore made between "them, which imported a mutual Assistance in case of Necessity, if either Party were "thereto required: Wherefore he desired all his good Friends and Subjects in those "Parts to be Aiding and Assisting to his Son the Prince in that Matter, as well as if "he himself were there, and undertook the Expedition in his own Person. When the Nobles and Captains of *Aquitaine* heard these Letters read distinctly, and perceived the pleasure of the King, and of his Son, the Prince, their Lord; then they all readily gave in their answer with one consent; "Sir, We shall gladly obey the Command "of our Sovereign Lord the King of *England*, and of Your Royal Highness, it being "our Duty so to do; and therefore We now declare, that in this Expeditiom We "shall readily serve both Your Highness, and also King *Don Pedro*. But Sir, We "desire to know, from whom We are to expect our Wages; for it will be difficult "to oblige Men of War to go abroad into a strange Country, without such kind of "Considerations. Then the Prince turned his Face to *Don Pedro*, and said, "My "Lord, O King, You hear, what our Subjects say: Pray, please to answer them Your "self, as to this point: For it is your Concern so to do. To this *Don Pedro* answer'd, "Most Dear Cousin, as far as the Gold, Silver, and other Treasure, which I "have brought hither with me (and I'll assure You, 'tis not the Thirtieth Part of "what I've left behind) as far as that will go, I shall now immediately resign that "entirely to your Disposé, to be bestowed among our Friends, your Subjects. And "for what shall remain, if God Almighty send Us Success, I shall make full amends in "all things; of this, Be this Honourable Assembly my Witness. "Sir, said the Prince, "You say well, and as Circumstances stand, We can expect no more of You. As for "the Remainder therefore, I my self will be indebted to these Gentlemen, and pay "them as occasion shall require; all which, my Lord, O King, I shall lend unto You, "expecting to be repaid upon our good Success in *Castille*. Hereupon *Don Pedro* renew'd his Promise, to be more than Just in all manner of liberal Retributions, acknowledging with many fair expressions of Gratitude, the extraordinary Favour, Grace, and Courtesie, which the Prince had been pleased to shew unto him.

X. Now in this Council there were many Noble Personages of great Experience in Affairs of that Nature, and who especially understood the difficulties usually attending an Expedition into *Spain*: Such as the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *John Greilly*, Captal of *Busche*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Pamiers*, and others, who had been more than once in *Spain* to help the Good King *Alphonso* against the *Moors*. These all concluded, that it was absolutely necessary, if they resolved to go into *Spain*,

to

to bring over the King of *Navarre* to their ſide: For they could not paſs, but thrô his Country, over the *Pyrenean* Mountains, by the ſtreights of *Roncevaux*. Which Paſſage it was doubted, whether they might obtain; becauſe *Charles* the Preſent King of *Navarre*, and *Don Henry*, the Baſtard, had lately made a ſtrict Alliance together. After much altercation upon this point alſo, the Parliament was prorogued to another day, when they were to meet in the City of *Bayonne*, about ſix Leagues from the Confines of *Navarre*, and the Prince was by his Ambaſſadors to requeſt the King of *Navarre's* Preſence at that Aſſembly. So the Prince ſent unto him the Lord *John Chandos*, and the Lord *Thomas Felton*, who behav'd themſelves with ſuch Diſcretion, and gave him ſuch Reaſons, that he faithfully engaged both by word of Mouth, and alſo under his Hand and Seal, not to fail on the appointed day of being preſent at the Parliament at *Bayonne*: And with this News the two Knights returned to the Prince. AN. DOM. 1366. An. Regni *Angliæ* XL.

The day appointed being come, there came to *Bayonne* King *Don Pedro*, *Edward* Prince of *Aquitaine* and of *Wales*, the Captal of *Buſche*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*; and all the Barons of *Gaſcogne*, *Guienne*, *Poictou*, *Quercy*, *Rovergue*, *Saintogne* and *Limoſin*; and thither alſo came *Charles*, the King of *Navarre* in Perſon, to whom the Prince and King *Don Pedro* ſhew'd extraordinary reſpect, the rather, becauſe they deſign'd to prepare him for their opinion. This Parliament ſat thus at *Bayonne* five days together: For the Prince and his Friends had much adoe to perſwade the King of *Navarre*, he being a Perſon of that temper, as to be ſtiff, and almoſt inexorable, when he ſaw any One ſtand in need of him. But at laſt, when he conſider'd the great Power of the Prince, and that He, who now deſired him, if too much provoked, might compell him, on certain conſiderations, he was content to renounce the League he had made with *Henry* the Baſtard, and ſware, and promiſed under his Hand and Seal, Peace, Love, and firm Alliance and Confederation to King *Don Pedro*; as likewiſe *Don Pedro* did unto Him, by the Prince of *Wales* his menagement and contrivance. The Latter, as true King of *Caſtille*, engaging by Covenant, then Engroſſed and Sealed, to give and reſtore unto the King of *Navarre*, and to his Heirs for ever, all the Land of [y] *Groigne*, as it lies on both ſides the River, and alſo all the Lands of *Salvatierra*, with the Town, Caſtle, and all the Appurtenances: Alſo the Town of St. *John Pie du Port*, and the Marches thereabout; which Lands, Towns, Caſtles, and Seigniories, he had before violently taken from the ſaid King of *Navarre*: And moreover, that there ſhould be paid unto the ſaid King of *Navarre* 20000 Franks to open the Paſſages of his Country, and to permit all manner of Men of War to paſs peaceably, and to help them with Victuals, and other Proviſion for their Money: Which Summ of 20000 Franks, King *Don Pedro* obliged himſelf to pay to the ſaid King of *Navarre*; and then the *Black-Prince* engaged himſelf to the Barons of *Aquitain*, for the Wages of them and of their ſeveral Retinues; and King *Don Pedro* engaged himſelf for the ſame to the Prince, and particularly [z] enter'd a Bond to diſburſe unto the Prince 550000 Florens of *Florence*, of good Gold, and of lawfull weight, for paying his Army. For the Performance of all which Covenants, he moreover left in *Aquitain*, as Pledges and Hoſtages, the [a] Three Princeſſes, his Daughters, *viz.* the Lady *Beatrice*, the Lady *Conſtance*, and the Lady *Iſabella*; the Firſt whereof died ſoon after without Iſſue, the Second became in time Second Wife to *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Third was Married to *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, another of King *Edward's* Sons. We find alſo, [b] that among other, either Pledges, or Gifts, which were left with the Prince, there was a Rich Table of King *Don Pedro's*, wonderfull Sumptuous, and all Decked with Gold and Precious Stones; which ſome Years after, in conſideration of 300 Marks only, paſſed from the Prince to Dr. *Thomas Arundel* Biſhop of *Ely*. And the ſaid Biſhop left it by Will as an Implement for his Succeſſors, in his Houſe at *Ely* for ever. But time, or Avarice, or Sacrilege, or ſome other accident, have long ſince devoured the very Table it ſelf. And beſides all this, *Don Pedro* being extreamly pleaſed with the Prince's Alacrity to do him ſo conſiderable a piece of Service, for a perpetual teſtimony of his Gratitude to all Generations, gave yet a further expreſſion of his kind Reſentment of theſe Favours: And therefore about this time, reſolving what in him lay, to Eternize the Memory of the King of *England*, and of the Merits of the Prince, his Son, toward him; as well for a laſting Monument of his own acknowledgements, for ſuch ſingular Grace and Goodneſs extended to him, as for the greateſt Encreaſe of Honour, that he was poſſibly out of his beſt hopes able to Fancy for the Prince of *Aquitain* and *Wales*, and for the Crown of *England*, He granted unto King *Edward* and his

[y] An *Orogne*?

[z] *Selden's* Titles of Honour 1. *Part.* c. 8. §. 38.

[a] *Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p.* 973.

[b] *Godw. Catal. Bps p.* 273.

An. Dom. 1366. An. Regni *Angliæ* XL.

Son, the Prince, and to their Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings and Princes of *England* for ever; that whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe any of them to be in Perſon in the Wars with any King of *Caſtille*, againſt any King of *Granada*, or againſt any other Enemy of the *Chriſtian* Faith, they ſhould have the Chief Place in the Vanguard above all other Princes of *Chriſtendom*; and that altho at ſuch a time neither of them ſhould be there in Perſon, yet there ſhould always be provided by the Kings of *Caſtille* and their Succeſſors, a Standard of the Arms of *England*, to be born in the ſame place for the Honour of *England*. A Copy of which Grant, becauſe it was never publiſhed, but by the Learned Mr. *Selden*, nor ſo much as mention'd in the Stories of either Nation, I ſhall ſet down in *Engliſh*, referring the Curious Reader for the Original Latine to the [c] fore-mention'd Excellent Author.

[c] *Selden's* Titles of Honour 1 *Par.* c. 8. §. V. §§. 38. *p.* 266. *ex Theſaurario Regio apud* Weſtmonaſt. & *ex Bibl.* Cotton.

XI. "DON PEDRO, by the Grace of God, King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, to all "as well Preſent as to come, who ſhall ſee, read, or hear theſe Preſent Letters (wiſh-"eth) Greeting, and that they yield full Credit to the ſame. Whereas in Largeſs, "Donation, and Conceſſion of Privileges, Liberties, Franchiſes, and in the Prerogative "of Honours, We ought to approve our ſelves Liberal and Gracious to thoſe, from "whom We acknowledge to have received manifold Benefits and Honours; and where-"as the moſt Illuſtrious King of *England*, and *Edward* his Eldeſt Son, Prince of *A-*"*quitain* and of *Wales*, our Couſins, have in times paſt favourably befriended Us and "our Predeceſſors, Kings of *Caſtille*, and eſpecially when lately *Henry*, late Earl of "*Traſtamare*, who being united with certain of his Complices, invaded our Realms, u-"ſurped, and alſo forceably poſſeſſed them in Thieviſh and Hoſtile manner, and un-"duly thus poſſeſſed, detaineth them, did perſecute Us from Kingdom to Kingdom, "from Dominion to Dominion, and from Place to Place, even unto Death; from "which Perſecution by the kind Reception of the ſaid Lord, the Prince, given unto "Us in his Country, We have been delivered, and by him and his People comforted, "and Honourably received and entertain'd; Now We, being mindfull of the ſaid Be-"nefit received, and in part of Recompence of the Premiſes, and otherwiſe, of our cer-"tain knowledge, ſpecial Gift and Royal Donation and Power, do Give and Grant, "for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, Kings of *Caſtille*, by theſe preſents, unto the ſaid "moſt Illuſtrious King of *England*, and unto *Edward*, his Eldeſt Son, Prince of *Aqui-*"*tain* and of *Wales*, that whenſoever the ſaid King and his Eldeſt Son, now being, "or their Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, and their Eldeſt Sons, for the time "being, will come in their own Perſons to the War, which We, or our Heirs, the "Kings of *Caſtille*, ſhall have againſt the King of *Granada*, or other Enemies of the "Faith, that the ſaid Kings and their Eldeſt Sons ſhall have the Firſt Battail, or the "[d] *la Delantera*, before all the *Chriſtians* of the World, and at all times; but yet ſo, "that We and our Heirs, Kings of *Caſtille*, may ſet our Standards in the ſaid Battail, "together with the Standards of the King of *England*, or of his Eldeſt Son. Alſo, "that if it ſhall happen, that the ſaid Kings, or their Eldeſt Sons, ſhall not come to "the War, which We and our Heirs ſhall have againſt the King of *Granada*, or will "not, or cannot come, We Will and Grant, that One Standard of the Arms of the "King of *England*, ſhall always in the ſaid War be in the Firſt Battail, or *en la De-*"*lantera*, Honourably, as is fit, at the proper Coſts and Charges of Us and of our "Succeſſors, Kings of *Caſtille*. Alſo, becauſe the Country of our ſaid Kinſman did ſu-"ſtain many Loſſes, and innumerable Charges at the time, when he for our Succour "raiſed his Armies, as We ſaw with our own eyes, altho We bore it heavily; in re-"compence of the Premiſes, We Privilege, Will, and Grant, that all Men, Inhabitants, "Nobles, Travellers, of whatſoever State, Sex, or Condition they be, of the King-"dom, Country, and Dominion of *England*, and of the Principality of *Aquitain*, ſhall "be free from all [e] Pedage, * Fee, Cuſtom, Maletolt, or any other Impoſitions or Ex-"actions, impoſed, or hereafter to be impoſed in our Kingdoms; ſo that the ſaid Men "of the ſaid Kingdom, Country, and Dominion of *England*, and of the Principality "of *Wales*, in going, ſtaying, or returning thro our Kingdoms by Sea or by Land, ſhall "not be obliged to pay any Cuſtom, Pedage, Fee, Maletolt, or any other Impoſition "or Exaction; unleſs the ſaid Men ſhould buy any thing for the ſake of Merchandiſe, "or for Merchandiſing. In which caſe, whether they be bought for the ſake of Mer-"chandiſe, or no, by our Officers and Receivers of the ſaid *Pedages*, We will ſtand to "the Oath of the ſaid Men; of which things ſo bought for the cauſe of Merchandiſe, "they ſhall not be compelled to pay, nor ſhall any thing be exacted of them above what "other Merchants uſe to pay. And We ſwear on the Holy Goſpels of God, corpo-"rally by Us touched with our Hand, and promiſe in the Word of a King, to hold,

[d] *Ibi* Delanterre, *i.e.* the forpart of the Horſe.

[e] Pedagium, *tributum Domino loci ſolutum ab iis, qui per terram ejus pedibus iter conficiunt.*

* *Latinè*, Leuda, *quod lego*, Feuda; *Vid. Gloſſaria, Somneri, Skinneri, &c.*

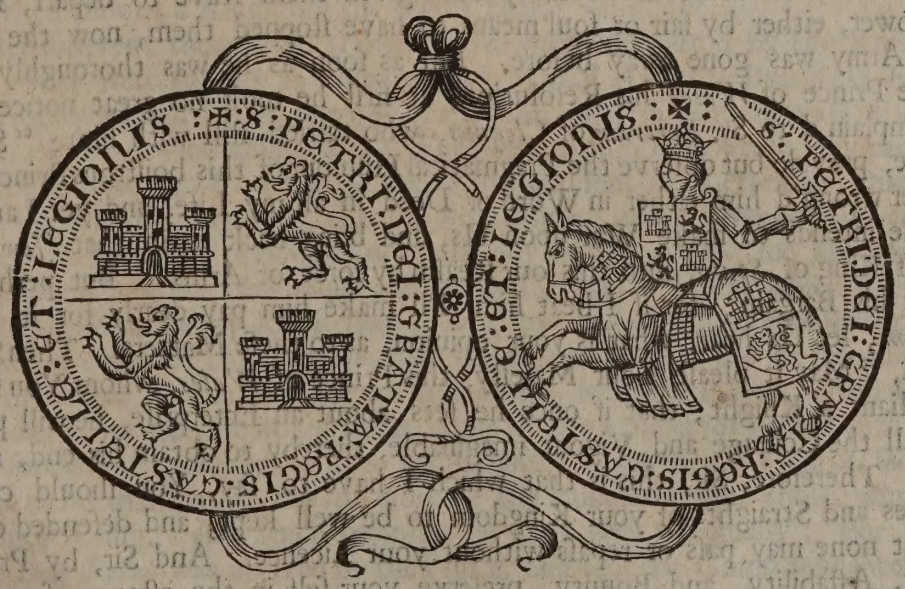
"fulfill,

"fulfill, and inviolably to observe the foresaid Concessions, Donations, and Privileges, AN. DOM. "and all and singular the things contained in these present Letters. In testimony where- 1366. "of, and of singular the Premises, and for their greater Confirmation, We have in Pre- An. Regni "sence of these (undernamed) subscribed with our own Hand, and caused our Seal to *Angliæ* "be affixed thereto in pendant: Willing and Granting, and also requiring You Master XL. "*John de London*, by Apostolick Authority Publick Notary, that to the perpetual Me- "mory of all and singular the Premises, You with the Present Witnesses would subscribe "and sign the present Letters with your usual Seal. Dated at *Libourne* of the Dioe- "cese of *Bourdeaux*, on the Twenty third of *September*, in the Year of our Lord One "Thousand Three Hundred Sixty Six; in Presence of our most Dear Cousin, the Lord "*John* Duke of *Lancaster*, Son of the King of *England*, and Brother of the said "Prince, and the Reverend Fathers in *Christ*, the Lord *Elias* Archbishop of *Bour-* "*deaux*, the Lord *Bernard* Bishop of *Sainctogne*, *John* Elect Bishop of *Bath* and "*Welles*, Chancellour of *Aquitain*, *John Chandos* Constable, and *Thomas Felton* "Seneschal of *Aquitaine*, *Neal Loring* Chamberlain of the said Prince, *Baldwin Fre-* "*ville* Seneschal of *Sainctogne*, and other Witnesses to the Premises.

[f] *TO EL REY.*

[f] *i.e.* I the King.

"And I *John de London* Clerk of the Dioecese of *Winchester*, by Apostolick Au- "thority Publick Notary, on the Eleventh day of the Month of *February* in the Year "of our Lord [g] aforesaid, in the Fifth *Indiction*, and in the Fifth Year of our most [g] *i.e.* 1365. "Holy Father in *Christ*, and our Lord, the Lord *Urban* the Fifth, by Divine Provi- "dence, the Pope, within the Castle of the City of *Bayonne*, in the Chappel of the "said Castle, was present, together with the Witnesses undernamed, when the said "Lord, King *Pedro* renewed and confirmed, and by his Oath, Established all and sin- "gular the Premises, touching with his own Hands the Holy Gospels of God, and "when the said King subscribed himself, with his own Hand, and Required, and en- "joyn'd me to subscribe my self to the Present Letters, and to set to my usual Seal. "The Witnesses, who were present at these things, together with me, are the Lord "Fryar [h] *Martinez de Leyva*, Master of the House of the Knighthood of *Alcantara*, [h] *Frater Martinus Lupi*, &c. "of the Order of *Cisteaux*, *Roger* Lord *de la Warre*, *Gomez*, [i] Tutor of the said Lord [i] *Magister dicti* "the King, *Paulo Gabriel* Citizen of *Sevil*, *John Guttern* Dean of the Church of *Domini Regis*, &c. "*Segovia*, and Master *Robert Fregand* Notary, Chancellour of the Lord, the fore- "said Prince of *Aquitaine* and of *Wales*.



And at this time it was also agreed, [k] that the Prince of *Wales* should have the Ca- [k] Selden *ibid.* stle of *Vermejo*, *Lequitio*, *Bilbao*, and *Biscay*, as also the Castle of *Urdiales*, to hold *p.* 270. to himself, and his Heirs and Successors for ever, and to dispose of them, as he should please, being wholly discharged of all Sovereignty and Resort, and as free, as the King had held it heretofore. And accordingly We find the Prince to use besides his for- mer Titles, that of Lord of *Biscaye*, and of the Castle of *Ordiales*; as in an Instrument, *In Camerâ Ducatûs* Lancastriæ. *Vid.* Sandford *Geneal. hist.* [l] bearing date the 8 day of *October*, in the Year 1370. *An°.* 44. *Ed.* 3. (Whereby he grants unto his Brother, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, the Castle, Town, and Cha- stellanie of *la Roche Sur Yon*) he styles himself---*Edward*, Eldest Son of the King of *p.* 185.

France

An. Dom. 1366. An. Regni *Angliæ* XL.

France and of *England*, Prince of *Aquitaine* and of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earl of *Cheſtre*, Lord of *Biſcaye*, and of the Caſtle of *Ordiales*. And all theſe things were confirmed by King *Don Pedro* under the Great Seal of *Caſtille*; both the Originals and Duplicates thereof remaining [m] with Us in *England* to this day; which ſhew alſo, that to the King's Seal, his Oath was afterwards added, being ſolemnly taken before the High-Altar in the Church of [n] *Bourdeaux*.

[m] *In Theſaur. Regis apud* Weſtmonaſt. *& in Bibl.* Cotton. *ut ante.*

[n] Selden *Burgos*; *ſed hæc Urbs in* Hiſpaniâ; *& tum fieri intelligatur poſt Victoriam à Principe partam. Potiùs verò* Bourdeaux *legendum duxi.*

XII. When all theſe things were fully Ratified, Eſtabliſhed, and Confirmed, and all the great Men knew what they were to do; the Prince of *Aquitain* ſent his Heralds into *Spain*, to certain Knights of *England* and *Gaſcogne*, Subjects to him and his Father, ſignifying unto them privately, how it was his Pleaſure, that they ſhould preſently upon ſight of his Letters take their leaves of King *Henry*, the Baſtard, and come away with all ſpeed to him; for he ſaid, he had need of their Service, and ſhould ſpeedily have an occaſion to employ them. When the Heralds had deliver'd their Letters to the Chief Captains in *Caſtille*, and had ſecretly confer'd with them, ſo that they perfectly underſtood the Prince's Deſign, they embraced the firſt Opportunity of taking their leaves of King *Henry* in the moſt obliging manner they could deviſe, without making the leaſt Diſcovery of the Prince's Intention. So that King *Henry*, who indeed was of a Liberal, Courteous, and Honourable Diſpoſition, after many thanks for their good Service, and many ample Gifts and Largeſſes, diſmiſs'd them, and gave them his Letters for their free Paſſage thrô his Country. Whereupon Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, Sr. *John Devereux*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *John Neville*, and all the other Lords, Knights, and Eſquires of the Prince's Court, with their Troops and Retinues, having the Baſtards Paſsport, began their March out of *Spain* with all Expedition for fear of a Countermand, if the Matter ſhould take Air. When this was known to the Captains of the Companions, who were ſpread abroad in the Country, and underſtood nothing of the Prince's Letters, they gather'd together, as ſpeedily, as they might, intending to march after them into *France*: For they thought by the other Captains departure, that the War was again open between the two Crowns. The Chief Leaders of theſe Companions were Sr. *Robert Briquet*, Sr. *John Charnells*, Sr. *Robert Cheney*, Sr. *Ralph Camois*, Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, *Lanny* the Little *Mechlin*, the *Bourg de l' Eſparre*, *Batiller Eſpiot*, *Edmund Ortingo*, Captain *Humphry Perot* of *Savoy*, the *Bourg* of *Bartuel*, Sr. *Garſes du Chaſtel*, and others, who all rode after the *Engliſh* Captains without any ſtop, or impediment from King *Henry*; for as yet he knew not, that the Prince of *Wales* had deſigned to bring back his Brother *Don Pedro* into *Caſtille*. For if he had known it, he would not ſo eaſily have given them leave to depart, ſince it was in his Power, either by fair or foul means to have ſtopped them, now the greater part of the Army was gone away before. But as ſoon as he was thoroughly acquainted with the Prince of *Wales* his Reſolution, at firſt he took no great notice of it; but only complain'd to Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who tarried ſtill with him; "Sr. *Bertram*, "ſays he, pray do but obſerve the Pragmatical Humour of this boiſtrous Prince of *Wales*! "I never wrong'd him either in Word or Deed in all my Life, and yet I am inform'd, "that he intends to make War upon Us, and bring back again that *Jew*, who calls "himſelf King of *Spain*, into this our Realm by force of Arms: But perhaps he may "repent his Bargain; for if I beat him, I'll make him pay dearly for it. Now, Sr. "*Bertram*, let Us hear, what is your opinion, as to theſe Matters. Then Sr. *Bertram* anſwer'd, "May it pleaſe Your Majeſty, this Prince of *Wales*, whom You ſpeak of, is "ſo Valiant a Knight; that if once he ſets about an Enterpriſe, he will proſecute it "with all the Courage and Vigour imaginable, thereby to obtain his end, if it be poſ-"ſible. Therefore, Sir, this is that which I have to ſay, You ſhould cauſe all the "Paſſages and Straights of your Kingdom to be well kept, and defended on all ſides, "ſo that none may paſs or repaſs without your Licence. And Sir, by Princely Cle-"mency, Affability, and Bounty, preſerve your ſelf in the eſteem of your People; "leſt any of them ſhould flinch from you in your neceſſity: For nothing is more un-"ſtable, or leſs to be rely'd on, than the fickle Favour of the Common People. I "am ſure, as for *France*, You may command many Gallant Knights from thence; and "I doubt not of finding many Friends and Favourers of your Cauſe, both there, "and in *Bretagne*; and Sir, I ſhall go thither my ſelf for that purpoſe, and will bring "You as many as I can. Only remember to preſerve your ſelf in the Eſteem of your "People, and to keep Unity and Peace at home. By my Faith, ſaid King *Henry*, You "ſay well; and while You are providing Us Friends abroad, I'll take Care at home to "menage the Reſidue, according to your Counſel.

Soon

Soon after this Sr. *Bertram* went for *France*, taking his way thrô *Aragon*, where the King received him very kindly; and having tarried at *Saragoza* fifteen days, he took his leave and went to *Mompellier* in *Languedoc*, where he found the Duke of *Anjou*, who alſo made him very welcome; for he loved him entirely. And having tarried ſome time there, he went the next way for *Paris*; where he was likewiſe very welcom to the King. AN. DOM. 1366. An. Regni *Angliæ* XL.

XIII. Now when the News was ſpread abroad thrô *Spain*, *Aragon*, *France*, and other parts of the World, that the Prince of *Wales* had engag'd himſelf to reſtore *Don Pedro* to his Kingdom; many men wonder'd at it extreamly, and divers, and different Opinions were given thereupon. Some ſaid, "how the Prince was ſo enflamed with "the Love of Arms, that he cared not for whom he undertook a War, whether for a "Man of Vertue or no, nor whether his Cauſe were good or bad, ſo there was but "Fighting in the caſe. Others ſaid, "it proceeded from great Preſumption, occaſion'd "from his former Succeſſes; and that it was rather an effect of Vanity, than Judgment. But the *Frenchmen* commonly talk'd, "that it was meer Envy; for that the Prince "was in a manner angry, and repin'd at the Honour, which Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* had "obtain'd in Conquering the Realm of *Caſtille*, in the Name of King *Henry*, who was "by him made King of that Country. But ſurely, thô [a] *Mezeray* himſelf is of this Mind, who ever diſcreetly and impartially weighs the Matter, will eaſily confeſs, that Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* was no adequate Object for that Great Prince's Envy; eſpecially at this time, when his Condition was ſo vaſtly beneath, and his Renown no way to be compared to that of our *Engliſh* Prince; nor could any juſt Eſtimator of things much magnifie that Action of Sr. *Bertram's*, who being aſſiſted by the Pope, the King of *France*, and the King of *Aragon*, had made ſhift to put them to flight, who had no Power to reſiſt; to put him out of his Throne, whom none of his Subjects would uphold in it; and to Conquer, where there was no oppoſition in the World. Sr. *Bertram's* high Worth and Valour I readily acknowledge; which yet afterwards became far more notable, than it was at this time: But I muſt needs tax the Vanity of thoſe *Frenchmen*, who make the Prince of *Wales*, a Man whoſe Honour the Greateſt Monarchs of the Earth might Envy, to be jealous of the Glory of ſo mean a Perſon, as Sr. *Bertram* at that time was, and one, who both before and after this, was made a Priſoner by his Arms. But thoſe, who had leaſt prejudice, ſaid, as well *Frenchmen*, as others, 'that it was a Generous Pity, and a Princely Love to Equity and Juſtice, that moved Prince *Edward* to abett the quarrel of an Exiled King, and to reſtore him again to his "Inheritance; for it was neither Lawfull nor Reaſonable, for a Baſtard to wear a Crown, "and uſurp the Name of a King from the Right Heir.

[a] *Mezeray p. 76. ad hunc annum.*

XIV. Such different thoughts in ſeveral places were entertain'd by the Knights and Gentlemen, who were curious to enquire after Martial Affairs: But King *Henry* for his part, being quicken'd by Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, made all the Intereſt he could to fruſtrate the endeavours and deſigns of his Enemies: And firſt he wrote very earneſtly to *Pedro* King of *Aragon*, his Confederate and Ally, and ſent his Letters by Diſcreet and Honourable Perſons, deſiring him, that he would by no means agree or make any Compoſition with the Prince of *Aquitain*, nor with any of his Allies; for he promiſed on his part to remain his good Neighbour and faithfull Friend. Upon which Meſſage the King of *Aragon*, who dearly loved *Don Henry*, and had oftentimes experienced King *Pedro's* Cruelty, returned him Letters, with full aſſurance, that thô he ſhould loſe half his Realm therefore, he would make no Agreement with the Prince, which ſhould be to his Prejudice; but that he would never come to any manner of accord with *Don Pedro*: And further he promiſed to keep his Country open for all Men of War, that would come to his Aſſiſtance; but to cloſe all the Paſſages againſt thoſe, who came to trouble or moleſt him. All which promiſes he kept very punctually: For when he knew, that *Don Pedro* was abetted by the Prince, and that the Companions were marching toward *Bourdeaux* to joyn them, he preſently ſtopped all the Paſſages of his Kingdom, and kept them ſtrictly, and ſet Men of War on the Mountains to defend the Paſſages and Streights of *Catalunna*; ſo that none could paſs without expoſing themſelves to imminent Danger. But for all this the Companions found another way, thô they ſuffer'd many Hazards and Difficulties; before they could get rid of thoſe traps ſet for them in *Aragon*. Yet at laſt they came to the Marches of the Earldom of *Foix*, where they found that Countrey alſo cloſed againſt them: For the Earl would not by any means permit ſuch a ſort of Pillagers to paſs thrô his Land.

XV. The mean while Prince *Edward* employ'd all his thoughts Night and Day, how he might to his Honour perform this Expedition; and now he was concerned, how

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theſe Companions, who had already proffer'd him their Service, might be ſafely brought into *Aquitaine*; for he heard, how the Paſſages of *Aragon*, were cloſed up, and that now they were upon the Marches of the Earldom of *Foix* in much trouble and more danger. Wherefore he began to doubt, leſt the Baſtard *Henry* and the King of *Aragon* together, ſhould, by thus ſtreightly dealing with theſe Companions, who were in all to the Number of 12000 Men, prevail ſo, as either thrô fear of Danger, or Hope of advantage, to oblige them to act on the other ſide; which he reſolv'd, if poſſible, to prevent, becauſe they were all Expert and Valiant Men. Then he determin'd to ſend the Lord *John Chandos* to retain them for his Service, and alſo to treat with the Earl of *Foix*, deſiring him in the Prince's Name to do no harm to them; on which account he promis'd him, that whatever Damage they ſhould do in his Country he would make him double Amends therefore. This Buſineſs Sr. *John Chandos* undertook to do for his Lord; and ſo he firſt rode to the City of *Dax* in *Gaſcogne*, whence he continued his journeys, till he came to *Foix*, and here he ſo well menaged the Earl, that he conſented to all that he requeſted of him. Then the Lord *Chandos* rode onward, till he came to *Belcayne*, where he found the Companions, and fully agreed with their Captains, and retain'd them to ſerve the Prince in his *Spaniſh* Expedition; for ſuch and ſuch Conſiderations, which the Lord *Chandos* engaged by Oath ſhould be performed. This done, he return'd to the Earl of *Foix* again, and deſired him, that theſe People, being now retained in the Prince's Service, might find no lett or hindrance from him; but that he would freely permit them to paſs by one of the ſides of his Country. The Earl of *Foix*, who had a great Reſpect for the Prince, beſides, that he held his Lands of him, to do him a pleaſure, conſented; on condition they ſhould do no harm by Spoil, or otherwiſe to him, his Lands, or People: Sr. *John* engaged they ſhould forbear all Violence and Rapine, and then he ſent an Eſquire and an Herald to the Companions, with the Articles of the Treaty, made by him on their behalf with the Earl of *Foix*; after which he return'd to the Prince, and gave him an account of his Succeſs, wherewith the Prince was well ſatisfied: For he was very earneſtly bent on this Expedition.

XVI. The *Black-Prince* was now in the Flower of luſty Manhood, being in the Thirty ſixth Year of his Age, of full Strength of Body, and in perfect Health, of undaunted Courage and Reſolution, all well temper'd with Experience and Diſcretion; and he was never weary nor cloy'd with War, from the firſt time he bore Arms; but was always greedy of hazardous Enterpriſes and honourable Dangers. But to ſay the Truth, as for this Expedition into *Spain*, wherein he intended to advance and reſettle King *Pedro* in his Throne, from which he had been depoſed by Violence, he was moved thereto from Principles of Honour and Equity, and out of a compaſſionate Regard to *Don Pedro's* miſerable Change of Fortune. For however he might perhaps ſeem to deſerve as bad or worſe meaſure; yet he rightly concluded, that no Subjects, much leſs a Baſtard-Brother, had either Law or Reaſon to call their Sovereign Lord to an account, much leſs to puniſh him in ſuch a manner. He often ſpake to his Lords and Knights, eſpecially to the Lord *John Chandos*, and the Lord *Thomas Felton*, concerning this his intended Journey; and particularly once he demanded of them, what they thought of the matter. And thoſe two Lords anſwer'd him, how indeed they thought nothing but well, for the Cauſe was juſt, and his Counſels proportionable to the end; but they continued, "Sir, without doubt this is a greater "Enterpriſe beyond Compare, than it was to thruſt King *Pedro* out of his Kingdom: "For he was generally hated, and when he thought to have made his Part good, all "Men forſook him. But now at this preſent the Baſtard King is actually poſſeſt of "all that Realm and is confirmed the more ſtrongly in the ſaid Poſſeſſion, by being "Maſter of the Hearts and Affections of all the Nobles, Prelates, and the whole Bo-"dy of the Kingdom: For they have unanimouſly received him for their King, and "his Children after him (having for ever excluded *Don Pedro* and his Heirs) and "they have promiſed to uphold him in that Eſtate to the utmoſt extent of their "Lives and Fortunes. Wherefore Sir, it concerns You to take along with you a Roy-"al Army; for beſides the Alliances which the Baſtard hath made, or may make, You "ſhall find the whole Power of *Spain* and *Aragon* againſt You. Theſe things ſaid the "Prince, we have fully conſider'd, but what think you as to the Nerves of this "War, which ought not to be the laſt Conſideration? Sir (replied the Lord *Chan-"dos*) I would adviſe your Royal Highneſs to break the beſt part of your Plate "and Treaſure, of which you have great Abundance, and convert it all ro Money, to "beſtow largely among the Companions and other your Souldiers; becauſe 'tis only

"for

"for your Sake that they are willing to go; but as for *Don Pedro* they would not ſtirr "a foot, either for the Love they bear to his Perſon, or the Faith they have in his "Promiſes: Beſides all which, You would do well, Sir, to ſend into *England* to the "King your Father, deſiring him to furniſh you towards this expenſive Enterpriſe with "an 100000 Franks, which Summ the *French* King is obliged ſhortly to pay to your "Father, as being a part of the Remainder of King *John's* Ranſome. And Sir, at this "time collect by your Intereſt among your Friends all the Money you can poſſibly "(for you will find need enough) without Taxing or Aſſeſſing your Subjects; for "while you keep their Hearts, you cannot be poor. This, and ſeveral other prudent Directions were readily followed by the Prince, who ſoon after cauſed Two parts in Three of all his Plate to be melted down and coined into Money, to be beſtowed liberally among his Men of War; and he ſent alſo into *England* to the King his Father for the foreſaid 100000 Franks. King *Edward*, who well knew what an important matter his Son was going about, and how Expenſive his Deſign muſt needs be, granted him the ſaid Summ at the firſt word, and preſently directed his Letters to the *French* King, willing him to pay the Money to the Princes Uſe. And accordingly the 100000 Franks were paid upon ſight of King *Edwards* Letters, and ſo brought to the Prince, who diſtributed all among his Souldiers.

One day as Prince *Edward* was in his Chamber in the City of *Angouleſme*, together with certain Lords and Knights of *England*, *Poictou* and *Gaſcogne*, after many pleaſant Diſcourſes and Raileries, and other Diverſions, they fell again to touch upon the Expedition then in hand, and this was in that while, that the Lord *Chandos* was gone to treat with the Earl of *Foix* and the Companions, of which we ſpake but now. At laſt the Prince turned his head toward the Lord of *Albret*, and ſaid, "*My Lord* "*of* Albret, *with what number of Men of Arms can you furniſh Us in this Expediti-* "*on. Why Sir* (replied he) *if I deſire my Friends, I ſhall eaſily find you a Thouſand* "*Spears, and yet leave enough at home to defend my Land. Well* (ſaid the Prince) "*that's nobly ſpoken*, and ſo turning himſelf towards the Lord *Thomas Felton* and other Knights of *England*, he continued in *Engliſh*, "*By my Faith, a Man ought to ſet* "*a Value upon that Land, where there are ſuch Barons, as can ſerve their Lord with* "*a 1000 Spears apiece*, and ſo turning again to the Lord of *Albret*, he ſaid in *Gaſcogne*, "Sir, *I retain them all to do me ſervice in this Expedition.* "*Sir*, ſaid *Albret*, *in* "*the Name of God I am well content, and ſhall not fail.* It was neceſſary not to have omitted this ſeeming ſmall Matter, becauſe even hence there afterward aroſe an occaſion of great Miſchief; as we ſhall ſee anon.

XVII. It may not here ſeem amiſs to ſay ſomething about thoſe Companions, who were either Friends to the Prince of *Wales*, or retained for his Service. Theſe Men met with many Difficulties, before they came into the Principality; and at laſt were fain to part into three Companies: The greateſt of the Three went coaſting *Foix* and *Bearn*, the Second from *Catalunna* thrô *Navarre*, and ſo toward *Armagnac*; all with the Conſent, and by the Favour of the King of *Navarre*, the Earl of *Albret*, the Earl of *Foix*, and the Earl of *Armagnac*. In the third Company, which conſiſted chiefly of *Gaſcogners*, were about 3000; who for convenience of Forage, were fain to divide themſelves in leſſer Numbers, 300 or 400 in a Body; and ſo having with much adoe paſſed thrô *Aragon* into *Languedoc*, they continued their March toward the Biſhoprick of *Thouloufe*, till at laſt a part of them came to *Montauban*. At that time the Seneſchal of *Tholouſe* was a *French* Knight, named Sr. *Guy Dazay*, who hearing, that the Companions were making that way, that they rode divided into ſmall Companies, and that in all they were not above 3000; and yet were very weary with Travel, but ill armed, indifferently horſed, and worſe ordered; then he ſaid, how he would never ſuffer any ſuch Fellows to come into the Parts of *Tholouſe*, nor into the Realm of *France*; but rather, God willing, he would meet them by the way and fight them. So he ſent word of his Reſolution to the Lord *Amorry*, Earl of *Narbonne*, to the Seneſchals of *Carcaſſone* and of *Beaucair*, and to all Knights, Eſquires and Officers thereabouts, requiring their Aid to defend the Frontiers againſt theſe Villanous Companions. Thoſe to whom he ſent, made haſte to ſhew their Compliance by coming, as ſoon as might be to *Tholouſe*; ſo that in all they made up 500 Spears, Knights and Eſquires, beſides 4000 Others; all who took the Field about *Montauban*, which was ſeven Leagues from *Tholouſe*, and when they were all met under the Conduct of the Earl of *Narbonne*, they encamped near the ſaid City of *Montauban*, which at that time was under the Prince of *Aquitain*, and he had ſet there a Valiant *Engliſh* Captain, named Sr. *John Combes*. The *French* Lords preſently upon their

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coming, ſent their Van-Currors to ride before *Montauban*, hoping ſo to entice out the Companions, a Party whereof he knew to be then within the Fortreſs; but they had particular notice of the Numbers of the *French*, and ſo this Plot was in vain. Sr *John Combes* for his part wonder'd greatly, when he ſaw the *Frenchmen* come thus with an Army into the Princes Lands, and ſo demanded by an Herald, if he might be permitted to ſpeak freely with the *Frenchmen*, who allowing thereof, he asked them who ſent them thither, and for what reaſon they took upon them to invade the Lands of the Prince, who was a good Friend and Neighbour to them and to the Realm of *France*. "Sir (ſaid they) we have no Commiſſion to return you any Anſwer: But "to ſatisfie you of our Reaſons, if you will either go, or ſend to our chief Leaders, "they no doubt, will know what to ſay to your Demand. Well, Gentlemen (ſaid "the Captain) then I deſire you to procure me a ſafe Conduct, whereby I may have aſ-"ſurance of going unto them and returning again without Impeachment; or elſe let "them ſend me word plainly by what Title they will make War againſt me; for if I "knew the Certainty, I would ſend word thereof to my Lord the Prince, who, I que-"ſtion not, will quickly apply a due Remedy. The Marſhals of the *French* Hoſt promiſed to do thus much for the *Engliſh* Captain, and ſo they returned and told all his Words to their General, who preſently granted a ſafe Conduct for Sr. *John Combes*, and Six, Eight or Ten to come along with him, and ſent it to *Montauban*. Having got the Safe Conduct, Sr. *John* left the City, with Five more in his Company, and went to the *French* Camp, where he found the *French* Lords who expected him, and had well conſider'd what to ſay unto him. After Salutation paſt on both ſides, "Sr. *John* de-"manded of them for what Cauſe they had ſent their Van-Currours up to his Fortreſs, "and came with ſuch an Army before *Montauban*, which they knew belonged to "Prince *Edward*. They told him, "how they intended not to invade any Perſon, or to "begin a War; but that they were reſolved to purſue their Enemies to deſtruction, "wherever they heard they ſhould be. "Sirs (ſaid the Knight) who are theſe whom "you call your Enemies, and where are they? "In the Name of God (ſaid the Earl "of *Narbonne*) they are thoſe Villanous Companions, Robbers and Deſtroyers of the "Country, ſuch as have ravaged about, and waſted the Fair Realm of *France* without "Law or Reaſon, and they are now with you in *Montauban*. And as for your part Sr. "*John*, if you were Courteous to your Friends and Neighbours, you would not inte-"reſt your ſelf for ſuch a ſort of Raſcals, who ſpoil poor People without a Cauſe: For "ſuch things oftentimes cauſe great and laſting Quarrels between many High Lords "and Princes. Therefore, I pray thruſt them out of your Fortreſs, or elſe we cannot "look upon you as a True Friend to the King of *France*, or to his People. My Lords "(anſwer'd the *Engliſh* Captain) it is true, there are ſome New-comers, Men of War, "now in my Garriſon; but they were order'd to come thither by my Lord the Prince, "and are at this time by him retained for his Service: Wherefore I ſhall not be ſo "haſty to thruſt them out of my Garriſon. And ſuppoſe heretofore theſe very Men "have done you any diſpleaſure, yet I ſee not with what Juſtice you can come upon them "now. For they are Men of War and muſt live; only as formerly they lived on the "Realm of *France*, now they are to be maintained by the Prince. Then the Earl of "*Narbonne* and Sr. *Guy Duzay* ſaid haſtily, Yes, yes, we know they are Men of War, "and ſuch as cannot live any where without Pillage and Robbery; and ſuch as have "heretofore moſt barbarouſly ravaged our Country: All which they ſhall dearly pay "for, if we can once meet with them in the Field; for they have now lately (ſince "they have been retained by the Prince) plunder'd, rob'd, burnt, and done many bad "Actions in the Marches of *Tholouſe*, whereof the grievous Complaints are come to "our Ears: So that if we ſhould now wink at them, we ſhould be no better than falſe "Traitors to the King our Sovereign Lord, who hath placed us in theſe Parts, to keep "and defend this his Country from ſuch Prollers as theſe are. And pray tell them from "Us, that ſince we know where to find them, we expect ſhortly to ſee them; for if "ever they ſtir out of your Garriſon we will meet with them, and then we ſhall ob-"lige them to make us ſome amends, or it ſhall coſt us a little more. This was all the Anſwer the Captain of *Montauban* could obtain; wherefore he went back again to his Fortreſs extreamly diſpleaſed in his Mind, and reſolving for all their Threats, not to alter his reſolution of defending theſe Men, as long as they would tarry with him: And at his return he told unto them all the Words of their Enemies, the *Frenchmen*. When the Companions heard this News, they began ſomewhat to doubt their Safety; for being ſo few as they were, they could not make Head againſt theſe *Frenchmen*, however they were always ready, and kept good Watch continually. Now it chanced, that five

days

days after Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, being to paſs the way of *Montauban* with another conſiderable Body of the Companions (for that was the beſt way to enter into the Principality) ſent word thereof to the Captain of the Town, with whom he was well acquainted. But when Sr. *Robert Cheney*, and the Companions under him, who were thus beſieged by the *Frenchmen*, heard theſe ſeaſonable Tidings they were very glad, and ſent word privately to Sr. *Perdiccas* and his Men, how the *Frenchmen* beſieged them, and had threatned them grievouſly; and they alſo informed him, who were their Captains, and what Number they were. When *Perdiccas* had received this particular account of his Enemies and Friends Condition, he was not at all abaſhed, but gather'd all his Men together, and came and entred *Montauban* in the Night, and was received with much joy by his Fellows and Sr. *John Combes*. Then they all together took Counſel how to behave themſelves, and ſo 'twas agreed, that the next morning all the Companions only (for the Captain of the City would by no means break the Peace) ſhould march out of the Town armed, and go up to the *Frenchmen* and deſire their leave to paſs quietly; but if they were denied, then to put their Lives in their hands and endeavour to force their way. This Reſolution they put in practice; for the next Morning they armed themſelves, ſounded their Trumpets, mounted their Horſes, and ſo began to march forth of *Montauban*. The *Frenchmen* fell to Ranging themſelves in the Field, when firſt they heard the ſounding of the Trumpets, and the great noiſe made about *Montauban*, ſo that theſe Companions had no way to paſs forward but thrô the midſt of them. Therefore Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, and Sr. *Robert Cheney* rode on before their Men, and having obtained an Aſſurance, went and ſpake with the Chief of their Leaders, deſiring, "*That they would permit them being the Prince's Souldiers, to paſs by* "*quietly as Friends.* But the *French* Lords anſwer'd, "*How they deſired not to hold* "*any friendly Commerce or Communication with ſuch Men as were Enemies to all Man-* "*kind, proteſting that they ſhould never paſs that way, but with the Points of their* "*Spears or Swords.* At this the two Captains retired unto their Men, and the *Frenchmen* preſently began their Cries, and the Lords ſaid aloud, "*Advance Banners, toward* "*yonder Robbers and Pillagers, who plunder all the World, and live on the Sweat and* "*Blood of other Men without all Law or Reaſon.* When the Companions ſaw, that now it behoved them either to fight valiantly or to die with ſhame; they alighted boldly from their Horſes, and ranged themſelves on Foot before the Town of *Montauban*, ready to receive their Enemies, who alſo being ranged on Foot came now upon them. Then the Archers began their Play, and after that they all cloſed together, and a ſtrong and cruel Battle began, and many a Feat of Arms was there performed, and many a Knight laid along on the earth, and the Fight was well maintain'd on both ſides; but the *Frenchmen* were at leaſt Two to One. So that within a while they drove the Companions back into the Barriers, which were held open for their Refuge by the Captains ſpecial Command. And ſurely the Companions had been in no very good Caſe, had it not been for the Captain of the Town; for when he ſaw the *Frenchmen* preſume to follow the Companions into his Town, then he commanded all that could bear Arms to come forth, and every Man to his Power to aſſiſt the Companions, who were retained in the Service of their Lord the Prince. Then the Townſmen and thoſe of the Garriſon armed, and put themſelves in Array, and began to enter the Battle; while the Women went into their Houſes, and ran up to the Battlements and Windows, from whence they flang down upon the *Frenchmen* ſtones, and pots of quick Lime ſo thick, that they had enough to do to defend themſelves with their Targets from Braining; and ſome were ſlain outright, and others being ſore hurt were fain to withdraw out of the Town. Then the Companions, who were ſo lately in danger of loſing all, took freſh Courage, and made up briskly againſt their Purſuers, at which time there were ſo many notable Feats of Arms done, ſo many Priſoners taken and retaken, that the like was ſeldome ſeen. The Companions indeed were but a few in reſpect of the *Frenchmen*, but by this Aſſiſtance they ſo redoubled their Courage, that by pure Force of Arms they drove their Enemies back again out of the Town, and followed out after them amain, thô they had no more Succour; for Sr. *John* would not lend them a Man of his beyond the Barriers, for fear of occaſioning a Breach of the Peace. However it happen'd well for theſe Companions, for at that Inſtant, while the *French* were thus quitting the Place in no little Confuſion, and thoſe who lately fled before them, were now vigorouſly preſſing upon them. There enter'd into *Montauban* on the other ſide, an other Brigade of the Companions to the number of 400 freſh Horſe, being lead by the *Bourg* of *Bartuel*, and *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, who hearing that their Friends were beſieged by the *Frenchmen* in *Montauban*, had rode all night in great haſt to come to their Aid.

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At their first coming they set their wearied Horses aside, and rushed into the Battle with all the fury imaginable; so that now the *Frenchmen* were wholly discomfited with this fresh and sudden Impression. The Battle held in all from about Nine in the Morning till One in the Afternoon; at which time the *Frenchmen* were utterly routed and broken, and happy was he among them that could get a Horse first. There was taken the Earl of *Narbonne* himself, and with him Sr. *Guy* of *Dazay*, the Earl of *Buzet*, the Lord of *Montlimar*, the Seneschal of *Carcassone*, the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, the Seneschal of *Provens* and of the Marches thereabout, and more than an hundred Knights of *France*, besides many an Esquire and Substantial Citizen & Inhabitant of *Tholouse* and *Mompellier*: And surely many more had been taken and slain, if they had been hotly pursued: But the Companions, who were but few and very weary, and not well horsed neither, thought not good to go too far from the Field; but were satisfied with what they had already done. This Battle was thus fought at *Montauban* on the Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, being the 14 of *August*, *Anno Dom.* MCCCLXVI.

XVIII. After this Discomfiture, Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, Sr. *Robert Cheney*, the *Bourg* of *Bartuel*, and *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, took all the spoil and booty of the field, and divided it proportionably among their Men, their Dividends being considerable at this time. And they would needs force the Captain of the Town, Sr. *John Combes*, to take an equal share with them Four, because he was so faithfull to their Interest, and so very serviceable; for thô he would not strike a stroak, nor go forth with them into the Field, yet when the *Frenchmen* would come into his Town against his Will, he caused them to be treated so hotly, that they were glad to leave it soon. All, who had Prisoners, had liberty to keep them, or to acquit them, as they thought best, and indeed they put their Prisoners to courteous and reasonable Ransom enough, each Man according to his Degree, and the rather, because this Adventure happen'd so successfully unto them beyond all Expectation; and those, who were set free on their Faith and Promise, had a day limited, whereon they were to bring or send their Ransoms to *Bourdeaux*, or to some other place agreed on. And so the Companions came at last all in safety to the Prince of *Wales*, who appointed them Quarters, and gave their Officers a Charge not to be grievous to his People. The mean while the *French* Prisoners returned home into their several Countries, as the Earl of *Narbonne*, the Seneschal of *Tholouse*, and others; who had all promised on their Faiths, and on their Honour to pay their appointed Ransoms in time and place limited. But Pope *Urban* V, who hated these sort of Companions from his soul, and had cursed them more than once, because of their Villanous deeds, when he heard of this their Victory, wherein the Earl of *Narbonne*, and others, were overthrown, was exceedingly disturbed and vexed in his Mind. However he held his tongue, till he saw the Prisoners deliver'd upon their Parole, and safe out of their hands; and then he sent his Inhibition to the Earl, and every of them, expresly forbidding them in any wise to pay their Ransom, or to keep Faith with such Miscreants, and by his Power Apostolical he released them of their Oath and Promise. Thus were these Lords and Knights saved the Charges of their Ransom, for they durst not break the Pope's Command; and perhaps they had small inclination so to do, when it was for their Interest. However the Companions expected their Money, therewith to apparel and furnish themselves like Men; which many of them had already done, in hopes of quitting their Cost by these Sums, which yet they never saw. Wherefore when the time was lapsed, they complain'd to the Lord *John Chandos*, who was High Constable of *Aquitaine*, and was to look to such Matters especially, as belonged to Arms; but he dissembled the Matter, and put them off, as well as he might: For he knew well they were accursed of the Pope, and that indeed they had done many bloody, villanous and unlawfull Deeds.

XIX. However now the Prince of *Wales* had gotten all the Companions of his side, who were to the Number of 12000 Fighting Men; all whom to his great Charge he kept and maintain'd, till with him they left the Principality; which was from about the Middle of *August* to the Middle of *February*; and besides these at first he entertain'd and received into pay all Choice and Valiant Men, from whatsoever Parts they came. And King *Henry* the Bastard also did the like, taking into his service, and enrolling all *Frenchmen*, *Aragonians*, and others, that came to his aid upon the account of his Friends in *France*, or otherwise; besides those Companions *Bretons*, who tarried with him for Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*'s sake, the Captains whereof were Sr. *Bertram Budes*, Sr. *Alan* of St. *Pol du Leon*, Sr. *William de Dreux*, and Sr. *Alan* of *Carnon*. Nor might the Prince have been less furnished with strangers of all Countries, if he had so pleased: For there came to him many *Flemings*, *Almaines*, and *Brabanders*; but he sent most of

of them home again; for he had rather have of his Subjects of the Principality, or at leaſt out of *England*, than Strangers, whoſe Courages he knew not. And beſides ſeveral hundreds of *Engliſh* Voluntiers, who came and offer'd him their ſervice, he had another conſiderable Aſſiſtance from *England*; for when the King, his Father, knew that this Expedition was ſo forward, then he gave leave to his Son *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, to go to his Brother, the Prince of *Wales*, with 400 Choſen Men of Arms, and 400 Archers, at the News of whoſe Coming the Prince was very glad. AN. DOM. 1366. An. Regni *Angliæ* XL.

While things were thus preparing in the Principality, there came unto the Prince to *Bourdeaux*, *James* the Younger, King of *Majorica*, as he was called, but at that time he had not one foot of his Kingdom in his own Poſſeſſion. For his Uncle *Pedro*, King of *Aragon*, who had before murther'd his Father (as was ſaid) in Priſon at *Barcelona*, had hitherto by force excluded him from his Inheritance. So that he had nothing in the World to live on, ſaving that the Lady *Joan*, Queen of *Jeruſalem*, *Sicily*, and *Naples*, had in conſideration of his Youth, Shape, and Nobility [p] taken him for her Third Husband about Four Years before this. Wherefore he now applies himſelf to Prince *Edward*, that by means of his Powerfull Arms he might be able to Revenge the Death and Injuries of his Father, and to recover his Right, as well in the Kingdom of *Majorica*, as alſo in the Earldoms of *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdanna*. The Prince made him very Welcom, and gave him good hopes and comfort againſt the Preſent Difficulty of his Affairs, and told him, when he had heard his whole buſineſs, "Sir, ô King, be- "ing already embarqued in another Affair of like Conſequence, as yet I cannot poſ- "ſibly attend to your Cauſe; but I promiſe you faithfully, that after my ſafe Re- "turn out of *Spain*, I ſhall forthwith take Care to reſtore you unto your full Right, "either by Treaty or by Force. This Free and Generous Promiſe ſettled the Young Kings mind for the Preſent, and ſo he tarried ſtill with the Prince in *Bourdeaux*, expecting, when he would begin to march, as others did; for he intended to accompany him in this Expedition. And the Prince conſidering his Quality, allow'd him all that was neceſſary, becauſe he was a ſtranger, and in Diſtreſs. But daily there were brought to the Prince's Ears great Complaints of the Companions, how they were exceeding troubleſome to Men and Women of thoſe Parts, where they quarter'd; wherefore they deſired the Prince to begin his March, as ſoon as he could; which was his own Deſire too. But he was advis'd to ſtay and ſee *Chriſtmas* over firſt, that ſo he might have Winter at his Back; and he agreed the rather to this reaſonable motion, becauſe the Princeſs, his Wife, was big with Child again, and very near her time, and ſhe was mightily concerned, leſt he ſhould leave her before her Delivery. Wherefore fearing, that either ſhe or the child might come to any harm, he was content to ſtay, till that Danger was over, and ſhe was extreamly pleas'd, when ſhe heard him promiſe ſo to do.

[p] *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1362. §. 10. *&c.*

XX. All this while there was great Proviſion of Wine and Victuals, and other Neceſſaries made over all the Country, becauſe they were to enter into a Kingdom, where what for the ſeaſon of the Year, the Nature of the Soil, and the Care of their Enemies, they were likely to find but ſmall purveyance. Among other things, while thus they tarried at *Bourdeaux*, and all the Country was full of Souldiers, the Prince of *Wales*, by advice of his Council, countermanded 800 of the Lord of *Albret's* 1000 Spears, which before he had thought to have retained, by his Letters, ſealed with his Seal, the Tenor whereof followeth. EDWARD, by the Grace of God, Prince of "*Aquitaine* and *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*, to his Right-Tru- "ſty, and Right-well-beloved *Bernard* Lord of *Albret*, Greeting. *My Lord of* Al- "bret, *whereas of our meer Will and Pleaſure We have taken upon Us this Expedition,* "*in which We ſhortly intend to proceed, conſidering the vaſt buſineſs, charge, and en-* "*combrance, which We now have, as well by reaſon of ſtrangers, who have offer'd them-* "*ſelves to our ſervice, as of the great Numbers of the Companions, who are ſo nume-* "*rous, that we muſt not leave them behind Us, for fear of the Miſchief, which they may* "*create among our Subjects: That yet We may take ſufficient Care of our Land in this* "*our intended abſence; for as all may not ſtay behind, ſo neither are all the Men of War* "*to go, leſt the Country be left without Defence: Upon theſe Conſiderations, after good* "*Advice had, it is ordained by Us and our Council, that for this time You only ſerve* "*Us with* 200 *Spears; and You may diſcharge your ſelf of the Reſidue, and let them* "*do, as it ſhall pleaſe them: And ſo God Almighty have you in his keeping.* Dated "at *Bourdeaux* the 8th of *December*, An°. Dom. 1366. Theſe Letters, being ſealed with the Prince's Great Seal, were ſent to the Lord of *Albret*, who at that time was very buſie in his Country about the Preparations for the Campaigne; for it was now con-

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constantly affirmed, that the Prince would begin his March very ſuddenly. But when he ſaw the Prince's Letters, he read them over twice, the better to underſtand their meaning, and then he was both amaz'd and diſpleas'd at what he found in them. "*What* "*(* ſaith he to himſelf*) how comes this to paſs, that my Lord, the Prince, makes a ſcorn* "*and deriſion of me after this manner? For now he would have me disband* 800 *Spears,* "*Knights, and Eſquires, all whom by his own Command I have already retain'd, and ſo* "*diverted from other ways, as well of Profit, as of Honour.* Being in this heat he preſently called for his Secretary, and cauſed him to write an Anſwer to the Prince in theſe Words, "*Moſt Illuſtrious and Dear Lord, I am mightily ſurpriſed at the Let-* "*ters, You were pleaſed to ſend me, and Sir, I am in a great ſtreight, how I ought, or* "*may anſwer You in that point: For it proves much to the prejudice and damage of me,* "*and all my Friends, whom by your own Ordinance and Command, I have already enter'd* "*into ſervice; whereby I have hindred them of many fair Advantages, which they might* "*have reaped in other places. For ſome of them were determin'd to have gone over Sea* "*into* Pruſſia, *to* Conſtantinople, *to* Jeruſalem, *as moſt Knights and Eſquires do in times* "*of Peace at home, to advance their Honour abroad. Sir, they are all very much ſurpri-* "*ſed and diſpleaſed at me, thus to be left out at this time; and I alſo extreamly admire,* "*for what fault of mine I have deſerved this ſevere Uſage. Right Dear Sir, May it* "*pleaſe You to know, that I cannot be ſure of* 200, *unleſs I may be permitted to bring* "*them all; becauſe I fear, none will be willing to go, when thus unhappily divided from* "*their Friends: I am the meaneſt and worſt of them all; and yet, if any are left be-* "*hind, I doubt, none will go. God Almighty preſerve your Royal Highneſs. Dated,* &c. When the Prince received this anſwer he look'd upon it, as inſolent and preſumptuous, and ſo did many *Engliſh* Lords and Knights of his Council; whereupon the Prince ſhook his head and ſaid in *Engliſh Ah! this Lord of* Albret *is too great a Maſter in my Domi-* "*nions, when he will thus dare to contradict the Ordinance, that was ſo deliberately devi-* "*ſed by my Council. By God, it ſhall not go, as he imagines; let him ſtay at home, if* "*he will; for without his* 1000 *Spears I truſt in God to accompliſh my Deſign with Ho-* "*nour.* Then, as it uſually happens, when Princes are angry, their ſervants, rather than mitigate the Paſſion, are apt to enflame it higher, ſome *Engliſh* there preſent ſaid, "*Sir, Don't You yet know the Minds of theſe* Gaſcogners, *nor how proud and inſolent* "*they are; and that they bear Us but ſmall love, and never did otherwiſe? Don't You* "*remember, how loftily they bare themſelves towards You, here in your City of* Bour-"deaux, *when King* John *of* France *was firſt brought hither. For they ſaid then, and* "*ſpake it plainly, that by their aid alone You obtain'd that Glory in taking the* French "*King; and this they ſtuck too ſo ſtiffly, that You was fain to treat with them for ſome while,* "*before they would conſent, that you ſhould convey him into* England: *But at that time,* "*you thought it convenient to comply with them, thereby to keep them in Obedience.* At theſe Words the Prince held his Peace, but he thought nevertheleſs of what he himſelf knew to be true. This was the firſt occaſion of Difference between the Prince of *Wales* and the Lord of *Albret*; ſo that the ſaid Lord was at that time in great Danger: For the Prince was High and of a great Spirit, and terrible in his Anger; for he diſdain'd, not to have all Men at his Command, that were his Subjects, and held of him. But when the Earl of *Armagnac*, Uncle to the Lord of *Albret*, heard of the Prince's Diſpleaſure, he made haſte to *Bourdeaux*, and together with the Lord *John Chandos*, and the Lord *Thomas Felton*, ſo wrought with the Prince, that he reconcil'd him to his Nephew, on condition, that he ſhould bring but 200 Spears and no more. With which notwithſtanding, the ſaid Lord of *Albret* was not fully pleaſed in his Mind, nor the Men, which he was obliged to leave behind; and indeed he never after loved the Prince ſo heartily, as he had done before. But now he ſaw, ſince there was no other Remedy, that it was requiſite for him to diſſemble and conceal his trouble, as well as he might: But theſe hidden Sparks ſome time after brake out into ſuch a flame, as raiſed a Mighty Fire over all the Principality of *Aquitaine*; which occaſionally embroiled the two Realms of *England* and *France*, as we ſhall ſee in due place.

CHAP.

AN. DOM. 1367. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLI.

CHAPTER the SECOND.

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I. WHile thus the Prince of *Wales* was busied at *Bourdeaux* in his Preparations for the *Spanish* War, and daily expected the Arrival of his Brother the Duke of [a] *Lancaster*, the Beautifull Princess, his Dear Consort fell in Travail on the Day of the Three Kings of *Colen*, commonly called the *Epiphany*, [b] being the *Sixth* of *January*, and as that Year went, a *Wednesday*.

On which Day, about the hour of [c] Ten of the Clock in the Morning, the said Princess was, by the Grace of God, deliver'd of a Fair Son, to the great joy of the Prince and all his Court. On the *Friday* after at Noon he was Christen'd in the Church of St. *Andrew* in the City of *Bourdeaux*, by the most Reverend Father in God *Elias*, Archbishop of the same Place, *Richard* Bishop [d] of *Agen* in *Agenois*, and *James* King of *Majorica* being his Godfathers; thô [e] some thrô mistake instead of the Bishop say, it was *Richard* King of *Navarre*, when 'tis evident to any strict Enquirer, that *Charles* was the King of *Navarre's* Name at that time and long after. King *Don Pedro* was then at *Bayonne*, expecting the coming of the Prince, so that he could not be concerned at this Solemnity. Thô [f] Others say, that this Young Prince had no less than Three Kings for his Godfathers, as *Pedro* King of *Spain*, *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and *James* King of *Majorica*; and that they gave Rich Gifts unto the Babe. But this is only a far-fetch'd Allusion to the History commemorated by the Day, and so I shall leave it. However the Name of *Richard* was given to the Princely Infant, and He was

[a] *Froiss. c.*233. *f.* 133. *sed confer cum eodem Froi. p. penult.*
[b] Lit. Dom. C. *Anno* 1367.
[c] *Froiss. totius Historiæ capite ultimo.*
[d] *Froiss. c.*233. *f.*133.
[e] *Sandford Geneal. Hist. p.*191 *ex Walsing. cum tamen is uno in loco, viz. Hypod. p.*129. Richardus *Rex* Majoricarum *& alio in loco, viz. Hist. p.*175. Ricardus *Rex* Navarriorum. *Sed* Navarrus *erat* Carolus *&* Majoricæ *Rex* Jacobus *dictus; ut quivis facilè intelligat.*
[f] *Chronica W. Thorne p.*2142. *n.*16. *sed ibi pro* Majoricæ *legitur* Portugalliæ. *vid. Ashmole p.* 676.

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was called after the manner of that Age, *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, his Sirname being taken from the Place of his Birth; and after the Death of his Father and Grandfather, he became King of *England*, the Second of that Name.

On the very Day of this Princes Birth, as *Froiſard* the Hiſtorian ſat at Dinner in *Bourdeaux*, [g] he ſays, how Sr. *Richard Pontchardon* a Valiant Knight of *England*, and one who was very well skill'd in Aſtrological Science, came to him within two Hours after the Child was born and ſaid, "*Froiſard*, write down and put in Memory, that this "Morning my Lady the Princeſs is brought to Bed of a Fair Son on this *Twelfth-*"*Day*, which is the Day of the Three Kings; and thô he is but Second Son to a "Kings Son, yet he ſhall be King. Which Saying of his fell out exactly; for the Lord *Edward* his Elder Brother dying at the Age of Seven Years, and his Father the *Black-Prince*, following before the King his Father, this *Richard* ſucceeded his Grandfather King *Edward* to the Crown, and wore it about two and twenty Years.

[g] *Froiſ. l. ult. c. ult. f. 391.*

II. On the *Sunday* [h] following, being the Tenth of *January*, after the Hour of Prime, Prince *Edward* left the City of *Bourdeaux*, with a Royal Equipage, thô the greater part of his Army was paſſed onward before, and lay about the City of *Dax* in *Gaſcogne*, to which place the Prince alſo came in the cloſe of that *Sunday*. Here he tarried three days, becauſe he had ſure Intelligence, how his Brother the Duke of *Lancaſter* was haſting after him, having paſſed the Sea five days before. The ſaid Duke took land with all his Troops at a Port in *Bretagne*, from whence he rode to *Nantes*, where his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Bretagne* received him with great demonſtrations of Joy, Love and Reſpect, as alſo did his Siſter the Dutcheſs. From *Nantes* having paſſed the *Loire*, he marched thrô *Poictou* and *Sainctogne*, till he came to *Blaye*, where he alſo paſſed the *Garonne* and ſo went to *Bourdeaux*. He gave order for his Men to march forward after his Brother, the Prince; but he himſelf rode ſtraight to the Abby of St. *Andrew*, where the Princeſs at that time lay in, and having given her a ſhort and kind Viſit, he took leave of his Siſter the Princeſs, and ſo rode on with his Servants, and preſently overtook his Men, and rode along with them till he came to *Dax*, where he found the Prince his Brother. The two Royal Brethren were extreamly ſatisfied at this their happy Meeting, for they loved together entirely; and then the Meeting of Friends is moſt agreeable, when they are both ready to partake of Honourable Dangers; in like manner their Captains and Officers careſſed and made much of one another, as alſo their Men, as many as could meet together. Soon after the Duke of *Lancaſter's* Coming, there came alſo *Gaſton Phœbus* the Earl of *Foix* to pay his Reſpects, and to offer his Service to the Prince his Lord, and to his Brother the Duke; and the Prince, who was no Novice in returning Salutations, ſhew'd him much Honour, and gave him many Thanks for his Readineſs to ſerve him. However becauſe of his known Valour and Conduct, as alſo becauſe he was generally belov'd over all the Country, the Prince gave him in charge to ſtay at Home, and upon occaſion help to defend the Land in his Abſence, deſiring him to reſide in *Aquitain* till his Return, together with his High Seneſchal the Lord *James Audley*. This Charge the Earl very readily undertook, and ſo after Thanks for the honour of that Truſt, took his Leave and rode to *Bourdeaux*, where the Princeſs and the Lord *Audley* were. But the Prince and the Duke of *Lancaſter* his Brother, tarried ſtill in the City of *Dax*, diverting themſelves a while, and all their Men ſpread abroad in the Country about the Entry of the Paſſages that lead into *Navarre*; for as yet it was not known, whether they could be permitted to paſs that way or no: Althô the King of *Navarre* had ſolemnly engaged to have the Avenues ready open for them. For there ran a Report thrô the Army, how ſince that he was reconciled to the Baſtard *Henry*; whereat the Prince and his Council wondred greatly, and King *Don Pedro* was extreamly diſpleaſed. And thô there was no ſuch Matter, yet this Rumor gain'd ſo much Credit, that Sr. *Hugh Calverley* with his Troops went up to the Marches of *Navarre*, and took the Town of *la Puente de Reyna*, or *Queens-Bridge*, and the City of *Miranda* in that Kings Dominions, which terrified all the Country, and the News thereof flew preſently to the King of *Navarre*. When he perceived hereby, that the Companions would enter his Land by Force, he was infinitely diſpleaſed, and complain'd thereof by his Letters to the Prince; but the Prince ſeem'd to take no notice of the Matter, becauſe as he thought, the King of *Navarre* kept not punctually the Promiſe made to Him and King *Don Pedro*. Whereupon inſtead of anſwering to his Complaints, he wrote to him, that he muſt firſt clear himſelf of what was laid to his Charge; for it was generally diſcourſed, that he had revolted to King *Henry*; and it but too plainly appear'd, that he had not left his Country open as he had promiſed. At this Charge of Treaſon the

[h] *Froiſ. c. 233. fol. 133. Vid. M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c. 232. & 233. &c.*

King

King of *Navarre* was more vexed than before; whereupon he sent a Lord named Sr. *Martin Carre* unto the Prince, who being come to *Dax*, behaved himself so discreetly in excusing the King his Master, that the Prince forgat all his Displeasure; on Condition, that he the said Knight should return to the King of *Navarre*, and oblige him to come to St. *Jean Piè de Port*, whither the Prince should send some of his Council to confer with Him, or else to send Messengers with sufficient Powers to the Prince at *Dax*. So Sr. *Martin Carre* took leave of the Prince, and returned to the King of *Navarre*, to whom he recounted all that had passed between the Prince and him, and so perswaded him for the further Vindication of Himself, to go to St. *Jean Piè de Port*, which having brought to pass, he himself rode forward to *Dax* to inform the Prince thereof. When the Prince knew, that the King of *Navarre* was at St. *Jean Piè de Port*, he sent his Brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord *John Chandos* with a small Company of Knights, who all rode together with Sr. *Martin Carre* to discourse the King at the said Town. The King of *Navarre* made them very welcome, and there after some Consultation it was agreed, that he should go along with them as far as *Peyrehourade*, a Town standing on the *Gave*, which was nearer to the Prince, and that thither the Prince and King *Don Pedro* should come to meet him, and confer with him; and so renew the former Covenants, and clear what was left Doubtfull, and determine how far either Party was to act or to expect. And all this was thus contrived by that subtle King of *Navarre*, that he might be the more certain of what was granted him before; because he thought the Covenants were not as yet particular enough: Wherefore, thô indeed all was meant toward him *bonâ fide*, yet he, who himself was so great at overreaching others, was now carefull to provide against a Trepan, before he exposed his Country to the Mercy of another. A thought not at all unreasonable, if it had not been rendred unnecessary by former Precautions, which were indeed binding enough; but that Persons who have but little Integrity to boast of themselves, are usually apt to misconster the most candid Intentions of those they deal with.

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However upon this new Agreement, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord *John Chandos*, having brought the King of *Navarre* as far as *Peyrehourade*, left him there, and rode on to the Prince and King *Don Pedro* then at *Dax*, and shew'd them how they had succeeded. The Prince and the King were well pleased with what they had done, and soon after rode to *Peyrehourade*, where they found the King of *Navarre* with the chief of his Council. Here they all fell to a serious and close Debate, and then it was certainly and particularly made out, what every Man was to do or to look for; the last Treaty was both renew'd and explain'd, and it was positively and punctually set down, what and how much the King of *Navarre* should possess in *Castille*, and *Don Pedro* paid unto him the promised Summ of 20000 Franks, and sware perpetual Love and Amity with him. This done they parted all Friends, and then the Army might pass when it should please the Prince; for all the Avenues were left open and unguarded, and Victuals was provided thrô all the Realm of *Navarre* to be had for ready Money. The King of *Navarre* went after this to his City of *Pampelona*, and the Prince of *Wales*, with his Brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, and King *Don Pedro* returned to *Dax*, where they tarried a few days longer. For at that time there were many Knights and Lords of *Bretagne*, *Poictou* and *Gascogne*, not yet come up to the Prince's Host; but they tarried behind hitherto, because it was not fully known that the Prince would be able to pass that way, till the Conclusion of this last Treaty. Nay, in *France* it was confidently reported (Men usually giving themselves liberty of foretelling what they desire should fall out) that the Prince would not be able to pass that way at all, but that the King of *Navarre* would in that place break the Neck of his Expedition; which yet happen'd directly otherwise. When therefore the Princes Knights, who were still behind, knew for certain that the Passages were now open, then they quicken'd their March forward with all possible Hast; for they were sure the Prince would not tarry long now, nor return home again without Battle. Thither came to the City of *Dax* the Lord *Oliver Clisson* of *Bretagne* with a gallant Company of Men of Arms; thither also came the Noble and Valiant Lord *John de Greilly* Captal of *Busche*, with a goodly Band of Spears, and last of all with an evil will came the haughty Lord of *Albret*, leading 200 Men of Arms; and all the time of this Expedition he kept company with the Captal of *Busche*, to whom notwithstanding he shew'd no manner of Discontent.

Now all the Substance of the Alliances and Confederations made last at *Peyrehourade* was presently known in *France*, for there were Messengers and Spies perpetually

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going and coming, who always reported what they saw or heard. But when Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who was then with the Duke of *Anjou*, was assured how the Streights of *Navarre* were open'd, and that the Prince was passed, he quicken'd his Summons, and raised all the Friends he could in *Bretagne* and in *France*; for he knew the Business would not be decided now without Battle. Then presently he took his way toward *Aragon*, desiring to come to King *Henry* as fast as he could, and all his Men followed by great Marches after him, such as he had listed and enrolled; besides many others out of *France* and other Places, who went to advance their Honour or their Fortunes.

[k] *Froiss. c.* 234. *fol.* 134.

III. Now [k] between St. *Jean Pié de Port* and the City of *Pampelona*, there are streight and dangerous Passages under the *Pirenæan* Mountains; so that there may be found there more than an hundred Places, in each whereof an Hundred Men might be thought able to defend the entrance against all the World. And yet besides these Difficulties, there was another, which proceeded from the Cold and Distemper of the Season; for those Mountainous and unequal Passages, being constantly bleaky and expos'd to Wind, and every way less fit for travel, were now rendred more difficult and uneasie upon the account of the Weather and unkind season: It being but about the end of *February*, when Prince *Edward* began to pass the *Pirenean* Hills. However knowing, that the whole Army could not pass at once, he order'd, that the Three main Divisions should take three several Days for their Passage. On the *Monday* went the Vaward of the whole Army led by *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, and Brother to the Prince of *Wales*, and the Lord *John Chandos* High-Constable of *Aquitain*, who had twelve hundred Penons of his Arms, namely in a Field [1] *Or* a sharp Pile *Gules*: In the Front of this Battail marched the two Marshals of *Aquitain*, Sr. *Guischard D' Angoulesme*, commonly called Sr. *Guischard Dangle*, and Sr. *Stephen Cossington*: With whom was the Great Banner of St. *George*, being the Red Cross of *England*. In the Duke of *Lancaster's* Battail were Sr. *William Beauchamp* Lord of *Bergavenny*, and Fourth Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Ralph Nevile*, who had in that Expedition 30 Spears at his own Charges, because of his great Winnings at the Battle before *Auray*; with him went his Eldest Son, Sr. *John Nevile*, Sr. *William Clayton*, Sr. *John Tyrrel*, Sr. *Hugh Hastings*, Sr. *Robert Cheney*, Sr. *Richard Canston*, Sr. *Robert Briquet*, Sr. *William Boteler*, or *Butler* of *Oversley* in *Warwickshire*, Sr. *John Willoughby*, Sr. *Garses* of the Castle, Sr. *Emery de la Rochechoüart*, and *Gerard de la Motte*, All these Lords and Captains with their Penons, were under the Rule of the Lord *John Chandos*; except those, whom the Duke of *Lancaster* brought along with him out of *England*; over whom he was Sovereign Captain, and these amounted in all to the Number of 10000 Horse, and they passed the straights on the *Monday* with much adoe, because the Ways were as yet unbeaten. On the *Tuesday* Morning early the Prince of *Wales* began his March after them with King *Don Pedro*, and *Charles* King of *Navarre* in his Company, which latter was then newly come to the Prince, the better to Countenance the Matter, by so frank an Assurance of his Faith; and he had also design'd to invite him to his City of *Pampelona*. In this Battail was the Lord *Thomas Felton*, Grand Seneschal of *Aquitain*, with the Lord *William Felton*, his Brother; the Lord *Baldwin Frevile*, Seneschal of *Sainctogne*, together with the Seneschal of *Rochelle*, the Seneschal of *Limousin*, the Seneschal of *Agenois*, and the Seneschal of *Bigorre*; the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, the Vicount of *Chastellerault*, the Lord of *Pinant*, the Lord of *Taniboton*, and all the *Poictevins*; the Lord *Eustace Dambreticourt*, Sr. *Nele Loring*, the Prince's High-Chamberlain, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon*, Sr. *Thomas Banister*, Sr. *Dangouses*, Sr. *Lewis* and Sr. *Edmund* of *Marville*, and the Lord of *Pierre Buffierre*, in all to the Number of 4000 Men of Arms; and this Battail also consisted of 10000 Horse; but they had a very ill Passage, by reason of the High Winds, and of the Snow, which fell that day to their great trouble and vexation; However thorough they got, and moved forward, and pitch'd their Tents in the Country about *Pampelona*: But the King of *Navarre* led the Prince and King *Don Pedro* into his City of *Pampelona*, where he entertain'd them at a Royal Supper. On the *Wednesday* there passed *James* King of *Majorica*, the Earl of *Armagnac* and his Nephew, the Lord *Bernard de la Brett* Earl of *Albret*, the Lord *John Greilly* Captal of *Busche*, the Lord *Oliver Clisson*, the Earl of *Perigort*, the Vicount of *Carmaine*, the Lord of *Comminges*, the Lord of *Mucidan*, the Lord *De l' Esparre*, the Lord of *Coudon*, the Lord of *Rozan*, Sr. *Petiton* of *Coutras*, Sr. *Emery de Carse*, the Lord *de la Bard*, Sr. *Bertram* of *Cande*, the Lord of *Pincornet*, Sr. *Thomas Winstanley*, Sr. *Perdiccas de la Brett*, the *Burgrave* of *Bretuel*, *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, *Bernard de la Salle*, *Lortingo de la Salle*, *Edmund Ortigo*, and the rest of the Com-

[1] *Ashmole's* Garter *p.* 708. Plate 21. *sed Froisard.* a field Argent &c. *Cui assentit Author Vitæ Domini* Joh. Chandos *in Bibl.* Cotton. *p.* 79.

Companions, to the Number of 10000 Horſe; and theſe had a pretty eaſie Paſſage in Compariſon to thoſe, who went the Day before. And when thus the whole Army had paſſed the *Pirenean* Mountains, they ſpread abroad in the Country about *Pampelona*, with the King of *Navarre's* leave and good liking, to refreſh themſelves and their Horſes. AN. DOM. 1367. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLI.

Here they lay three days; becauſe they found the Land plentifull in Fleſh, Fiſh, Bread, Wine, and other Proviſion, both for their Beaſts and Themſelves. But the Companions paid not always the full Price of things, nor could they refrain from Robbing and Filching what they could get: So that about *Pampelona*, and in the way thither, they greatly damnify'd thoſe of the Country; whereat the King of *Navarre* was very much diſpleaſed. But it was too late then to think of Rectifying matters; thô it often repented him, that he had ſo freely open'd his Country to the Prince and his Men. For he plainly found, that the Damage which he ſuffer'd thereby, overway'd the Advantages granted to him by *Don Pedro*. But it was now no time to complain, for he ſaw then he was not Maſter of his own Land. Complaints were daily brought in to him, of the abuſes and inſolencies of the Companions, at which he took a deep Reſentment; thô he forcedly repreſſed it for the preſent. However he cauſed ſome of his Council, ſuch as were acquainted with the Captains of theſe Companions, and had ſometimes been with them in *France*, *Normandy*, or other places, to deſire them to abſtain from robbing and abuſing his Subjects after that manner, and they promiſed to forbear for the future.

IV. The mean while, King *Henry* the Baſtard, was fully enformed of the Prince's Paſſage; for he had his Meſſengers and Spies going to and fro every where: Wherefore he addreſſed himſelf to raiſe a mighty Force of Men of Arms and other Souldiers, thereby to reſiſt the Prince and *Don Pedro*, his Brother: And every day he expected the return of Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* with a conſiderable reinforcement out of *Bretagne* and *France*. He had already ſent forth his Special Summons thrô all his Realm, commanding all Men on peril of Life, Lands, and Goods to come to him, every One according to his Eſtate, either on Foot, or on Horſeback, to help to defend his Country. *Don Henry* was well-beloved in General, and the *Caſtillians* had ventur'd hard, and taken much pains to bring him to the Poſſeſſion of the Crown; So that being all involved in his Guilt, their Hands were ſtrengthen'd to ſuſtain his Quarrel. Wherefore they obey'd him more readily, and flock'd daily unto his Banners to St. *Domingo de la Calzada*, a City of *Caſtilla Vieja*, or old *Caſtille*, to the Number of 60000 Horſe and Foot, all ready to live and die with him. Wherefore when King *Henry* ſaw himſelf thus ſtrong, and heard, how the Prince with his Army was now in the Realm of *Navarre*, having paſſed the ſtreights of *Roncevaux*, and ſaw thereby that of neceſſity he muſt now fight the Prince, being encouraged with the Numbers and Alacrity of his Men, he ſeem'd to deſire nothing more, than to ſhew by his Valour, how Worthy he was of that Condition, to which he had been ſo lately Advanced. He ſaid aloud to his Lords about him, "Ha! Sirs, this Prince of *Wales* is a Valiant Knight, and becauſe he ſhall know that this Realm is now mine, and that I am ready and willing to fight with him for the Right which I have thereto, I will let him know ſome part of my intent. Then he cauſed his Secretary to write his Letters; the Tenor whereof followeth, *viz.*" [m]

"*HENRY*, by the Grace of God, King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, of *Galizia*, of *Murcia*, of *Jaën*, of *Algarbe*, of *Algezira*, of *Gibralter*, and Lord of *Biſcay* and of *Molina*, to the Right-Puiſſant, and Thrice-Honourable Lord, *EDWARD*, Prince of *Wales* and of *Aquitain*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*, Greeting. It is given Us to underſtand, that You and your Men have paſſed the *Pirenean* Mountains, and are marching hitherward, and that You have entred Covenant and Alliance with our Enemy, and alſo thereupon Deſign to make War againſt Us. At all this We greatly wonder; ſince to our knowledge We never treſpaſſed againſt You, nor ever had the leaſt Intent ſo to do. Wherefore then are You come thus againſt Us with ſo great an Army, to take from Us that ſmall Inheritance, which God hath given Us? You have, We confeſs, the Grace to be Fortunate in Arms above any Prince now living, and We think, You magnifie Your Self in your Puiſſance. But ſince We know for certain, that You intend to give Us Battle, We alſo hereby give You to know as certainly, that wherever You enter into *Caſtille*, You ſhall ſurely find Us before You, ready to keep and defend this our *Seigniory*. Dated at Saint *Domingo de la Calzada*, &c. Having ſealed this Letter he called unto him an Herald, and ſaid, "*Go your way as faſt as may be to the Prince of* WALES, *and bear him this*

[m] Don *Henrique* por la Gracia de Dios, Rey de *Caſtilla*, y *Leon*, de *Galizia*, de *Cordova*, de *Murcia*, de *Jaën*, del *Algarve*, del *Algezira*, de *Gibraltar*, e Senor de *Viſcaya*, e *Molina*, &c.

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"*Letter from me.* The Herald obey'd and rode toward *Navarre*, and came to *Pampelona*, where he found the Prince, before whom He kneeled down, and deliver'd the Letters of *Don Henry*, his Maſter. The Prince read the Letters twice over deliberately, and having diſmiſſed the Herald to another time, preſently ſent for certain of his Council and demanded their Advice, adding theſe Words, *Ha!* ſaid He, *I well perceive this Baſtard is a Valiant Knight, and ſheweth a good Courage thus to write unto us.* After a ſhort debate, it was reſolved in Council, Not to write again as yet; but that the Herald ſhould be detained, till it ſhould appear ſeaſonable to return an anſwer: For the Prince intended at his own pleaſure to return his mind by no other, but this Herald; wherefore he was commanded to tarry ſtill and expect an anſwer.

V. That ſame day, on which the Herald brought theſe Letters, the Lord *Thomas Felton* ſtept forth before the Prince, and required of him one Favour; the Prince demanding what it was that he deſired, "Sir (ſaid He) I deſire, You would pleaſe to "grant me your licence to leave the Army, and to ride on before: For there are ſeveral "Knights and Eſquires of my Retinue, who are ambitious by ſome adventurous Exploit "to advance their Honours. And Sir, I'll engage to ride ſo forward, as to make ſome "diſcovery of our Enemies Behaviour, and which way they move, and where they are "encamped. The Prince readily granted his Requeſt, for which having return'd his thanks, he began to ride forth before the Army, as Chief Captain of that Enterpriſe, with Sr. *William Felton*, his Brother, Sr. *Hugh Stafford*, Sr. *Thomas Hufford*, Sr. *Simon Burly*, Sr. *Richard Cauſton*, Sr. *Robert Knolles*, Sr. *Hugh Haſtings*, Sr. *Dangouſes*, and ſeveral other Knights and Eſquires in his Company; the whole Number conſiſting of an 140 Men of Arms, and 300 Select Archers, all well Mounted. Theſe rode thrô *Navarre* by the help of Guides, till they came to the River *Ebro*, which is rapid and deep; but they found a place to paſs, and ſo went and lodged in a Village called *Navaret*, which they found void of Inhabitants for fear of the War; and here they held themſelves cloſe, the better to learn and hear, where King *Henry* was. While this Detachment lay thus at *Navaret*, and the Prince remain'd in the Marches of *Pampelona*, the King of *Navarre*, as he was one day riding about from Town to Town with a few Attendants, was ſeiſed on in his own Country by a *Breton* on the *French* ſide, and the Baſtards, named Sr. *Oliver Manny*, and made a Priſoner, to the great Aſtoniſhment of all Men, eſpecially of the Prince of *Wales* and his Council; and many *Engliſhmen* thought it was but a trick of his, and that it could not have been done without his own Conſent; that ſo he might be excuſed from Conveying the Prince any further, as not knowing, how things might go between *Don Henry* and *Don Pedro*. And yet his Queen ſeem'd extreamly afflicted at the News of his being taken, and came her ſelf to the Prince, and fell down on her knees before him, and ſaid, "Ah! Dear Sir, for Gods "ſake have pity on my Condition, and take ſome Care about the Deliverance of the "King, my Husband, who is ſurpriſed fraudulently, and taken away from Us, and as "yet the Manner cannot be known, nor where he is; But We deſire of you, for the love of God, that he may be reſtored again unto Us. The Prince anſwer'd, Certain"ly, Fair Lady and Couſin, the taking of the King, your Husband, is not a little diſ"pleaſing unto Us; but We hope ſhortly to provide a Remedy for him and you; where"fore We deſire you to comfort your ſelf: For this our Expedition once ended, We ſhall "mind no other thing, but how to work his Deliverance. With this the Queen of *Navarre* took her leave and went home; but ſhe ſent to the Prince a Noble Knight, called Sr. *Martin Carre*; who undertook to Guide him thorough that Country, and to furniſh him with Guides for all his Troops; otherwiſe they could never have kept the Right way thrô the ſtraights and dangerous Paſſages. Then the Prince marched from his former Quarters, and paſſed by *Eſcharriaranas*, which was another new trouble; for the way thereabout was very narrow and mighty bad: And here for ſome while many were kept ſhort of Victuals; for they found little or no ſubſiſtance, till they came to *Salvatierra*. This is a good Town and ſcituate in a fair and plentifull Country, near the bounds of *Navarre*, at the very entrance into *Spain*, and at that time it held for the Baſtard *Henry*. Wherefore while the Prince's Army ſpread about in the Country to refreſh themſelves, the Companions advanced with deſign to ſtorm the Town of *Salvatierra*, expecting if they took it by force, to have the ſpoil thereof; which they long'd for extreamly, and they knew, there was much wealth in the Town, which had been brought thither from all Parts adjoyning, out of Confidence of the Places ſtrength. But the Inhabitants thought not good to hazard all by Reſiſtance; for they conſider'd, that they could not poſſibly hold out long againſt ſo great an Army. Wherefore they came forth and ſubmitted themſelves to *Don Pedro*, preſenting him with the

Keys

Keys of the Town, and begging his Grace and Pardon. King *Pedro* at the Prince's Perſwaſion received them to Mercy; thô otherwiſe he was minded to have put them all to the Sword for a terror to the reſt: But the Prince qualify'd this his Bloody Reſolution, by telling him, "*that to refuſe pardon to thoſe, who ſubmitted, was to arm all his Subjects with Deſpair againſt him.*" Hereupon the Prince, King *Don Pedro*, the King of *Majorica*, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* enter'd, and took Poſſeſſion of the Town, and the Earl of *Armagnac*, and other Lords quarter'd in other Villages about the Town. AN. DOM. 1367. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLI.

VI. All this while Sr. *Thomas Felton* and his Company lay at *Navaret*, about five days Journey from the place where they left the Main Body of the *Engliſh* Army at firſt, being mightily deſirous to advance their Bodies, and to purchaſe Honour by ſome well-menag'd Boldneſs. They frequently ſallied forth of *Navaret*, and rode up to the very Skirts of the Enemies Camp to make what diſcovery they could of their Number and Behaviour. As for King *Henry*, he was lodged in the open Field, much ſurpriſed, that he heard no News of his Herald, by whom he thought to have ſome account of the Prince before this. Yet ſundry times ſome Troops of his would ride as far as *Najara*, with deſign to gain ſome knowledge of the *Engliſhmen*: So that at laſt the Earl of *Sancelloni*, Brother to *Don Henry* was certainly informed, that there lay an *Engliſh* Garriſon at *Navaret*. But before this was known, Sr. *Thomas Felton* one evening rode ſo far toward the Enemy, that they came up almoſt to King *Henries* Lodgings, and there ſuddenly began a great Skirmiſh, and wonderfully terrified the whole Army, and ſlew and took many Priſoners, particularly that Knight who kept the Watch was taken, and carried clear off without Recovery, and the *Engliſh* returned without any Loſs to *Navaret*. The next day they ſent an Herald unto the Prince, who was then at *Salvatierra* to ſhew him what they had done and ſeen, and where his Enemies lay, and how ſtrong they were; for they had been fully informed of all by the Priſoners they had taken. Prince *Edward* was glad of this News, and that his Knights had ſucceeded ſo well, reſolving thereupon to quicken his March; and *Don Henrique* on the other ſide was extreamly diſpleaſed, that the *Engliſhmen* who lay at *Navaret* had made ſo great Diſcovery of his Affairs, and ſo reſolved to advance and march nearer toward his Enemies. When Sr. *Thomas Felton* and his Company at *Navaret* heard, that King *Henry* had left St. *Domingo*, and was come as far as St. *Miguel* towards him, then they determin'd to leave *Navaret* and take the Field, as well to avoid being beſieged by ſo great an Army, as to make a further diſcovery of their Enemies; and of all this they ſent Word to the Prince, who had then newly left *Salvatierra*, and how *Don Henry* came on apace, and ſeem'd very deſirous to come to a Battle. When the Prince underſtood all this, he was very glad, and ſaid aloud to thoſe that were about him, "*By my Faith this Baſtard* Henry *is a Valiant and Couragious* "*Knight; for 'tis a ſign he fears us not, ſince he is coming forward to find us; and ſince* "*he doth thus, and We alſo ſeek for him, 'tis highly probable we ſhall ſoon meet and* "*look one another in the Face. I judge it therefore fit to leave this Place and to march for-* "*ward, and get to* Victoria *if poſſible before our Enemies.*" So the next Morning the Army began to march, the Prince with his Battail riding foremoſt at ſuch a Rate that he reached *Victoria* that Day, where he found Sr. *Thomas Felton* and all his Men, as yet he had not loſt one of them. The Prince was glad to find them all well, and enquired of them about many Matters; but as they were talking together the next Day the Princes Van-Currours came ſuddenly and declared, how they had met the Enemies Currours, whereby they concluded for certain, that King *Henry* and his Hoſt was not far off, and thus they gather'd from the *Spaniards* Demeanour; becauſe they dared to ſtand them, thô not to perſue them. Then the Prince commanded an Alarm to be ſounded, and at the ſound of Trumpet all Men went immediately to their Arms, and ſo drew to their Colours in good Order and Array of Battle ready to fight, for they were all fully inſtructed before they left *Salvatierra* what to do, and how to range themſelves at ſound of Trumpet: And this was done as it were in a moment, they were all ſo practiſed and expert in War. Surely it was a gallant Sight to behold the Brightneſs of their Arms, to obſerve the ſtatelineſs of their Barbed Horſes, to view the Rich Banners and Streamers embroidered and beaten with Arms both in Colours and Metal, and waveing with a delightfull Terror in the Wind.

The Van was order'd with Wonderfull Diſcretion, and there ſtood *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter* King *Edwards* Fourth Son, in the Flower of his Youth, being at that time in the 27 Year of his Age, of great Strength, Conduct and Courage, and honourably Emulous of his Brother Prince *Edwards* Glory: With him was the Lord

John

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John Chandos, High-Conſtable of *Aquitain*, with a vaſt Retinue of moſt ſelect Warriers; but we have already ſet down the Order and Names of this *Engliſh* Army; wherefore here it only remains, that we add how at this time the Duke of *Lancaſter* made 12 New Knights, among whom were Sr. *Ralph Camois*, Sr. *Walter Loring*, Sr. *Thomas Damuore*, and Sr. *John Grandeſſon*. The Lord *Chandos* alſo Knighted ſeveral *Engliſh* Eſquires, as Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Clifton*, Mr. *Prior*, *William Firmeton*, *Emery de la Rochechoüart* a *Frenchman*, *Gerard de la Motte* and *Robert Briquet*. Prince *Edward* alſo Knighted in the Field firſt of all King *Don Pedro*, then the Lord *Thomas Holland*, Son to his Lady the Princeſs by her former Husband, he being then about 17 Years of Age, alſo Sr. *Hugh Courtney*, Sr. *Philip Courtney* and Sr. *Dennis Courtney*, [n] Sr. *William Molineux*, Sr. *John Covet*, Sr *Nicolas Bond*, and ſeveral other Valiant and Hopefull young Gentlemen; and here and in the other Battails by the Prince and other Great Lords, as by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Don Pedro*, the Lord *Chandos*, the King of *Majorica* and Others, were made no leſs than three hundred New Knights. And all the while the whole Army ſtood in Battle Array, ready to receive their Enemies, who yet came not forward all that Day, but remain'd ſtill in the place, where firſt the Princes Van-Currours had found them. For King *Henry* expected ſome more Forces to come to him out of *Aragon*, and eſpecially Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who was now haſting to him with 4000 Men of Arms, and without his Company King *Henry* deſign'd not to accept of Battle, unleſs he ſhould be compelled. Which Reſolution of his was not as then much diſpleaſing to Prince *Edward*, becauſe his Rereward, which conſiſted of 6000 Fighting Men was ſtill behind him above ſeven *Spaniſh* Leagues, whereat he was extreamly vexed in his Mind, thô that Day his Reſolution was to have fought without them, if the *Spaniards* had come forward.

[n] *Stow p.* 269.

VII. That ſame Evening the Prince's two Marſhals, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle* and Sr. *Stephen Coſſington*, commanded all Men to repair to their Lodgings, and at the Sound of Trumpet next Morning to return to their places, in the ſame Order which they had held the Day before. But Sr. *Thomas Felton* with part of his former Company, went forth that Evening by the Prince's Leave, and rode two Leagues nearer toward the Enemy to learn their preſent Behaviour. That very Evening the Earl of *Sancelloni* Brother to the Baſtard *Henry* was with him in his Pavilion, where after ſome Diſcourſe about War and Warlike Adventures, he ſaid at laſt to the King his Brother, "Sir, you "know how our Enemies are encamped not far off, and yet all this while none of your "Servants have view'd them. Sir, I humbly requeſt of You, that you would grant me "your Leave to ride forth to morrow morning with a certain Number of Men, to "learn more exactly the Order, Number and Behaviour of the *Engliſh*: And Sir, "I promiſe you to go ſo near, that I ſhall be enabled to give you ſome certain Infor-"mation. King *Henry* freely granted his Brothers Requeſt, and juſt at that inſtant Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* came to the Camp with 4000 Men of Arms of *Bretagne*, *France* and *Aragon*, whereat the King and all his Friends were extreamly refreſhed, and they were received with a mighty Shout. The [o] next Morning the young Earl of *Sancelloni* forgat not his Deſign, but took along with him his Brother *Sancho* and 6000 choſen Horſe, all well-Arm'd, and ſuch as he thought fitteſt for his purpoſe. He would willingly have had with him Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Sr. *Arnold* of *D' Endreghan*, the Beague of *Vilain*, and the Vicount of *Rochebreton* of *Aragon*; but the King charged him by no means to make any ſuch Motion to them, becauſe they were but newly come, wherefore he let them alone. So with the Troops aforeſaid he mounted early, and began to ride in good Order from the Kings Hoſt toward the *Engliſh* Camp. About Sun-riſe he met with a part of Sr. *Hugh Calverley's* Company with his Armour; for he had lodged that Night near a League from the *Engliſh* Army. Againſt theſe Men the *Spaniards* immediately addreſſed themſelves, and preſently ſlew and diſcomfited them, moſt of them being ſlain; but Sr. *Hugh* himſelf was not there, he was behind the *Spainiards* riding after his Men; but when he underſtood of this Matter, he took another way, and rode upon the Spur towards his Friends; yet he was perceived and chaſed narrowly, however he gat up with the reſt of his Company to the Skirts of the Duke of *Lancaſters* Battail, where he took Refuge. At the ſame inſtant the *Spaniards* fell in after him on the skirts of the Duke's Camp, crying out *Caſtilla, Don Henrique*, and beating down Tents, and hurting, ſlaying and overthrowing much People: So that the whole Hoſt being alarum'd with the noiſe began to arm, and to repair to their Colours, and the Chief Lords of that Battail brought up their Men apace to the Duke's Lodgings, who ſtood ready arm'd with his Banner before him; and there the *Engliſhmen* and *Gaſcogners* ranged themſelves haſtily in their

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 236. &c.

their appointed Order. Then the Duke being conſiderably ſupplied, rode up a little Mountain, and thither came to him the Lord *John Chandos*, and the two Marſhals with divers Knights and Eſquires, ſetting themſelves in Array about the Duke, and preſently after came into the Field the Prince of *Wales* and King *Don Pedro*, and ranged their Men in Order of Battle: For they thought King *Henry* was coming on with all his Army. The Earl of *Sancelloni* had thought to have firſt taken the foreſaid Mountain for his better Advantage, but when he ſaw himſelf prevented, and that the whole Army would by and by be upon him, he made haſte to get off, and ſo rallied his Men and began to retire, in hopes to meet with ſome more eaſie Adventure elſewhere. But before this was done, many Feats of Arms were try'd: For certain *Engliſh* Knights and *Gaſcogners* with the Marſhals leave left their Army, and ſtruck in furiouſly among the *Spainiards*, and overthrew ſeveral of them to the Earth; but all the while the Main Body of the Hoſt ſtood ſtill, expecting preſently to be fought withall by *Don Henry*.

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As the *Spaniards* were returning toward their Camp, they met with Sr. *Thomas Felton* and his Brother Sr. *William*, Sr. *Richard Cauſton*, Sr. *Hugh Haſtings*, Sr. *Dangouſes*, and Others to the number of 200 Knights and Eſquires, *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners*, and about 300 Archers whom they met in a Valley, and at the firſt ſight of them, cry'd --*Don Henrique de Caſtille*. The *Engliſh* ſeeing how far they were overſet by Numbers, and that they had no means to eſcape them, took the advantage of a little Hill, and ſet themſelves cloſe together, comforting one another as well as they might. The *Spaniards* came and ſat down before them, deviſing by what means they might ſooneſt bring them into their power: At which time the Lord *William Felton* undertook a daring and deſperate Enterpriſe; for he deſcended boldly down the Hill with his Spear in his Reſt to prove his Courſer, and ruſhed in among the *Spaniards*, and at the firſt Encounter ſtruck a *Spaniſh* Knight ſo violently with his Spear, that it paſſed clean thrô his Body, and the Knight fell down dead. Then was Sr. *William* encloſed round about among his Enemies, dealing of Blows, and fighting valiantly with a good ſteel Ax, wherewith he did as much as it was poſſible for any one Man to do, his Brother Sr. *Thomas* and the other Knights with him, beholding from the Mountain how glorioufly he fought, and what Wonders in Arms he performed, and into what a deſperate Condition he had plunged himſelf; but they could not aſſiſt him without flinging themſelves away together with him: So they ſtood ſtill in their former Order on the Mountain. All this while Sr. *William* fought with great skill and fury, and did his Enemies great Dammage, receiving little or none himſelf, he moved his Great Horſe about ſo ſwiftly, and turned and changed ground with ſo much Art and Dexterity; but at laſt his Horſe being firſt ſlain under him, he was alſo beaten down, and there died in the Bed of Honour as he deſired. Thus was this Valiant Gentleman, being a Baron of *England*, ſlain [p] on the 19 day of *March*, leaving behind him his Son and Heir Sr. *John Felton*, at that time 28 Years of Age.

[p] *Dugd. Bar. 2 Vol. p. 65.*

He being thus diſpatched, the *Spaniards* began to conſider how to win the reſt, who ſtill kept upon the Mountain in wonderfull good Order: And ſurely that Morning many gallant Feats of Arms were performed by the *Engliſh*; for ſometimes a Troop would deſcend from the Mountain and fight with their Enemies, while the Archers ſecured them on the Flank with their thick flights of Arrows, and then they would diſcreetly retreat again, and a freſh Troop take their place. In this condition they continued till paſt High-noon, the Prince of *Wales* knowing nothing of their Danger; for if he had he could eaſily have deliver'd them: But now they were obliged to take what ſhould fall. When they had thus fought by turns for ſeveral Hours, without ſuffering any great Loſs, the Earl of *Sancelloni*, who fretted horribly, that ſuch a ſmall Number ſhould hold out ſo long, and alſo he feared, that ſome of the Princes Captains might hear of it, or come up accidentally to their Reſcue, I ſay, then the Earl of *Sancelloni* cried out aloud, "*My Lords, for ſhame! What do we here thus all the Day? We ought* "*before this to have devoured them every Mothers Son. Advance forward in the Name* "*of God and St.* Jago, *and let us fight them ſtiffly. There is nothing conſiderable to* "*be obtain'd, unleſs it be dearly paid for.* With theſe Words the *Spaniards* began more boldly to mount the Hill in ſuch cloſe Order, that they could not be broken: Then the *Engliſhmen* and *Gaſcogners* defended themſelves with a Courage, which their Deſpair had heightned, and the Archers beſtow'd their Arrows liberally upon the *Spaniard* till their Quivers were exhauſted. All that was poſſible to be done they performed, but long they could not now endure, their Archers being rendred uſeleſs, and the Men of Arms being preſſed upon on all Hands; ſo that at laſt their Ranks being broken,

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broken, they were all taken and conquer'd by Force of Arms, not one escaping either Death or Imprisonment, except a few Pages and Valets that saved themselves by the Goodness of their Masters Horses; and at Night came to the Prince, who stood all that Day on the Hill ready to fight, for He thought the Bastard was marching towards Him.

VIII. About the same time also the Earl of *Sancelloni* return'd home joyfully to the Camp, and came to his Brother, *Don Henry*, to whom he made a Present of such Prisoners, as he had taken, and gave a Relation to him, to Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Sr. *Arnold D' Endreghan*, and other Lords of *France* and of *Spain*, "how they had over-"thrown part of Sr. *Hugh Calverley's* Retinue, and chaced him into the Duke of *Lan-"caster's* Battail, where they had done considerable Harm, before the Host was mo-"ved; that in their return they met with these Knights, whom there He presented "unto him; and how they happen'd on the Adventure, and how they performed the "Action. King *Henry*, who heard these Words with wonderfull Delight, reply'd, "*Fair Brother, You have succeeded very well, for which We hope sometime to consider "You: And I doubt not, but all the Army of the* English *will pass the same way. Sir* "(said the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*) *saving Your Majesties favour, thô I wish your Words "may take full effect, yet there may be some reason to doubt it. For thus much Sir, "I must be bold to say, when You meet with the Prince of* Aquitain *in Battle, You shall "there find Men of War, furnished with all things requisite to perfect and accomplish'd "Souldiers. This Prince leads along with him the Flower of the Chevalry of all the "World; whom You shall find to be right Hardy and Couragious fighting Men, and who "will sooner cover the ground with their Bodies, than flinch one foot: Wherefore Sir, "'tis necessary to be well advis'd, and to take heed in this Matter. But Sir, if You will "follow my Counsel, You may discomfit them without striking a stroak, for if You will "keep the Passages of the* Ebro, *and the other streights of your Country; so that no Pro-"vision may come at them, You will famish them, and compell them to return toward "their own Country; which they must do without any good Order or Array; and so You "may discomfit them at your ease and pleasure.* The King answer'd, "*Marshal, Mar-"shall, by the soul of my Dear Father, I desire so much to see the Prince, and to try his "strength and mine together, that I will never stir hence without Battle, if he'll have "the Courage to come and give it me; and if not, I'll go and present him with Battle "in what place soever I shall find him. For, I thank God, We have Men enough: First, "We have* * 10000 *Men of Arms, well armed and mounted on barbed Horses; so that "they need not fear any shot of the Archers; then We have* 20000 *others mounted on "Genets and armed* Capapé; *besides* 10000 *Crossbows, and above* 60000 *other Com-"mon Souldiers, arm'd with Pikes, Halberds, Slings, and other Weapons: And all "these have sworn not to fail me, thô they die for it. Wherefore, Sr.* Arnold, *I see "no cause to be afraid; but rather to repose a well-grounded Confidence in the Power of "God and our Men.* And as they were thus talking, certain Knights brought Wine and sweet Meats to the King, of which he took and gave to the Lords about him, and that done, they retired to their several Quarters: And the *English* and *Gascogners*, who had been taken that day, after they had sworn themselves true Prisoners, were secured separately.

* *Hoc apparet ex duobus Froisardi locis simul collatis, c.* 236.

IX. Now the Prince of *Wales* had stood all that day on the Mountain, expecting to no purpose the approach of *Don Henry*; at Night being informed of his loss, and how his Men were taken and slain, he was extreamly displeas'd; but the Matter was then past remedy; so for that Night the Army withdrew to their Lodgings; but the next Morning the Prince took Counsel, and determin'd to rise from thence, as he did, and went, and encamped a pretty way off before *Victoria*, and there again he stood a while in Battle Array; for he was enformed, that King *Henry* was not far off; but since he had got to *Najara*, he came not a step forward. Now the Prince and his Men were in no small scarcity of Victuals and Provision both for themselves and their Horses: For they were but in an indifferent and hard Country; so that in the Host a Loaf of Bread was sold for a *Floren*, and yet happy was he, that could get it; and besides the season was foul and troublesome, by reason of Wind, Rain, and Snow: And in this Condition was the *English* Army for six days; but *Don Henry* lay in a Fruitfull Country about St. *Miguel*, on the other side the *Ebro*. Wherefore when the Prince saw, that the *Spaniards* came not forward to fight him, and that his Men began to be in Distress, he determin'd to pass the *Ebro*, and go and fight the Bastard, or chace him out of the Realm: Whereupon he dislodged, and took the way to *Navaret*, passing thrô the Country of *Alava*, till he came to a Town called *Viana*, standing

ſtanding near the River *Ebro*, on the very confines of *Navarre*. There the Prince and the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all the other Lords refreſhed themſelves and the Army for two days, and then they paſſed the River *Ebro*, which on that ſide divides the Realms of *Navarre*, and old *Caſtille*, at the Bridge of *Logronno* (by the *Engliſh* called *Groing*) among the Gardens of Olives: And here they found a better Country, than before, thô ſtill Victuals was ſcarce and dear. AN. DOM. 1367. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLI.

When King *Henry* heard, how the Prince had paſſed the River at *Groing*, then he diſlodged from St. *Miguel*, where he had layn more than a week, and went and encamped before *Najara*: Prince *Edward*, hearing that King *Henry* drew near him, was very glad, and ſaid aloud, "*By St.* George *this Baſtard ſeems to be a Valiant Knight, and ſince he deſires ſo much to find us, I truſt we ſhall meet together ſhortly.* Then he ſent for his Brother, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and others of his Council, by whoſe Advice he now at laſt wrote an anſwer to King *Henry* of the Letters, which he had ſent many days before, the Tenor whereof followeth, *viz.*

"EDWARD, *by the Grace of God, Prince of* Wales *and of* Aquitain, *Duke of* Corn-"wall, *and Earl of* Cheſter, *to the Right-Honourable and Renowned Lord*, Henry, "*Earl of* Traſtamara, *who at this preſent calls himſelf King of* Caſtille. *Whereas You* "*have ſent unto Us your Letters by your Herald, wherein are contained divers Paſſa-*"*ges; intimating, that You would gladly know, why We take to our Friend and Lover,* "*your Enemy, our Couſin, the King* Don Pedro, *and by what Title We make War up-*"*on You, being enter'd with an Army Royal into* Caſtille: *To this We now anſwer;* "*Know You for a truth; that it is to ſuſtain Right and Juſtice, and to uphold Reaſon* "*and Equity, as it appertaineth to all Kings and Princes to do: And alſo to cultivate* "*and cheriſh the ſtrict Alliances, which the King of* England, *our Deareſt Father,* "*and King* Don Pedro *have of long time held together. However becauſe You are a* "*Renowned and Right Worthy and Valiant Knight, We are willing, if We may, to re-*"*concile him and You together, and We ſhall ſo perſwade our Couſin,* Don Pedro, *that* "*he ſhall yield unto You a conſiderable part of his Realm of* Caſtille; *but as for the* "*Crown and Inheritance Royal, that You muſt Renounce for ever: In which caſe, Sir,* "*You may take Counſel and be adviſed. And as for our entring into* Caſtille, *We will* "*enter and proceed, as We think beſt at our own pleaſure.* Dated at *Groing* the 30 of "*March*, in the Year of Grace MCCCLXVII.

X. This Letter being folded up and ſealed with the Prince's Seal was deliver'd to the ſame Herald, that brought *Don Henry's* Letters, and had tarried for an anſwer now about three Weeks. So the Herald was diſmiſſed and rode on, till he came to *Najara*, where he found King *Henry* was encamped among the Buſhes: He went directly to the Kings Tent, whither the greater part of the Chiefs of the Army went to hear what News the Herald had brought: He for his part kneeled down and deliver'd the Prince's Letters to the King; who took them and open'd them, and cauſed them to be read before Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, and others of his Council. Then Sr. *Bertram* ſpake to the King, "*Sir* (ſaid he) *be aſſured of this, that now You ſhall have* "*Battle ſpeedily; I know the Prince of* Wales *ſo well. Conſider therefore, Sir, advi-*"*ſedly on the Matter; for 'tis neceſſary, that You take great Care of your Affairs, and* "*order your Battails in ſuch manner, as may appear beſt.* Sr. Bertram (ſaid the King) "*be it ſo in the Name of God; I value not the Power of the Prince: For I have* (be-"*ſides our Auxiliaries from* Bretagne, France, *and* Aragon) 10000 *Barbed Horſes,* "*which ſhall make two Wings to our Army, and* 20000 *Men of Arms on luſty Genets,* "*the moſt Choſen, that can be found in all* Caſtille, Galizia, Portugal, Corduba, *and* "Sevile, *and* 10000 *good Croſsbows, and* 60000 *others on foot with Pikes, Halberds,* "*Launces, and other Habiliments for the War: And all theſe have ſworn not to fail* "*me, thô they die for't. Wherefore, Sir, I truſt to have the Victory by the Grace of* "*God, in whom is my Confidence, and in the Right, which I have in the Quarrel. And* "*ſo my Lords, I deſire You all to be of good Courage.* Thus King *Henry* and Sr. *Ber-*"*tram* of *Clequin* talk'd together, and no more was ſaid about the Prince's Letters: For King *Henry*, who knew no Compoſition would be able to ſecure his Life, reſolv'd to be content with no leſs than a Kingdom, and ſo prepared for Battle, and took care that his Men ſhould be well-order'd. And all the while the Earl of *Sancelloni* and his Brother *Sancho*, were mightily extolled thrô the *Spaniſh* Hoſt, for the Succeſs they had againſt the *Engliſh*, which added much to the Courage of all the Army.

On *Fryday*, [q] the ſecond day of *April* the *Black-Prince* began his March from *Logronno*, or *Groing*, upon the River *Ebro*, and went forward in Battle Array to find his

[q] Lit. Dom. C. *Paſch.* 18. *April.*

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Enemies. That day he advanced little more than two Leagues; for about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon he came before *Navaret*, where he encamped, and then sent forth his Currours to aview his Enemies, and to know exactly where they lay. These rode so far, that they saw all the behaviour of their Enemies, and how they were lodged before the City of *Najara*, whereof they brought Word to the Prince; and He thereupon gave Order to be convey'd secretly thrô the whole Camp, that at the First sound of the Trumpet they should all rise, at the Second be armed, and at the Third Mount their Horses, and follow the Marshals Banners with the Ensign of St. *George*; and that on pain of Death none presume to go before the Marshals, unless they were commanded so to do.

XI. As the Prince on the *Fryday* had sent out his Currours, so did King *Henry* the same day on his part, to learn where the Prince was encamped, and when they had brought him the Certainty as to the Matter, he called unto him Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, and others, and fell to advise with them what was next to be done. 'Twas here concluded, that first the Army should be well supp'd, and so order'd to take their repose, to be the more fresh and lusty the next day; at the hour of Midnight to be ready apparel'd, and to draw into the Field; to be ranged by their Captains in the Order, as had been devised: For none doubted, but to fight the next day. So that Night, however hard the *English* fared, and therefore the rather desired to come to a quick Decision, yet the *Spaniards*, who had plenty of Victuals, and all other necessaries, took their repast and repose, as they themselves desired. About Midnight the Trumpets sounded in King *Henry's* Host, and then every man made him ready, at the Second Blast they came out of their Lodgings, and order'd themselves in Three Battalia's. The first was led by Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who[r] bare for his Arms, in a Field *Argent* the [f] Imperial Eagle, over all a Dexter Battoon *Gules*: With him was joyn'd the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, Marshal of *France*, whose shield of *Gules* was charged with a *Fez* Checquee, *Argent* and *Gules*, between six spur Rowels *Argent*. And in this Battail was the Lord *Robert* of *Rochebreton*, the Earl of *Denia* in *Valencia*, and all the Strangers, as well of *France* and *Bretagne*, as of *Hainalt*, *Aragon*, and of other Countries, as the Lord of *Dantoing*, and Sr. *Alan* Lord of *Bruſnel*, Sr. *Guy Bailleul*, the *Beague* of *Vilaine*, the *Beague* of *Villiers*, Sr. *John* of *Bergues*, the *Almain* of St. *Venant* (who was then made Banneret) with many Persons more of Note and Valour, to the Number of 4000 Knights and Esquires, all arm'd after the manner of *France*, and 20000 Footmen. The Second Battalia was led by the Earl of *Sancelloni* and his Brother *Sancho*, with 5000 Genettours, and 10000 Foot, and these stood a little back on the Left-hand of the First Battail; the Third and the greatest of all was govern'd by the King himself, and he had with him 7000 Men of Arms, and 60000 Foot with the Crosbows; besides that other 15000 Gennettours were disposed about as Wings in the First and Last Battails: So that in all *Don Henry* had this day on his side, no less than an 121000 Men one with another. When all was rightly order'd, He leap'd on a Strong Mule, after the usage of that Country, and rode about from Battail to Battail, and from Squadron to Squadron; with gracious and sweet Words, praying and desiring every Man that day to do his utmost to defend and maintain his and their Right and Honour; that they should remember, how they were better Men and more numerous than their Enemies, and that their Cause also was more just; and as he spake, he appeared so wonderfull Cheerfull and Magnanimous, that every Man was glad to see him look so well, and gather'd Matter of Courage to himself from so good a sign. When *Don Henry* had thus encouraged his Men, he return'd to his own Battail; at which time the Sun began to rise, and then he order'd his Banners to advance forward; for he thought it more for his Honour to meet his Enemies, than to expect them.

[r] True Use of Armory in the life of the Lord *John Chandos* p. 79.

[f] *i.e.* Spread Eagle *Sable*.

Now the Prince of *Wales* also on his part was ready Armed in the Field by break of Day, and presently after began to march forward in Battle Array; for he resolved no longer to put off the Matter. None rode before the Marshals Battails but the Currours, who were thereto appointed: So that both Hosts by the report of their Currours knew they should meet presently. The *English* went forward an Hosting pace to meet their Enemies, and so did the *Spaniards* towards them; and the Sun being now risen, it was a ravishing sight to behold the Armies, and the Sun reflecting from their bright steel and shining Armour. For in those days the Cavalry were generally armed in Mail or polished Steel at all points; and besides that, the Nobility wore over their Armour rich Surcoats of Silk and Sattin Embroidery, whereon was curiously stitcht or beaten the Arms of their House, whether in Colour or Metal. As

Thô born unto, and Meriting, a Crown,
Unequal Fate allotted me a Grave:
Yet by my Armes Don Pedro *gain'd his Throne:*
To make a King, than to bee One's more Brave.

particularly at this time the *Black-Prince* was habited according to the Repreſentation we have here made of him, which is Copied from an old and authentick Original. AN. DOM. 1367. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLI.

XII. As thus the two Armies approached near together, the Prince went over a little Hill, in the deſcending whereof he ſaw plainly his Enemies marching toward him: Wherefore when the whole Army was come over this Mountain, he commanded that there they ſhould make an Halt, and ſo fit themſelves for Fight. At that inſtant the Lord [t] *John Chandos* brought his Enſign folded up, and offer'd it to the Prince ſaying, "*Sir, here is my Guidon, I requeſt your Highneſs to diſplay it abroad, and to give me* "*leave to raiſe it this day as my Banner: For I thank God and your Highneſs, I have* "*Lands and Poſſeſſions ſufficient to maintain it withall.* Then the Prince took the Penon, and having cut off the Tail made it a Square Banner, and this done, both He and King *Don Pedro* for the greater Honour, holding it between their Hands diſplay'd it abroad, it being [u] *Or* a Sharpe Pile *Gules*, as we have ſhew'd before, and then the Prince deliver'd it unto the Lord *Chandos* again, ſaying, "Sr. *John, behold here is your* "*Banner! God ſend you much Joy and Honour with it.* And thus being made a Knight Banneret the Lord *Chandos* return'd to the Head of his Men and ſaid, "*Here Gen-* "*tlemen, behold my Banner and yours, take it, and keep to your Honour and Mine.* And ſo they took it with a Shout and ſaid, that by the Grace of God and St. *George* they would defend it to the beſt of their Powers; but the Banner remain'd in the hands of a gallant *Engliſh* Eſquire named *William Alleſtry*, who bore it all that Day, and acquitted himſelf in the ſervice right Honourably. And now all the *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners* quitted their Horſes, and ranged themſelves on Foot in their former Order, and ſo both Armies began a little to advance, at which time the Prince of *Wales* having his Viſor up, [x] lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, and joyned his Hands together and ſaid, "*O Very God*, Jeſu Chriſt, *who haſt formed and created me, grant by your Benign* "*Grace, that I may obtain this Day Victory of mine Enemies, as what I do is in a Righte-* "*ous Quarrel to ſuſtain and aid this King, whom they have* Excluded *from his Inheri-* "*tance: Which gives me the Courage to advance my Self againſt them, thereby to re-* "*eſtabliſh Him in his Realm.* And therewithall being full of Faith and Courage, he laid his Right Hand upon King *Don Pedro*, who was next by him and ſaid, "*Sir* "*King, You ſhall know this Day, whether ever you ſhall have any thing of the King-* "*dom of* Caſtille *or not. Therefore advance Banners, in the Name of God and St.* "George. And juſt then the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lord *John Chandos* approached their Enemies, at which time the Duke ſaid to Sr. *William Beauchamp* Lord of *Bergavenny*, and Fourth Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, "Sr. *William, behold yon-* "*der our Enemies; This Day you ſhall ſee me a good Knight, or elſe to die in the Quar-* "*rel.* And with that Word he began to joyn Battle with Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, and the other *Frenchmen* and *Aragonians*, and Strangers of divers Countries. At the firſt Encounter there was a terrible Medley with Spear and Sh eld, and for a certain while neither could open the oth rs Ranks, or prevail in the leaſt; ſo that many a noble Feat of Arms was performed, and many a Man of Arms reverſed and caſt to the Earth, who never after could be relieved. Now while theſe two Battails of *Engliſh* and *French* were thus contending for the better, the other were reſolved not to ſtand long aloof, but came on apace and joyned together with great Fury. And firſt the Prince of *Wales* Himſelf, with whom were *Don Pedro* King of *Caſtille*, and the Lord *Martin Carre*, who repreſented the King of *Navarre's* Perſon, brought up his Main Battail, and came againſt the Earl of *Sancelloni* and his Brother *Don Sancho*, the Baſtards Brethren. But it ſeems he brought ſuch Terror along with him, that at the very firſt Shock, the Earl and his Brother were ſo ſtrangely ſurpriſed with Fear, [y] that they fled away ſuddenly they knew not why, without either Order or Array, with no leſs than 3000 Spears in their Company: So that immediately that Battail was open'd and diſcomfited; for the King of *Majorica*, the Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon* and their Battail follow'd on after the Prince, and ſlew and hurt them at a prodigious Rate; while the Prince, who aim'd at a greater Matter, marched directly forward, and joyned freſhly with the Third and Laſt Battail of the *Spaniards*, where King *Henry* himſelf was with above 60000 Men, Horſe and Foot.

Here the Fight began to be fierce and cruel indeed, for the *Spaniards* and *Caſtillians* had Slings, wherewith they whirled ſtones at ſuch a rate, that they clove and brake many an Helmet therewith, and hurt and overthrew many a Man to the Ground. The mean while the Archers of *England* ſhot fiercely from their Long Bows, and ſlew many, and did much Miſchief both to Horſe and Man. The one Party cried *Caſtille*,

[t] *Froiſ. c.* 237. *fol.* 133. *Vid.* Favine *l.* 7. *c.* 12. *p.* 270. & *Aſhmole p.* 42. *Selden's Tit. Hon. p.* 790. & 791. *&c.*

[u] *Vid. l.* 4. *c.* 2. §. 3. *p.* 698.

[x] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[y] *Froiſ. ibid.*

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for King *Henry*, and the other St. *George*, *Guienne*, for the Prince of *Aquitaine*. All this while the firſt Battail of *England* fought ſtifly, being well match'd by the *Frenchmen*; and here the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *John Chandos*, the two Marſhals, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle* and Sr. *Stephen Coſſington*, with Sr. *William Beauchamp* and Others, were trying out the matter with Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Sr. *Arnold D' Endreghan*, and the reſt of the *Frenchmen* and *Aragonians*, who made a gallant and a long Reſiſtance. So that the Knights of *England* endured much pain before they could open them; each Party with Spear in Hand foining and preſſing againſt each other, and when their Spears were broke, they fought with ſhort Battle-Axes, or Swords and Daggers. That Day the Lord *John Chandos* proved himſelf a Noble and Hardy Knight, doing under his Banner many a notable Feat of Arms, and he ſtill preſſed on ſo far, that at laſt he was encompaſſed among his Enemies, where he was ſo hardly handled, that he was fell'd to the Ground; but at the ſame time drew after him a great and big-bon'd Knight of *Caſtille*, named Sr. *Martin Farcant*, who was much renowned for Hardineſs among the *Spaniards*. This Man did his endeavour to have ſlain Sr. *John Chandos*, who now lay under him in extream danger. But at that inſtant Sr. *John* remembred himſelf of a Knife or ſhort Dagger, which he had in his Boſom under his Mail, and preſently drew it out, and ſtretching forth his right Hand, ſtrack this Sr. *Martin Farcant* ſo in the Back and Sides, that he ſlew him as thus he lay upon him. And then the Lord *Chandos* heaving him over on one ſide, aroſe quickly on his feet, and by that time his Men were broke in unto him, having long labour'd to come up to him, where they ſaw him fell'd. And now the Lord *Chandos* being follow'd by his Men, and they being headed by their General began to prevail againſt their Enemies, and to get apparent Advantage over them, thô they had fought long and doubtfully before they obtain'd this Point. Under the Enſign of St. *George*, and the Banner of the Lord *Chandos* were all the Companions, to the Number of 1200 Penons, and their Captains were all hardy and valiant Knights, as Sr. *Robert Cheney*, Sr. *Perdiccas de la Brett*, Sr. *Robert Briquet*, Sr. *Garſes du Chaſtel*, Sr. *Galiard Vignior*, Sr. *John Charnels*, *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, *Edmund Ortingo*, *Humphry Perot* of *Savoy*, the Bourg of *Bartuel*, the *Bourg de l' Eſparre*, *Lanny*, the Little *Mechlin*, and divers Others; beſides the Knights and Eſquires of *England* lead by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, as the Lord *William Beauchamp*, Sr. *Ralph Camois*, Sr. *Walter Urſewick*, Sr. *Robert Someri*, Sr. *John Grandeſſon*, Sr. *John Draper*, and above 200 Knights more. On the *French* Part there fought valiantly Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, with the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, the Lord *William Garils* a *Spaniard*, the Beague of *Villaine*, the Lord *Dantoign* or *D' Intoigne* in *Hainalt*, the Lord of *Bruſnel*, the Lord *Guy Bailleul*, Sr. *John* of *Bergues*, the Beague of *Villiers*, the *Almain* of St. *Venant*, and many other Good Knights of *France*, *Hainalt*, *Bretagne*, *Spain*, *Aragon*, *Provence* and the Marches thereabout, who behav'd themſelves all like Men, however they got no Advantage; for they were match'd with Knights hardy and ſtrong, and ſuch as were expert and well-practiſed in Arms.

Yet they held out a while with exceeding Courage, ſo that if the *Spaniards* had done their part as well as the *Frenchmen*, in all likelihood the *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners* would have been much more hardly put to it, and have paid at leaſt dearer for their Victory. Neither was it any fault of the Baſtard *Henry's* that they did no better, for he had well and often admoniſhed, and deſired them before they came to it to do their utmoſt, and ſo they had promiſed him to do; and now he ſet them an Example himſelf, and gave infinite demonſtrations of his exceeding Valour, and did Wonders in Arms, and with a preſent Courage comforted his Men; and when he ſaw any ready to fly or quit their ſtation, and ſo open the Ranks, then he rode in among them and ſaid, "*My Lords, I am your King: You your ſelves have made me ſo, and have ſworn and* "*promiſed not to fail me, thô you die for't. For Godſake, be mindfull now of your Oath* "*and Promiſe, and acquit your ſelves loyally unto Me: For certainly I will not flinch* "*one Foot, as long as I can ſee you do your Devoir.* And another time he would ſay, "*Where are the Courages of thoſe Noble* Spaniards, *who under my Father King* Al- "phonſo *have given ſuch wonderfull Overthrows to the* Moors? *Do not now diſgrace* "*your former Glories by turning your backs at this Time. A little Perſeverance will* "*ſet the Garland on your Heads.* By theſe and the like Words, being full of Comfort, King *Henry* rallied his Men together three ſeveral times that Day, and with his own Hands he fought valiantly: So that by all means as to that Point he ought to have an honourable Report. Indeed this Fight proved marvellouſly Dangerous, and therein many Men were ſlain and grievouſly wounded, and at the beginning the Commons

of

of *Spain* with their Slings caſt ſtones ſo violently, that it was a mighty trouble to the *Engliſh* at firſt, but when they alſo felt the ſharp Arrows of *England* light among them, they could no longer keep their Array ſo exactly. There were however with King *Henry* many Noble Men of Arms, as well of *Spain* as of *Portugal* and *Aragon*, who behaved themſelves with much Honour, and would not give up the Day ſo lightly: For they fought obſtinately with Spears, Axes, Javelins and Swords. And on a Wing of that Battail there were certain Troops of Cuiraſſiers, well mounted on *Gennets*, who always kept them in good Order: For when they broke or open'd their Array in any part, thither immediately flew theſe Troops, always ready to help and bring them again into Order. Which Device Sr. *Bertram* had taught King *Henry*, having to his Coſt learn'd it of the Lord *Chandos* in the Battle of *Auray* in *Bretagne*. Upon all which accounts it muſt be acknowledged, how the *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners* before they had any great Advantage, bought it dearly, and were fain to win it by noble Chevalry and true Proweſs of Arms. And to ſay the Truth, the [z] *Black-Prince* himſelf was the chief Flower of Chevalry in all the World, and he had with him many right Valiant Knights and Eſquires, as well of *England* as of *Aquitain*, as the Lord *Edward Spencer* [a] a mighty Man of Valour, the young Lord *Thomas Holland*, Eldeſt Son to the Princeſs of *Wales*, the Lord *Baldwin Frevil* Seneſchal of *Saintogne*, Sr. *Thomas Wake* of *Blyſeworth* in *Northamptonſhire* Seneſchal of *Rovergue*, together with the Seneſchals of *Bourdeaux*, of *Rochelle*, of *Poictou*, of *Limoſin* and of *Perigort*, Sr. *Nele Loring* Knight of the Garter, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon* a moſt valiant Knight of *Devonſhire*, Sr. *William Molineux*, Sr. *Nicolas Bond*, Sr. *Hugh Courtney* and Sr. *Philip Courtney* Brethren, Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, Sr. *John Combes* and Sr. *Thomas Combes* Brethren; beſides the *Gaſcogners*, as Sr. *Lewis* of *Marville*, Sr. *Raimund Danduel* and Others. And in the other Battails there were as Choice Men as the World could afford, namely *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *John Chandos*, Sr. *Gniſchard Dangle*, Sr. *Stephen Coſſington*, the Lord *John Greilly* Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, the Lord *William Beauchamp*, the Lord of *Raix*, Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *John Tyrrel*, Sr. *William Clayton*; alſo the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Albret*, the Lord of *Pamiers* and his two Brethren, the Lord of *Mucidan*, the Lord of *Rozan*, the Earl of *Perigort*, the Earl of *Cominges*, the Earl of *Carmain*, the Lord of *Coudon*, the Lord *de L' Eſparre*, the Lord of *Chaumont*, Sr. *Bartholomew du Cande*, the Lord of *Pincornet*, Sr. *Bertram de la Brett*, the *Soldiche de l' Eſtarrac*, Sr. *Petiton* of *Coutras*, and Others aforenamed, who all deſerve Immortal Memory.

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[z] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[a] *Froiſ. f.* 197. *a.*

A little beſide the Prince was *James* the young King of *Majorica* and his Company, nothing inferior to the Reſt, he fought with as much Animoſity here, as if the ſucceſs of the Battle had been to reſtore his own Kingdom unto him; but the Lord *Martin Carre*, who repreſented the King of *Navarre's* Perſon, was with the Prince, doing Actions nothing unworthy of his Character. There was none that time of all the Princes Army that did not his Beſt, as indeed they had all need enough ſo to do, for there were of *Spaniards* and *Caſtillians*, and Others, more than an 100000 in Harneſs, and yet the Battle was fought in Plain Field, without the benefit of any ſtratagem on either Side. So that by reaſon of the vaſt Numbers of the Enemy, and the Courage of their Captains, which often obliged them to renew the Fight, it was long before the Victory could be won. King *Don Pedro* eſpecially rag'd about like a wild Boar, being much chafed by the ſtiff Oppoſition he met withall, and extreamly deſirous to meet his Brother the Baſtard, ſaying, "*Where is this Son of a Whore, that calls himſelf King* "*of* Caſtille? *Let me ſee his Face now if he dare.* And yet at the ſame time *Don Henry* fought nothing worſe in the parts where he was (thô his Lords would not let him cope with *Don Pedro*) and yet beſides he had much ado that Day to hold his Men together ſo long as he did, "*Ah!* *Ye good People* (would he often ſay) *You have* "*Crowned me your King; therefore help me now to keep what your ſelves have given* "*me, and ſwore to preſerve unto me.* And by theſe and other ſuch Words as he ſpake, he inſpired many with an unuſual Courage, and made them ſtay and die in the Field, becauſe they could not for ſhame leave the place in his Sight.

Sr. *Bertram* [b] of *Clequins* Battail fought the beſt, and held the longeſt together entire; for there were many noble and expert Knights and Gentlemen, who behaved themſelves with all the Courage imaginable. And on the *Engliſh* ſide eſpecially, the Lord *John Chandos* gave pregnant Inſtances of his Perſonal Valour and Conduct; for that Day he guided and menag'd the young Duke of *Lancaſter*, as he had done the Prince at the Battle of *Poictiers*, and the Duke of *Bretagne* lately at the Fight before *Auray*;

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 238. *f.* 139. *b.*

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ray; in all which Cases he ought to be highly renowned. And all that Day he had no care of taking any Prisoners with his own hands, but he still fought and pressed forward toward the main Point: And yet by his Men, and under his Banner were taken many good Lords, Knights and Esquires both of *Aragon* and *France*; especially Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* himself, with whom fell the Hope of that Battail, and the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan* Marshal of *France*, the Beague of *Villaine*, and above Threescore more Prisoners of note. Among others the Earl of *Denia* in *Valencia* [c] was taken by the hands of *Robert Hawley* and *John Shakel*, two Esquires of the Lord *Chandos* his Retinue, the Story whereof with the ill Consequences ensuing thereupon, and the Murther of Esquire *Hawley*, and the Earl of *Denia's* Son's wonderfull Fidelity to his Master Esquire *Shakel*, with whom he was then left a Pledge for his Fathers Ransome: All this is well worth the Relating, but because those Tragical Matters happen'd not till after King *Edwards* Death, and also is something over-long to tell, it cannot by the Rules of History be properly inserted in this Place; wherefore now We return again to the Matter in hand.

[c] *Vid. Walsh hist. in* Ricard. 2. p. 216. *Weevers Fun. Monum. p.* 438. *M.S. Ret. Parl.* 160. *& Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgm. p.* 157.

So then at last this strong Battail of Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* was by fine Force open'd and discomfited, and all that were therein taken and slain, as well the *Frenchmen* as *Aragonians* and Others. There was slain the Beague of *Villiers*, and many Hundreds with him, and taken beside those aforemention'd, the Lord *Dantoign* of *Hainalt*, the Lord of *Brusnel*, Sr. *Guy Bailleul*, Sr. *John* of *Bergues*, Sr. *Almain* of *St. Venant* and divers Others of Prime Note.

And this Battail being thus utterly overthrown, the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *John Chandos*, and the two Marshals rally'd their Men together under the Banner of St. *George*, and then went freshly to succour the Prince of *Wales*, and fell in on one side upon the Battail of *Henry*, crying out all together with an High and terrible Voice, St. *George*, *Guienne*! Then the *Spaniards* and their Associates, who even before contended but faintly, could no longer endure, but began to give ground, and open apace. But We must say something of what was done in this Battail, before the coming of the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Marshals. The Captal of *Busche* and the Lord *Clysson* fought on their part with excessive Fury; the same did the Lord *Eustace Dambreticourt*, Sr. *John Devereux*, the *Soldiche* of *Estarrac*, and others. But the Prince of *Wales*, especially behav'd himself Worthy of his Name and Character, encouraging and directing his Men, and performing the Office both of a good Souldier, and of an Accomplisht Captain. He was always in the heat of Action, and whereever the greatest stress of the Matter lay thither he constantly moved, carrying along with him Assurance to his Friends, and Terror to his Enemies. King *Henry* for his part acquitted himself with much Honour, and rallied, and brought back his Men (as we observ'd) three times that day. For upon the first flight of the Earl of *Sancelloni* with 3000 Horse, who followed him, the other *Spaniards* were so disheartned, that it required all the Care in the World to keep them firm together; wherefore King *Henry* was always ready, now here, and now there, saying, "*My Lords, what is it You intend to do? Why will You* "*thus forsake and betray me, whom You have made your King, and set the Crown on my* "*Head, and put the Inheritance of* Castille *into the Hands of me and my Heirs? Re-* "*turn back with Courage, and help vigorously to defend me but a while, and do but stand* "*still by me; and by the Grace of God and St.* Jago *before Night all will be ours.* These Words held the Chief Lords of *Spain* in the Field a long while, for they durst not flee for shame, when they saw their Lord the King fight so Valiantly, and speak so effectually; so that there died some thousands, that might have escaped early enough, if a sense of Honour, and the Loyalty they bare to their King, had not staid them in the Field to their destruction. But now when the Marshals Battail, and the Duke of *Lancaster* with the Lord *Chandos*, had thus reinforced the Prince of *Wales*, the *Spaniards* began apparently to be discomfited, and to fly away in great Disorder towards *Najara*, and would no longer hear, whatever King *Henry* could say unto them. Wherefore he also, beholding all his hopes ruin'd, call'd for his Gennet, mounted immediately, and put himself among them that fled; thô he took not the direct way to *Najara*, for fear of being besieged therein; but towards *Forizillo*, and so to *Calahorra*, from whence he made his Escape into *Aragon*: For he knew, if he were taken, he should die without Mercy.

XIII. Then the *Englishmen* and *Gascogners* leap'd on their Horses, and began to chace the *Spaniards*, who were flying away in an horrible fright and confusion toward the Great River; but at the Passage of the Bridge of *Najara* there was a terrible Effusion of Blood, and many a Man slain with the Sword, and more drown'd; for divers of them leap'd

leap'd into the Water, which was deep and rapid, rather committing themſelves to that ſevere Element, than to the Diſcretion of the Conquerour. Among others that fled, there were two Valiant Knights of *Spain*, bearing on them the Sign of the Croſs, as a Badge of their Religious Deſign againſt the Infidels; however now they came to miſtake and engage in a Traytrous War againſt their Lawfull Sovereign *Don Pedro*. Theſe two were the Grand Prior of St. *Jago*, and the Grand Maſter of *Calatrava*; who together with moſt of their Retinue had got into *Najara*, but they were ſo cloſely follow'd at the Heels by the *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners*, that the Bridge was won againſt them, and a great ſlaughter enſued. The *Engliſh* enter'd the City with them pell-mell, and preſently fell to Aſſault a ſtrong houſe, into which the two foreſaid Knights were entred: But the Place was carried by force, the two Grandees taken Priſoners, and moſt of their Men ſlain; and then was all the City overrun and plunder'd, to the great Advantage of the Conquerour. Here King *Henry's* Lodgings were taken, wherein they found ineſtimable Riches of Jewels, and Veſſels of Gold and Silver: For he came thither in great Pomp and Majeſty; but upon the Diſcomfiture had no leiſure to return thither again, to ſave what he had left there. So this was a grievous and lamentable Diſcomfiture indeed, eſpecially toward the River, where many Thouſands were ſlain and drown'd; inſomuch that (as [d] it was reported afterward by ſome, who were then preſent) One might have ſeen the Water of the River, which ran by *Najara*, to be red [e] for the ſpace of a Mile together, with the Blood of Men and Horſes there ſlain. This Battle was thus fought between *Najara* and *Navaret*, in the Province of *Rioxa* in Old *Caſtille*, on the Third day of *April*, being a *Saturday* in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXVII.

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[d] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[e] *Walſing. hiſt.* p. 176. n. 30.

XIV. When the Fight was ended, namely about Noon, the Prince of *Wales* cauſed his Banner to be raiſed High on a Buſh, ſtanding on a little Hill, thereby to direct his Men thither in their return from the Chace. And thither by and by came *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *John Greilly*, Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*, and many other Barons, who reared up their Banners orderly about the Prince's, to draw their ſeveral Troops to their Reſpective places; and ſtill, as they came back, they ranged themſelves orderly in the Field. Thither came *James* King of *Majorica*, who pitch'd up his Banner before him, to which his Troops reſorted, and hard by him was Sr. *Martin Carre*, with the Banner of his Lord the King of *Navarre*, and many other Earls and Barons in like manner, who made a goodly ſhew with their Rich and Embroidered Streamers in the Field. Thither alſo came at laſt King *Don Pedro*, very much chafed with his labour in the Fight and the Chace, riding on a great Black Courſer, and his Banner beaten with the Arms of *Caſtille* and *Leon* before him, which are Quarterly *Gules*, a Caſtle *Or*, and *Argent*, a Lion Rampant *Purpure*, Crowned *Or*. As ſoon as he beheld the Prince's Banner, he alighted from his Horſe, and went thitherward; but when the Prince ſaw him coming, he haſted forward, and met him, ſhewing great Reſpect and Honour unto him. There King *Don Pedro* would have kneeled down in Gratitude to have thanked the Prince, but the Prince ran haſtily to prevent it, and catch'd him by the hand, not permitting him by any means to kneel. Then the King ſaid in the humbleſt Manner he could expreſs, "*Dear and Fair Couſin, I ought to give* "*You both many Thanks and Praiſes for this proſperous adventure, which I have obtained* "*by your means.* "*Sir* (ſaid the Prince) *Pay your Thanks to God Almighty, and give* "*him all the Praiſe: For by him alone, and not by me, have You obtain'd this Victory.* Then the Prince aſſembled the Lords of his Council, with whom he held ſome debate concerning the Preſent Emergencies; during which time all his Men were return'd from the Chace. At the ſame time the Prince ſent Four Knights and Four Heralds to go and view the Field, and to enquire out the Number of the ſlain, and to ſee whether King *Henry*, whom they called the Baſtard, was among the Dead or no. And then the Prince and his Lords went to the Lodgings of King *Henry*, and his Men to the Camp of the *Spaniards*, where they found good and eaſie repoſe, and ſufficient of all manner of Proviſion. That *Saturday* they went to ſupper early, and took their repaſt with great joy and delight, and after ſupper the Knights and Heralds, that had been to viſit the Field, returned to the Prince, and made their report of the ſlain, namely, "that of their Enemies there were found Dead in the Field above [f] 5600 Nobles and Men of Name, "and in the Chace 3000 more, not reckoning the Common Souldiers, beſides thoſe "that were taken Priſoners, and thoſe who were drown'd and loſt in the River, whoſe "Number could not be known. But that of their own Company there were Dead "but Four Knights, whereof two were *Gaſcogners*, one a *German*, and the Fourth an "*Engliſh-*

[f] *Knighton p.* 2629. *n.* 20. *collat. cum Froiſs. &c.*

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"*Engliſhman*, and of other Common Souldiers of the Prince's Army not above Fourty: "But that they could not find the Body of the Baſtard *Henry*, whereat King *Don Pe-* "*dro* was exceeding ſorry. And it is to be remembred, that beſides thoſe that fell that day on the Baſtards ſide, [g] there were taken Priſoners of Lords and Knights to the Number of 2090; whereof about 200 were of *France*, and not a few were *Scotch-men*. So that *Saturday* Night the *Engliſh* took their Repoſe, and refreſhed themſelves at their Enemies Coſt; for there was enough of all ſorts of Proviſion ready for them, and they kept the Field in the ſame Manner all the next day, [h] which was the *Sunday* before *Palm-Sunday*.

[g] M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c. 233.

[h] Paſch. 18. *April* Lit. Dom. C.

XV. On the *Sunday* Morning, when the Prince of *Wales* was up and ready, he iſſued out of his Pavilion, and then there came to ſalute him his Brother the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*, the Lord *John Chandos*, the Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord of *Pamiers*, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, the King of *Majorica*, and all the Chief Lords of the Army, and preſently after came thither King *Don Pedro* to viſit the Prince, by whom he was received with much Honour and Reſpect. After Salutations given and taken, King *Don Pedro* ſpake thus to the Prince, "*Dear and* "*Fair Couſin, I heartily pray and requeſt You, that You will pleaſe to deliver into my* "*Hands the falſe Traytors of my Country, as my Baſtard Brother the Earl of* Sancel- "loni, *and ſuch others, Your Priſoners, whom I ſhall cauſe to loſe their Heads, according* "*to their Demerits.* The Prince of *Wales*, who had well conſidered this point, anſwer'd and ſaid, "*Sir King, I alſo requeſt of You one thing upon the Account of our* "*Friendſhip and Alliance, which I hope You will not deny me.* The King, who could not for ſhame refuſe any thing to him, by whom he had recover'd all he had, ſaid, "*Dear Couſin, all that I have is yours; wherefore I freely and abſolutely grant, whatſoe-* "*ver it ſhall pleaſe You to deſire. Sir* (continued the Prince) *then I requeſt you to give* "*a general* Amneſty *and Pardon to all your Subjects of what condition ſoever, who have* "*at any time rebelled againſt You untill this day: By which gracious Dealing You will* "*remain hereafter in better reſt and Peace among Your People, and be more heartily lo-* "*ved, and more faithfully ſerved by them, in caſe of any Neceſſity. But We our ſelves* "*except from this favour that Arch-Rebel* William Garilz: *For of that Ungratefull and* "*Diſloyal Wretch, I am content You make an Example.* King *Don Pedro* granted the Prince's deſire, thô much againſt his Inclination; for he durſt not for ſhame ſhew any difficulty in complying with the Deſires of One, to whom he was ſo much obliged; and ſo he ſaid, "*Fair Couſin, I yield to Your pleaſure with all my heart.* Then all the Priſoners were ſent for, and the Prince reconciled them to the King, their Lord, and cauſed him to forgive all his Ill-will to his Brother, the Earl of *Sancelloni*, and to all the Reſt: On condition they ſhould enter Covenant and ſwear unto him Fealty, Homage, and all Loyal ſervice, to hold truly of him for ever, and to become his Liegemen, and to acknowledge him for their only Rightfull Lord and King for the Future.

XVI. This Courteſie, with many others, did this Gallant Prince unto King *Don Pedro*, all which were but ſlightly remembred, as we ſhall ſee ſhortly; and ſurely it was not a ſmall kindneſs, that Prince *Edward* at the ſame time ſhew'd to thoſe Barons of *Spain*, his Priſoners; for without his Interceſſion on their behalf, King *Don Pedro* had put them every Mothers Son to Death without Mercy. As he ſerved Sr. *William Garilz*, whom he ſo bitterly hated, that he would accept of no Ranſom for his Life; but cauſed his Head to be ſtricken off before his Tent Door. This done King *Pedro* Mounted his Horſe, together with his Brother, the Earl of *Sancelloni*, and all his New-pardon'd Subjects, having the *Engliſh* Marſhals, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, and Sr. *Stephen Coſſington*, with 500 Men of Arms in his Company, and ſo left the Prince, and rode to *Burgos*, the Chief City of Old *Caſtille*. On the *Monday* Morning *Don Pedro* came thither, and the Citizens, who had been well informed how Matters went at *Najara*, and that King *Henry* was utterly routed, durſt not pretend to hold out againſt him; but ſeveral of the Wealthieſt, and the moſt Honourable in the City came forth humbly to meet him, and preſented unto him the Keys of the Town, as unto their Rightfull Lord and Sovereign; and ſo convey'd him and all his Men with great Solemnity and Triumph into the City. The mean while Prince *Edward* kept his Field all that *Sunday*, and on the *Monday* after Evenſong he decamped thence, and went and Lodged at *Belorado*, where he tarried that Night, and the next day, and on the *Wedneſday* marched with all his Army to the City of *Burgos*. The Prince enter'd the Town in great Triumph, being attended with the King of *Majorica*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all the Great Lords of his Hoſt; but the Chief part of their Men ſet up their Tents without

out the Town, for 'twas not possible to Lodge them all with any Convenience within; and it was thought too great a Temptation for Men of War, especially since the Companions were there, to admit them into so Rich and Wealthy a Place, as that was. AN. DOM. 1367. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLI.

When the *Black-Prince* was settled in his Lodgings appointed for him, he gave forth his Summons, and Determin'd Judgements concerning Arms, and all things thereto belonging, and there he kept Field and Wage of Battle: So that it might well be said, how all *Spain* was then reduced into his Hands, and under his Obedience. In this City of *Burgos* Prince *Edward* and King *Don Pedro* held their *Easter* with great Solemnity, and tarried there more than three Weeks, the rather to give time to all *Don Pedro's* Subjects to come in of their own accord, and to make their Submissions, before they were compelled thereto. Accordingly on *Easter-day*, there came thither, the Representatives of *Astorga*, of *Toledo*, of *Leon*, of *Corduba*, and of all the Realms of *Castille* and *Leon*, of *Galizia*, *Asturie*, *Algarria*, *Biscaye*, and whatever else had been subject to King *Don Pedro* aforetime, even unto the utmost Marches and Limitations of the Realm of *Castille*; all these sent in their humble *Addresses*, and made Homage to King *Don Pedro*, promising him true Faith and Loyalty for ever. These Commissioners were all glad to Behold the Prince of *Wales* and *Don Hernando del Casteres*; the One so Renowned for his Valour, and the other for his unexampled Loyalty to his Master. So at *Burgos* there was nothing but Joy and Triumph, and many Royal and Magnificent Feasts and Entertainments passed among them, and all the Land came in voluntarily, and renewed their Allegiance to their Lord and King.

XVII. Now therefore, when the Prince had, as we said, tarried here something more than three Weeks, and saw that *Don Pedro* was generally own'd by all his Subjects, being peaceably and unanimously accepted as their True and Lawfull King, and that there were none who rebell'd or held out against him; then he spake these Words unto "him, "*Sir, Blessed be God, You are now again peaceably established King over this your* "*Realm without any Rebellion or Opposition: And Sir, I and my Men tarry here at our great* "*Charge and Expence: Wherefore I request you to provide Money to satisfie those, who* "*have holpen me to Reinstate you in your Throne, as well as to compleat your Promise,* "*to which you have sworn, and set your Hand and Seal. And Sir, the sooner this is done, the* "*more acceptable will it be to Us, and the more also to your Advantage. For you can-* "*not be ignorant that Men of War, if they are not paid, will make bold to pay them-* "*selves. Sir, We call not your Justice in question, but only put you in Mind, that at* "*this time there are many Souldiers of Fortune among us; and as it will be your Dis-* "*cretion to satisfie them, so will it be just and equitable to be punctual in your Word to* "*all, who have been assistant to you in this Enterprise.* To this the King answer'd, "*Fair Cousin, We are firmly resolv'd to hold, keep and perform to our power, what We* "*have sworn and sealed to: But truly Sir, as for the present We have no sufficient* "*Quantity of Money ready at hand: However now we intend to take our Progress toward* "*the Marches of* Sevil, *where we will make such provision of Gold and Silver, as to be* "*able to satisfie all Men. Onely Sir, We desire you to tarry here in* Valladolid "*where You will find a Plentifull Country, and surely We shall return unto You as* "*soon as We may conveniently, but at the furthest by Whitsuntide.* This Answer was nothing disagreeable to the Prince and his Council, who consider'd the hard Circumstances of that King; and so within a few Days after *Don Pedro* took his leave of Prince *Edward*, and rode toward *Sevil* the chief City of *Andaluzia*, with a Design to raise Money to pay off the Men of War as he had covenanted; and the Prince went and quarter'd in *Valladolid*, his Lords and Captains being spread abroad in the Country at large, the better to provide Victuals and other Necessaries for Themselves and their Horses. Thus they tarried in *Castilla Vieja*, not much to the advantage of the Country: For whatever strict Discipline the rest of the Army kept, the Companions could not for their Hearts forbear stealing, plundering and defrauding the People.

XVIII. The News presently spread abroad thrô *England*, *France*, *Germany* and other Countries far and near, how the Prince of *Wales* had discomfited in Battle King *Henry* and all his Power, having routed, taken, slain and drowned a well-Order'd and Royal Army, consisting of more than an 100000 Men; whereby the Prince was greatly renowned, and his Valour and Conduct highly extolled in all Places whither the fame flew, especially in the Empire and in *England*; for *France* had no cause to boast thereof. But the *Germans*, *Flemings* and *Englishmen* said, that the Prince of *Wales* was the very Fairest Flower of Knighthood, and that such a Prince was well worthy

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to govern all the World, ſince by his exalted Proweſs he had atchieved Three ſuch extraordinary Enterpriſes as he had done; *Firſt*, at the Battle of *Creſſey* in *Ponthieu*, where by Him the whole Power of *France* was broken, Two Kings ſlain, and a Third put to Flight: *Secondly*, at the Battle of *Poictiers* ten Years after, where again he overcame the whole Power of *France*, and took the King of the ſaid Realm Priſoner: And *Thirdly* now in *Spain* near *Najara*, where at one Blow he decided the Fate of a Kingdom.

XIX. But in *England* eſpecially were great Triumphs made, particularly in the *Kings-Chamber*, the City of *London*: Where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen celebrated the Memory of this Victory with great Solemnity and Triumphal Arches, in like manner, as they were formerly accuſtomed to do for their Kings, when they had obtain'd any notable Succeſs againſt their Enemies. But in the Realm of *France* there was a quite different Scene, repreſenting nothing but deep Diſpleaſure and unfeigned Sorrow; becauſe ſo many Gallant Knights of that Country were loſt in that Battle. And the taking of Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, and of the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan* and other *Frenchmen* Priſoners at that time, prov'd a great Corroſive to the minds of thoſe, who lov'd the Honour and Intereſt of *France*; for they were all Perſons of undoubted Worth, and therefore now their Condition was lamented, becauſe they were little better than Dead to their Friends, while thus buried in Captivity. Thô ſurely they were all kept with much Courteſie and Reſpect, and all of them ſhortly after put to eaſie Ranſoms, except only Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who ſtaid longer before he could be acquitted, becauſe the Lord *John Chandos*, who had him in Keeping, would not as yet deliver him for any Ranſome; and alſo Sr. *Bertram* did not much urge him to let him go.

XX. Now after the Battle of *Najara*, *Don Henry* the Baſtard eſcaped out of the Field, as We intimated before, from the reach of his Enemies, and having with much difficulty got his Wife and Children about him, went to the City of *Valencia*, where he found King *Pedro* of *Aragon*, his Godfather, Friend and Ally, and recounted unto him all his Evil Adventure with the Prince of *Wales*. Within a while after the *Aragonian* adviſed him to go to *Mompellier* to *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, and there to open his Caſe unto him, and this Advice the *Baſtard* was well pleaſed with, becauſe he knew the Duke of *Anjou* ſecretly maligned the Prince and all *Engliſhmen* in General. Having therefore committed his Wife and Children to the Protection of the King of *Aragon*, he took his leave and rode beyond *Narbonne*, the Firſt City of *France* on that ſide, from thence he rode to *Beſiers*, and ſo to *Mompellier* in *Languedoc*, where he found the Duke of *Anjou*, who made him heartily welcome: For he now lov'd him the more in deſpight of the *Engliſh* whom he naturally hated, thô as yet he had no manner of Pretence to make any War againſt them. When this Duke had fully heard all King *Henry's* loſſes, and the preſent ſtate of his Affairs, he comforted him to his Power, and while he tarried, entertain'd him very obligingly indeed. Shortly after *Don Henry* went to *Avignon* to viſit Pope *Urban* V, and to have ſome ſecret Conference with him; which done he return'd back again to *Mompellier* to the Duke of *Anjou*, between whom there was a long and cloſe Treaty held. And as it was then reported, and afterwards appeared to be manifeſt, at that time King *Henry* obtain'd of the Duke of *Anjou* a Fortreſs, bordering on the Principality of *Aquitain* called *Caſtle-Moron*, where he aſſembled together Companions and other Men of War, *Bretons* and Others, who had not gone into *Spain* with the Prince; ſo that preſently he got about 300 Men of Arms. However all this was not carried on ſo privately, but that News thereof came to the Princeſs, who was then at *Bourdeaux* with her two Sons; how the Baſtard of *Spain* was making himſelf ſtrong on all Hands with Deſign to invade the Principality and the Dutchy of *Guienne*, wherewith in the Abſence of the Prince her Husband, ſhe was much afrighted. But becauſe this New Enemy was then in the Dominions of *France*, and for ought ſhe knew with the *French* Kings Allowance, ſhe forthwith directed her Letters unto Him, demanding of him whether he would ſtand to any ſuch Matter, and requeſting him to be mindfull of the Peace, and by no means to allow the Baſtard of *Spain* to make War upon her Lands; for ſhe certified him, that ſince his Reſort was at that time unto the Court of *France*, and all his Support came from thence, if upon his Countenance the Baſtard ſhould begin a War, much Miſchief and many Inconveniences might enſue thereby. The King being alarum'd at this Complaint of the Princeſs, ſent immediatly to the Baſtard *Henry*, who was then in the Fortreſs of *Caſtle-moron* on the Frontiers of *Montauban*, and had begun to make War upon the Prince's Lands, commanding him forthwith to depart out of his Realm, and not preſume to make any War

from thence in the Dominions of his Dear Nephew the Prince of *Wales* and *Aquitaine*. And moreover the better to aw the reſt of his Subjects, that they ſhould not dare to take Part with the Baſtard *Henry*, he cauſed the Young Earl of *Auxerre* to be clapt up in Priſon in the Caſtle of the *Louvre* at *Paris*: Becauſe he was ſo great and familiar with the Baſtard, and had as was reported, engag'd to aſſiſt him with a conſiderable Number of Men of Arms: But for the preſent the *French* King ſpoil'd that Deſign. King *Henry* upon this peremptory Command from the King of *France* durſt not but obey, althô he could not lay down the Reſentments he had entertain'd againſt Prince *Edward*: Wherefore he forthwith left his Fortreſs of *Caſtlemoron* with 400 *Bretons* in his Company, the Chief Captains whereof were Sr. *Arnold de Limouſin*, Sr. *Geoffry de Ricons*, Sr. *Pontius Laquenette*, *Silveſter Budes*, *Eliot du Carbais*, *Alan du St. Pol*; and ſo marched over the Mountains, and entred into *Bigorre* a part of the Principality, where ſhortly after he took the Town of *Bagneres* by Scalado. At the News hereof the Princeſs was greatly ſtartled, and ſent forthwith againſt him the Valiant Lord *James Audley*, whom the Prince had left behind him as Chief Governour and Captain of *Aquitain*. But before his Coming the Baſtard of *Spain* with his *Bretons* had done much Miſchief in thoſe Parts, and his ſtrength encreaſed dayly; howbeit upon the Lord *Audley's* Approach he left all his little Conqueſts, not being able to do ſo much Miſchief as he deſired, but was forced to ſacrifice his Revengefull Humour to his own Preſervation.

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XXI. The mean while the Prince of *Wales*, who had layn with his Army in and about *Valladolid*, till the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt* in *June*, expecting the Return of King *Don Pedro*, or at leaſt an Anſwer from him, could notwithſtanding hear no News all this while, whereat he was extreamly diſpleaſed, and being worn out of all Patience, adviſed with his Council what Courſe to take. It was agreed, that he ſhould ſend two or three Knights unto him, to demand why he kept not the appointed Day; and ſo there were ſent Sr. *Nele Loring*, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon* and Sr. *Thomas Baniſter*, who rode forth till they came to *Sevil*, where they found King *Don Pedro*, and by him to all appearance were received very gratiouſly. But when they had declared their Meſſage, and the Buſineſs about which they were ſent by their Lord the Prince, he began to excuſe himſelf and ſaid, "*Surely Gentlemen, We are infinitely* "*diſpleaſed, that We cannot exactly keep the Promiſe, which we have made to our Coſen* "*the Prince, the Particulars whereof we have frequently declared to our Subjects in theſe* "*Parts, but they excuſe themſelves, and proteſt they are not able to raiſe ſuch conſide-* "*rable Sums of Money, while the Companions are abroad in this Land: By whom our Of-* "*ficers, whom we ſent to the Prince with Money, have been twice or thrice robbed of all* "*they had. Wherefore we deſire you to tell our Coſen from Us, that it is our Requeſt,* "*he would withdraw and convey out of our Realm his Men of War, and eſpecially thoſe* "*rude Souldiers called* Companions, *and leave behind him certain of his Knights, to* "*whom in his Name, we will moſt undoubtedly pay and deliver ſuch Sums of Money, as he* "*hath demanded of Us, according as We ſtand engaged unto him.* And ſo he again obliged himſelf unto the Prince, that within Four Months from that Time, he would moſt certainly [i] pay unto thoſe, whom he ſhould leave behind him for that Purpoſe, the one Moiety of the Wages due to the Souldiers for this Expedition, and the Remainder within one Year following. This being all that the Prince's Deputies could then obtain of him, they return'd to the Prince their Lord, and declared to Him and his Council what they had heard, ſeen and done. But now the Prince was more diſpleaſed than before, for he ſaw well, that *Don Pedro* was as Unjuſt, as by Report he had been Cruel, and failed in his Word moſt diſhonourably. Being thus but ill ſatisfied with theſe Unprincely Excuſes, [k] He demanded of his Council how to proceed, for he thought not now of forcing *Don Pedro* to be Juſt, becauſe his Men could hardly endure the Infectious Air of *Spain*; and He alſo Himſelf was not at that time very well. Wherefore his Lords adviſed Him to return home, as ſpeedily as he could, ſaying, "*That* "*indeed King* Don Pedro *had baſely diſappointed him to his utter Shame and Diſhonour*; "*but that ſince it was in vain to expect any longer any performance of his Promiſe, and that* "*his Men began daily to ſicken and to die, he had beſt leave the Tyrant to his own Con-* "*ſcience, and return home before Matters grew worſe, to prevent by his Preſence thoſe* "*Miſchiefs, which might ariſe from the Attempts of the Baſtard in his Principality.* This being reſolved, they then put to Ranſom the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan* Marſhal of *France*, the Beague of *Villain*, and divers other Knights and Eſquires of *France*, ſome whereof were exchanged for the Lord *Thomas Felton*, Sr. *Richard Cauſton*, Sr. *Hugh Haſtings*, and other *Engliſhmen* taken before the Battle by the Earl of *Sancel-*

[i] *Holinſh. Engl. Chron. p.* 974.

[k] *Froiſ. c.* 239. *f.* 142.

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loni, who being ſworn Priſoners, thô moſt of their Maſters were either kill'd, taken or routed, could not lawfully depart without Exchange or Ranſome. But as for the Earl of *Denia*, he could not for the preſent make up ſuch a Summ as was demanded; and Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* alſo abode ſtill a Priſoner, for the Princes Council told him, that if he ſhould be ſet free, he would ſtirr up againſt the King of *Spain* ſharper War than ever before; or however would preſently joyn the Baſtard, whom as then they heard to be in the County of *Bigorre*, and to have won the Town of *Bagneres*, whereby he had done much Miſchief in thoſe Parts. And the Lord *Chandos* told the Prince, that Sr. *Bertram* was ſo belov'd by all manner of Men of War, that it was not ſafe to let him go, till *Don Pedro* had paid what he ow'd the Prince, leſt he ſhould again embroil his Affairs as he had done before: On all which accounts Sr. *Bertram* could not obtain to be deliver'd at this time whatſoever Ranſom he offer'd; and ſo he was obliged to be content with his Condition.

Now while the Prince of *Wales* lay at *Valladolid*, which he did in all for about three Months, even the beſt part of that Summer, among many Hundreds others, *James* the young King of *Majorica* fell dangerouſly ill, and kept his Bed, ſo that when the Prince was ready to depart, he ſent the Lord *John Chandos* and Sr. *Hugh Calverley* unto him, to let him know, that he was juſt then upon taking his leave of *Spain*, and would be glad of his Company, as one whoſe Intereſt he had promiſed to embrace: Wherefore he ſhould be loth to leave him behind. The King of *Majorica* replied, that he thanked the Prince moſt heartily; but that as then he could not ride, nor endure to be carried, till it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore him to a better Degree of Health and Strength. Then they demanded if he was willing, that their Lord the Prince ſhould leave with him any Troops to wait on him, and to conduct him into *Aquitain*, when he ſhould be able to ride. "*Nay ſurely* (ſaid the King) *I ſhall never* "*put the Noble Prince to any ſuch unneceſſary trouble; for God alone knows, whether* "*ever I ſhall be able to ride or no.* So the *Engliſh* Knights took their leave, and returned and declared all this to the Prince, who ſaid, "*Well then be it as it ſhall* "*pleaſe God and him: For Neceſſity calls us away from this unfortunate Country.* And then he took the firſt Opportunity to march with all his Army, and went to the City called *Agreda*, and thereabout he reſted in the Vale of *Soria*, between *Aragon* and *Spain*, where he was fain to tarry a Month, becauſe he found certain Paſſages cloſed againſt him on the Borders of *Aragon*. And it was reported thrô the Army, that the King of *Navarre*, who was newly releaſed from his Impriſonment, had agreed with the Baſtard of *Spain* and the King of *Aragon*, to hinder the Prince's Return, thô there was no ſuch Matter, as it afterwards appeared. However as then the Prince was the more enclin'd to believe this Report, becauſe the King of *Navarre* came not unto him, thô he was at Liberty. Whereupon he began to treat with the King of *Aragon*, certain Commiſſioners on both ſides meeting on the Marches for that Purpoſe: Between whom it was at laſt concluded, that the King of *Aragon* ſhould open his Country, and permit the Prince and his Army to paſs thrô freely, they paying courteouſly for what they ſhould take up among his People. After this Agreement was eſtabliſhed, the King of *Navarre* and Sr. *Martin Carre* came unto the Prince, and then the King of *Navarre* ſeeing how Matters ſtood between the Prince and the King of *Aragon*, ſhew'd all the Reſpect and Honour imaginable to the Prince, and readily offer'd free Paſſage to him, and his Dear Brother the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all the Knights and Lords of *England* and of *Gaſcogne*, but by no means would he permit the *Companions* to take their way thrô *Navarre*; He ſaid he had had enough of them already. Then the Prince order'd the *Companions* to accept of his Agreement, which he had made with the King of *Aragon*, and to paſs thrô his Country; but as for Himſelf, becauſe he ſaw the Way thrô *Navarre* more commodious than the other, he choſe to go that Way, and was convey'd with the reſt of the Army quite thrô that Realm, even beyond the Paſſages of *Roncevaux*. From thence the Prince marched at his eaſe till he came to *Baionne*, where he was received with great joy, and tarried there four Days to refreſh Himſelf and his Men. Then he proceeded toward *Bourdeaux*, where he was received in Triumph, being alſo met and welcom'd Home by his Beautifull Princeſs, with her Eldeſt Son *Edward*, who was then about Three Years of Age. Here the Prince disbanded his Army, and ſent the Lords and Captains of *Gaſcogne* and others to their ſeveral Homes, having firſt declared his Obligations unto them, and promiſed to pay them every Man punctually, when he could raiſe Money enough, even thô King *Don Pedro* ſhould not keep Touch with Him: For He ſaid, "they ſhould ſuffer "no Loſs however, ſince they had ſerved him ſo well; and for his own Part *Honour* "*ſhould be his Reward.*

At the ſame time the *Companions* that went thrô *Aragon*, came into the Principality, where they had Quarters aſſigned them, till they ſhould be paid their Wages. AN. DOM. 1367.

XXII. King *Henry* the Baſtard this mean while, hearing of the Prince's Return, thought it no time for him to expect any Advantage in thoſe Parts, wherefore immediately he removed with all his Men into *Aragon*, and had his Recourſe to the King of that Realm, who loved him entirely, and made him extream welcome. There he tarried all that Winter, and renewed his former Alliance with that King, who promiſed to aid him in his War againſt the King, his Brother; and forthwith the *Bretons*, that were with *Don Henry*, as Sr. *Arnold de Limouſin*, Sr. *Geoffry de Ricons*, Sr. *Pontius Laquenet*, *Sylveſter Budes*, *Eliot du Carhais*, *Alan du St. Pol*, and the reſt of the Baſtards friends, had order to go to the Frontiers of *Spain*, and begin to make War on King *Henry's* behalf. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLI.

And thus have We ended this Great and laſt Expedition of the Prince of *Wales*, I ſay, his laſt: For whether God Almighty was diſpleaſed with him for aſſiſting ſo Wicked a Tyrant (thô We ſhew'd before what good Grounds he went upon) or whether the Sins of *England*, being now alſo ripe, began to call for Vengeance; from this time We may be bold to period the Happineſs of King *Edward's* Wonderfull Reign; For We ſhall find, that

[1] *Ex illo Fluere & retrò ſublapſa referri*
Spes Anglûm: *Fractæ Vires*; *Averſa Deûm Mens*

[1] *Virgil. Æn. l. 2. v. 169, &c.*

From thence the *Engliſh* Hopes did Ebb and fail;
Nor could their *Fortune*, or their *Arms* prevail.

From this time the ſwelling Tide of Proſperity was found to Ebb apace; the Prince of *Wales* begins to be ſick of an Incurable Diſeaſe; Prince *Lionel* is taken away in the Flower of his Age; Queen *Philippa* ſoon after dies; and King *Edward*, who hitherto was both Glorious and Fortunate, ſhall from this time be leſs Fortunate; thô not one jot the leſs Glorious. For We ſhall find, that never any Prince contended more bravely with Froward Fortune; nor ever was more Worthy to have ſucceeded ſtill.

XXIII. This Year [m] in the Month of *June*, there appeared in the Northern Sea a great Navy of *Danes*, who purpoſed to come into *England*, and overrun, rob, and ſlay, as their Anceſtors had done in the time of the *Saxon* Kings. But they were encountred and met with at Sea by a good Fleet of *Engliſh* Mariners, and other Valiant Men, who overthrew, and ſcatter'd them, and made them return inglorious into their own Country. But among others there was a Mighty and Strong Ship, called the *Denmark*, which being overſailed by the *Engliſhmen*, was taken and ſunk, and in her was found the High-Steward, and other Great Officers and Lords of *Denmark*, who being brought into *England*, were by Order from the King and Council caſt into Priſon. Shortly after there came certain *Daniſh* Deputies to negotiate for the Delivery of the foreſaid Lords of their Country, with their Goods; but receiving an anſwer no way pleaſing unto them, they return'd home again, having left behind them in their Inns, written on Scrolls and Walls, this threatning Verſe,

[m] *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. c. 232.

Yet ſhall Danes
Bring you [n] Wanes.

[n] Deſpair, or Loſs *ab* AS. *Wanian* to Diminiſh.

Which Rhymes being ſeen by an *Engliſh* Poet, he immediately wrote underneath them.

Here ſhall Danes
[o] Fett their * Wanes.

[o] *i.e.* Fetch, or find.
* Deſtruction.

XXIV. And now We ſhall cloſe cloſe up this Active Year, when We have firſt made mention of the Death of a Perſon, whoſe Memory ought not to be forgotten. This was *Don Pedro* Son of *Alphonſo* the *Brave*, King of *Portugal*, who for his love to Equity, obtain'd the Honourable Sirname of *The Juſticeer*. This Man, that [p] he might remove the Fuel of Contention, compell'd the Lawyers, Pleaders, and Proctors of his Kingdom to till the Land; thô he himſelf was a moſt ſtrict Obſerver and Maintainer of the Laws. He puniſhed two Forſworn Traytors, by cauſing the Heart of One to be thruſt out at his Breaſt, and of the other out at his Back; both which at his Command were torn in pieces. It is attributed unto him, as his Familiar ſaying, [q] "*that a Prince* "*did ſeem unworthy of the Name of a King, on what day he had done no Grace or Kind-neſs*

[p] Joſeph Teixera *de Origin. Regum* Portugalliæ.

[q] *Vid.* Marian. *l. 17. c. 9. & Odor. Rainald. ad hunc ann.* §. 19.

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nesse to any Body. He died this Year, having Reign'd Nine Years, as many Months, and Eight and Twenty Days, and left behind him his Son *Hernando*, or *Ferdinando*, who [r] soon after sent his Complement to the Pope, after the Custom of *Christian* Kings newly come to the Crown, and received an answer full of Good Counsel and Ghostly Admonitions.

[r] *Odor. Rainald.* ibid.

CHAPTER the THIRD.

The CONTENTS.

I. *Prince* Lionel *is married to the Lady* Violantis, *Daughter of* Galeacius, Duke of Milain; *with the Magnificence and Splendor of the Nuptials.* II. *He falls sick, his Testament, Death, and Burial.* III. *A Parliament at* Westminster. IV. *The Archbishop of* Canterbury *made Cardinal.* V. *A strange Relation of a Sea-Woman, taken in the* Zuyderzee. VI. *Sr.* Bertram *of* Clequin *by a pretty Conveyance obtains to be admitted to Ransom.* VII. *The Companions waiting for their pay, prove troublesome to the Principality. But at the Prince's Command, they depart and go into* France, *where they do much Mischief.* VIII. *The Prince to recruit his exhausted Stores, ordains a Tax throughout* Aquitain; *which occasions a Revolt of some Malecontents.*

I. IN the *Fourtieth* Year of King *Edward*, it may be remembred, how We spake of an Overture, made by *Galeacius* the second Duke of *Milain*, unto the said King, about a Match to be struck up between the Daughter of the said Duke and Prince *Lionel*, second Son living to the said King *Edward*. The Negotiation concerning this Affair had been carried on till this time, when all Conditions were fully adjusted on both sides; among which, these were not the least considerable: [a] That together with the Lady *Violantis*, Prince *Lionel* should receive 2000000 *Florens* of Gold, together with the Cities of *Mons Regalis*, or *Mondovi*, and *Alba Pompeia*, by the Name of a Dowry. I shall not here be particular in relating, how the two Brethren, Dukes of *Milain*, *Galeacius*, and *Bernabo*, recover'd from those troubles, whereunto *John* Marquess of *Monferrato*, had some Years before cast them. Nor shall I insist on the Eminent Worth and Military services, which Sr. *John Hawkwood*, an *English* Knight, performed for them in those their Wars, with such considerable Advantage, that Duke [b] *Bernabo* gave unto him the Lady *Donninia*, one of his Natural Daughters, in Marriage with a Portion of 1000000 *Florens* Let it suffice for this place, that the two Brethren Dukes, being assisted by this Valiant Knight Sr. *John Hawkwood*, began again to flourish in great Prosperity; which that they might the better preserve to their House and Family, it was thought fit to enter Affinity with King *Edward* of *England*, at that time by many Degrees the most Powerfull and Renowned of all the Princes in the World. And so when all things were fully adjusted, the Marriage [c] was concluded at *Windsor* on the 25 of *April*, at which time the King acquitted the Duke of *Milain* of 10000 Florens by him paid, in consideration of the said Treaty; and then with all speed the Prince made his Preparations to go over the Sea, and to consummate his Nuptials.

[a] *Paul. Jovius in* Galeacio II. *p.* 151.

[b] *Paul. Jovius in* Barnabâ *p.* 159.

[c] *Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p.* 220.

It is said, [d] that the two Dukes of *Milain*, the Marquess of *Monferrato*, the Dukes of *Venice*, *Mantua*, and *Florence*, the Lords of *Genua*, *Pisa*, and other chief Princes of *Italy*, had with the unanimous Consent of the whole Senate of *Rome*, sent their Ambassadors to King *Edward* before this, to assure him, that upon this Marriage of his Son, Prince *Lionel*, with the Duke of *Milain's* Daughter, all the Princes and States of *Italy*, should own him for their Lord, and by their joynt Interest at last raise him to the Title and Dignity of Emperour. For besides the Reputation of the King, his Father's Glory, he himself was generally fam'd and extoll'd for one of the most Accomplish'd Personages in the World. Of Stature he was beyond the Ordinary Proportion of Men; Tall and streight as a Palm-Tree, exceeding Well-set, Shap'd and Featur'd; in his Chamber Modest and Gentle, as a Virgin; Affable, Sweet, and Pleasant in Conversa-

[d] *Joh. Harding c.* 186. *fol.* 186.

verſation; but Bold and Fierce, as a Lion, in the Field. So that for all Accompliſhments of Mind and Body, he had not his Fellow in all *England*, except only his Elder Brother, the Prince of *Wales*, than whom he was yet eight Years younger, being now in the very Flower of Manhood, in the Thirtieth Year of his Age. AN. DOM. 1368. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLII.

Thus about the latter end of *April*, the Lord *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, and Earl of *Ulſter*, Third Son (born, but the *Second* living) of King *Edward* the Third, [e] departed out of *England* with a Princely Equipage, and ſet ſail for *France*, being received at *Boulogne* by ſeveral Perſons of the Higheſt Quality, and by them conducted to *Paris*. At ſome diſtance from the City, he was met by the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, and the Lord *Ingleram* of *Coucy*, Earl of *Bedford*, his Brother-in-Law, who convey'd him to the *Louvre*, to the Preſence of the King of *France*, his Lodgings being provided in the Kings own Palace. The firſt day he din'd and ſupp'd with the King at his own Table, the next day he dined with the Queen at another of the Kings Houſes near St. *Paul*; and having danced after dinner with the Ladies, and paſſed his time in ſuch Amorous Gallantries and Recreations, as young Princes uſually divert themſelves with, in preſence of that agreeable Sex, he was again by the two foreſaid Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* conducted back to the *Louvre*, where he ſupped with the King that Night alſo. On the day following, the two Dukes entertain'd him in like Manner, at One of their Houſes, named *Artois* in *Paris*; and the Day after he dined and ſupp'd again with the Queen; and on the next Day, being a *Thurſday*, he took his leave of the King and Queen, who gave unto him, and to the Chief of the *Engliſh* Lords in his Company, ſundry Gifts, to the Value of 20000 *Florens*. And ſo he was convey'd as far as *Sens* in *Champaigne*, by the Earl of *Tancarville*, and other Noblemen; and from thence, to the utmoſt Bounds of *France*, by Knights and Gentlemen of that Kingdom; to whom at parting he gave ſeveral Rich Gifts with many thanks. Having thus paſſed thrô *France*, he came into *Savoy*, where he was very kindly received at the City of *Chambery*, by the Generous Earl of *Savoy*, whoſe Siſter the Lady *Blanch* was Wife to *Galeas*, Duke of *Milain*, and Mother to the Lady *Violantis*, Prince *Lionel's* Eſpouſed Lady. Having tarried there three Days, which were all ſpent in Magnificent Entertainments, Balls, and Dancing with the Ladies and Gentlewomen, he took his leave and began to ſet forward, the Earl himſelf bearing him Company to *Milain*: Where he ſaw his Niece, Daughter to Duke *Galeas*, given in Marriage unto Prince *Lionel* in the Famous Cathedral of *Milain*, on the 29 Day of *May*, [f] being a *Monday*, and the next day after the Feſtival of the Holy Trinity, in the Year of our Lord, MCCCLXVIII. Duke *Galeas* in Honour of this his Son-in-Law [g] is ſaid to have ſpent ſuch abundance of Treaſure, as ſeem'd to ſurpaſs the Magnificence of the moſt Wealthy Monarchs. For not to mention all the Sumptuous Feaſts, Balls, Juſts, and Tourneaments, and other ſtately and divertive Spectacles, ſet forth on this occaſion; nor to ſumm up the great and large Gifts, which were given to the Lord *Edward Spencer*, and more than 200 other *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who came out of *England* to wait on the Prince; the Marriage Feaſt alone was ſo extraordinary, that We may by that Conjecture the Largeneſs of Duke *Galeas* his Soul, the full ſatisfaction he had in this Match, and the Abundance of his Coffers. For in that One Feaſt, where *Francis Petrarch*, the Laureate Poet of *Italy*, was preſent, being for Honour of his Learning ſeated among the Gueſts of the Higheſt Quality, there were above 30 Courſes of ſervice upon the Table, and between every Courſe, as many Preſents of unuſual Magnificence, intermixed; all which *John Galeas*, the Duke's Son, and Prince of the Choſen Youth, that waited that day, preſented unto Prince *Lionel*, as they were brought up to the Table. In one Courſe were preſented Seventy Good Horſes, richly Adorned and Caparizon'd with Silk and Embroider'd Furniture; and in the other Courſes, came up Veſſels of Silver, Ger-Falcons, Hounds, Armour for Horſes, Coſtly Coats of Mail, ſhining Breaſtplates of Maſſy Steel, Corſlets, Helmets, and Burganets adorned with High and Rich Creſts and Plumes; Surcoats embroider'd with coſtly Jewels, Knights Girdles, and laſtly, Pictures of Gold, beſet with Gems, and Purple and Cloth of Gold for Mens Apparel in Great Abundance. And ſuch vaſt Proviſion was there at this Feaſt, that the Meats, which were brought from the Table, would have plentifully ſufficed 10000 Men.

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 239. *fol.* 143. *Fabian p.* 250. *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 233.

[f] Lit. Dom. B. A. Paſch. 9. *April.*

[g] *Paul. Jovius in* Galeatio 2do *p.* 152. & *ex eo Stow p.* 267. & *Sandford p.* 220.

II. But while the Accompliſhed Young Prince lived with his New Lady, after the Manner of his own Country, in continual Sports and Revellings, beſides the more boiſtrous Exerciſe of Tourneaments, as forgetting or not regarding his Change of Air, and what Diet was moſt proper for the *Italian* Clime, within Five Months after his Marriage, he fell into a grievous Sickneſs in the City of *Alba Pompeia*, now called *Longeville* in *Italy*, in the Marquiſate of *Monferrato* in *Piedmont*, in the Houſe of his Father in

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in Law the Duke of *Milain*. Whereupon perceiving his Diſeaſe to be Mortal, by [h] his Teſtament, bearing Date there, upon the Third of *October* 1368, he bequeathed his Body to be buried in *England*, in the Convent Church of the *Auguſtine*-Fryars, at *Clare* in *Suffolk*, before the High-Altar; and gave thereto a Black-ſuit with all the Appurtenances, as alſo his Black Cloth Embroider'd. To his Lady *Violantis*, He bequeathed his Veſtment with Gold Coronets, and all that belonged thereto; *Item*, to Sr. *John Bromwick* Knight, his Courſer, called *Ger-Falcon*; to Dr. *John Capell*, his Chaplain, a Girdle of ſolid Gold, therewith to make a Chalice in Memory of his Soul; to *Thomas Waleis* the Circle of Gold, wherewith his Brother, the *Black-Prince*, was created Prince; and to *Edmund More* the Circle, wherewith he himſelf had been created Duke; that we may paſs over the many other Great Legacies, which he gave to the Lord *Edward Spencer*, *Thomas Newborne* Eſquire, and others, then attending him in *Italy*. And ſo, being at that time [i] One of the Companions of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, he finally departed this Life [k] on the Vigil of St. *Luke* the *Evangeliſt*, being a *Tueſday*, and the 17 day of *October*, the ſame Year, not without ſuſpicion of being * poiſoned, by ſome ſubtle *Italian* trick, to prevent that Glory, which perhaps ſome Envy'd, that he ſhould attain. He left behind him only One Daughter, his Heir, by *Elizabeth*, his Firſt Wife, called *Philippa*, then but [l] 13 Years of Age, and ſoon after given in Marriage to *Edmund Mortimer*, the Third Earl of *March*, of that Great Family; from whom by the Mothers ſide came *Edward* the IV. Thô for the preſent he was depoſited in the Chief Church of *Pavia*, a City of *Milain*, yet ſoon after, according to his Teſtament, his Body was brought over into *England* by *Thomas Newborne* Eſquire, and others of his Domeſticks, and interred in the ſaid Church of the *Auguſtine*-Fryars, at *Clare* aforeſaid, near unto the Body of his Firſt Wife, *Elizabeth de Burgh*. But the Lord *Edward Spencer*, who doubted ſome foul play had been uſed towards him, tarried ſtill in *Italy*, and together with Sr. *John Hawkwood*, and his *Engliſhmen*, called the *White-Company*, * made fierce War upon the Dukes of *Milain*, in Revenge of his Maſters Death; till at laſt he was fully ſatisfied of their Innocence as to that point, and their great and unfeigned ſorrow for the untimely loſs of ſo Noble a Kinſman.

[h] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 167. & Sandford p. 221.*

[i] Vid. *Aſhmole's* Garter, &c.
[k] *Sandford & Dugd. ex Eſcaet. 43. Ed. 3. p. 1. n. 23, &c.*
* *Knighton p. 2629. n. 50.*
[l] *Sandford p. 222.*

* *Walſingh. Hypod. p. 131. n. 23 & Froiſ. c. 242. fol. 146.*

This was the firſt unkind Stroke of Fortune that ever King *Edward* felt, and that no ſmall one neither: But he bore it with ſuch Courage as might have obliged her (if that Fickle Goddeſs was to be won by Gallantry) to be more Reſpectfull unto Him for the future. Though generally ſhe is obſerved, when once ſhe grows Adverſe, to be much more extream in her Hate, than before ſhe had been in her Love.

The Young Lady *Violantis* tried indeed to taſt of Happineſs after this Loſs of her Firſt Husband, and was again [m] Married to *Otho Palæologus* Marqueſs of *Monferrato*: But ſhe did not long enjoy him neither, for he was ſtabb'd by the hands of a baſe Hoſtler on the Mountains of *Parma*.

[m] *Elias Reuſnerus* ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ *Genealogici Auctarium p. 196.*
[n] *M.S. Rot. Par. p. 100, &c. Sr. Rob. Cotton p. 105.*

III. Before theſe things fell out, namely on the [n] 24 of *February*, King *Edward* had iſſued forth his Summons for his Parliament to ſit at *Weſtminſter*, on the Firſt Day of *May* then next enſuing. On which Day being a *Monday*, Dr. *Simon Langham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, declared to the Lords and Commons then aſſembled in the *Painted-Chamber*, that it was His Majeſties Pleaſure to adjourn them to the *Thurſday* following. At which time the ſaid Arch-biſhop in Preſence of the King, Lords and Commons then all aſſembled in the ſaid *Painted-Chamber* declared, how the King yielded unto God Almighty his moſt hearty Thanks for having given him Victory over all his Enemies, alſo for the peaceable and flouriſhing Condition of his Realm, and for the great Loyalty of his Subjects, and their conſtant Readineſs to ſerve Him both in Body and Goods; all which Bleſſings as he deſired what in him lay to continue, or rather to encreaſe, ſo that he might the better ſucceed in that Reſolution, he had at this time called his Parliament to confer with them in Matters relating to the Premiſes. So the remainder of that Day was ſpent in appointing Receivers and Tryers of Petitions for *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Scotland* and *Gaſcogne*, with other Foreign Places and Iſles.

The next Day the ſaid Arch-biſhop declared, how after a long Treaty between the Kings Commiſſioners, and *David Bruce* (King) of *Scotland*, King *David* at laſt made this Offer, "*To preſerve a perpetual Peace with* England, *ſo that he might freely enjoy to* "*Him and his Heirs for ever, the whole Realm of* Scotland *in Fee, without any Subjection* "*or Vaſſalage, which might be accounted a perpetual Reproach to that Kingdom.* Of which Terms of Peace, the Lords and Commons being demanded their Advice, gave in their Anſwers ſeverally, that they could not aſſent to any ſuch Peace without Diſ-

herison of the King and his Crown, and to the great Danger of their own Souls, as who were sworn to uphold and maintain the same to their Power. AN. DOM. 1368.

After which the said Arch-bishop in the Kings Name gave thanks to the Three Estates for their ready Compliance in assisting the Kings Wants by their Aids and Subsidies, and shew'd them farther, how at that time the King stood in as great need of a Considerable Supply as ever. Whereupon the Lords and Commons granted unto the King for two Years of every Wooll-Pack 36 *s.* 8 *d.* for every Twelve Score of *Fells* as much, and of every Last of *Skins* 4 *l.* over and above the usual Custom of 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for every *Wooll-Pack*, and the same for every Twelve Score of *Fells*, and of 13 *s.* and 4 *d.* for every Last of *Skins*. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLII.

Then certain New Statutes were prepared, and made Law by the King, and certain Old ones explained and confirmed, as may be seen in the Printed Books referring to those Days, which for the most part agree exactly with the Records.

The *Londoners* by their Representatives desired, that no Foreigner should retail any Merchandise, as Wine, or any other Provision; but this was not granted. On the 21 of *May* the King gave Thanks to the Lords and Commons for their Coming and Aid granted, and that Day all the Lords and sundry of the Commons dined with the King. After which Dinner Sr. *John Leigh* was brought before the King, Lords and Commons, such as dined there, to answer certain Objections made against him; and first to the Complaint of *William Latimer* as followeth, *The King had granted the Wardship of* "Robert Latimer, *the Son and Heir of Sr.* Robert Latimer, *with certain Mannors du-* "*ring his Minority, to Dr.* Robert Wyvill *Bishop of* Sarum, *which Estate descending to* "*the said* William Latimer, *the King afterward granted to Sr.* John Leigh, *during the* "*said* William's *Minority. The said* William *surmised, that the said Sr.* John *being* "*then Steward of the Kings House, and of Power, sent for him to* London, *where by* "*dures of Imprisonment he compelled the said* William *to surrender his Estate up into his Hands.* But the same Sr. *John* by Recognisance excuseth himself, for that the Grant was made unto him; which was not allowed, for that the said *William* was not put out by due Process of Law. Another Matter was objected against the said Sr. *John*; forasmuch as during the time he was Steward of the Kings House, he should cause sundry Men to be attached, and to come before him, as before the Kings Council, in such Places as he pleased, where being out of Council he caused Men to answer as in Council. And that he as Steward, having Authority only within the Verge, did notwithstanding cause sundry to be attached out of the Verge, as *John Goddard* and Others, making them to answer in the *Marshalsea* for things done out of the Verge; and other some he had committed to the Tower of his own Authority, as *John Sibill, Edmund* [o] *Urdsalls* and others. That he had also of his own Head, against the Justices Command, discharged out of *Newgate Hugh Lavenham* Purveyor, who had appealed sundry Men of Felony. That he had bargain'd formerly with Sr. *Nicolas Lovaine* for the Keeping of the Mannor of *Raynham* in *Kent*, the which the said Sr. *Nicolas* claimed to hold, during the Minority of the Son and Heir of *John Staunton*; whereas the said Sr. *John Leigh* knew, that the said Mannor was holden of the King *in Capite*, as of the Castle of *Dover*.

[o] Urdsales, *Sr. Rob. Cotton.*

Of all which Points, because the said Sr. *John* could not purge himself he was commanded to the Tower of *London*, there to remain as Prisoner, untill he had paid Fine at the Kings Pleasure: And thereupon Command was given to Sr. *Alan Boxhull* Constable of the Tower, to keep him accordingly. And so the Lords and Commons departed. But after that the said Sr *John* being brought to *Westminster* before the Kings Council, and there examin'd concerning the Business of the said *William Latimer*, made Answer, that as freely as the King had granted to him the Wardship aforesaid, so freely did he surrender the same into the Kings Hands; whereupon it was order'd in Council, that the said Wardship should be reseised into the Kings Hands, and deliver'd unto the said *William Latimer*, according to the Grant made to the said Bishop of *Sarum*, and that all Recognisances and Conveyances made by the said *William* to the said Sr. *John* should be void, saving the Kings Right.

IV. Thus ended this Parliament, but it is to be observed, that Dr. *Simon Langham* [p] Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been both Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of *England*, and performed the part of King *Edwards* Spokesman in this Parliament, was on the 21 of *September* following by Pope *Urban* V. made Cardinal *titulo Sti. Sixti*; whereupon he resign'd his Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* and went to *Avignon*, where not long after he was made Bishop Cardinal of *Præneste* by Pope *Gregory* the Eleventh, and held divers Livings in *Commendum*, as the Archdeaconry and Treasurership of

[p] *Godw. Catal. Bish. p.* 143. & *Philpots Catal. Chancel. & Treasurers, &c.*

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Welles and others. There he lived in high Eſtimation for about Eight Years, at which time he died of a Palſie, wherewith he was ſuddenly taken as he ſat at Dinner. Of his Bounty, Magnificent Buildings and other Deeds of Liberality Biſhop *Godwin* makes mention; but what we have further to ſay of him, we ſhall defer till we come to relate his Death. In his Seat of *Canterbury* he was ſucceeded by Dr. *William Wittleſey*, a Man of great Parts and Learning for that Age.

[q] *Treaſury of Time, or Times Store-houſe p.* 721.

V. It is credibly reported, [q] that about this time, during a great Storm and an extraordinary high Tide, there was ſeen a Mermaid or Sea-woman ſwimming in the *Zuyderzee* between *Campen* and *Edam*: Who being taken and brought to *Edam*, after ſhe was well cleanſed from the Sea-moſs, which by her long Continuance in that Element had grown about her, was not only exactly like another Woman, but endured to be Apparell'd, and would feed on Meats as others did, tho' indeed ſhe ſought all Means to eſcape, and return again to her Watry Habitation, but ſhe was always prevented by thoſe who had the Care of her, and watch'd her very narrowly. She learn'd to ſpin and exerciſe ſeveral other Feminine Duties, being dayly ſeen by vaſt Numbers of People, many of whom gave undoubted Teſtimony of the Truth of the Matter, both deſcribing her Features, and atteſting, that ſhe lived 15 Years after ſhe was firſt taken, and was laſtly buried there in the Church-yard of *Edam*. If the Reader wants Faith to credit ſuch Matters, I entreat him to conſider, that an Hiſtorian is not obliged to gain an Infallible Aſſurance of all that he ſays; but however [r] that ſince ſo great and ſo wiſe Men have confirmed ſuch things unto Us, he who will not allow ſuch authentick and probable Teſtimonies, not only wants Faith, but perhaps Modeſty and Diſcretion alſo.

[r] *Vid. in* Peireskii *Vitâ à* Gaſſend. *conſcriptâ, &c.*

[ſ] *Froiſſ. c.* 239. *fol. a.*

VI. But to return to the Affairs of our Hiſtory --- Now it is to be remembred, that [ſ] when the Prince of *Wales* was come from *Spain* into *Gaſcogne*, and his Brother the Duke of *Lancaſter* was gone home into *England*; many of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Nobility were by the *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners* put to their Ranſome. But Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* remain'd ſtill a Priſoner with the Prince; and the Lord *John Chandos*, being not admitted to pay any Ranſome, which prov'd a great Trouble to *Henry* the Baſtard, becauſe he durſt not attempt any New thing againſt *Don Pedro*, till he ſhould have this his moſt conſiderable Friend at Liberty. But by chance there was offer'd an Occaſion of obtaining that, which Counſel and Money were not able to procure; for one Day among the reſt, the Prince, who us'd much Grace and Reſpect to all his Priſoners, ſent for Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* to diſcourſe with him. "*Sr.* Bertram, *How doth* "*your ſpirit Brook this Confinement? Sr. I thank God, very well: I was never at bet-*"*ter eaſe in all my Life. And it is reaſonable for me to think ſo, ſince I am in the* "*Hands of the moſt Generous Prince living, and made a Priſoner by the moſt Renow-*"*ned Knight in the World. Who is that,* ſaid the Prince? *Sir* (ſaid he) *that is Sr.* "John Chandos: *That is right* (replied the Prince) *therefore you may comfort your* "*ſelf for being taken, ſince it is no diſhonour to be conquer'd by a Gallant Man; but* "*what comfort have you now for being detain'd a Priſoner, when moſt of your Fellows* "*are put to Ranſom? O Sir* (quoth Sr. Bertram) *as to that matter I have this Com-*"*fort, namely, that it is reported in* France *and* Spain, *how you ſtand in ſuch fear of* "*me, that you dare not let me go, which muſt needs be a conſiderable Honour for ſo mean a* "*Knight as I am.* The Prince underſtood well to what end theſe ſubtle Words of Sr. *Bertram* tended, and he alſo remembred, that his whole Council had agreed by no means to let him have his Liberty, untill King *Don Pedro* had fully paid all thoſe Sums of Money, wherein he was bound; leſt Sr. *Bertram* ſhould again embroil the Matters of *Spain*, and put that King out of a capacity of Paying. But however he could not endure to be thought to ſtand in Fear of any one Living, and beſides he thought to ask ſuch a Ranſom as Sr. *Bertram* ſhould not eaſily be able to pay; wherefore he anſwer'd him thus--"*Then Sir, it ſeems you imagin, that We detain you here for doubt of your* "*Proweſs and Chevalry. But I would not have you think ſo, for I ſwear by St.* George, "*it is no ſuch matter. Do but pay Us for your Ranſom an* 100000 *Franks, and you* "*ſhall be deliver'd immediatly.* Sr. *Bertram*, who, whatever he pretended, deſired much in his mind to be at Liberty, hearing now on what Conditions he might go, took the Prince preſently at his Word, and ſaid, "*Sir, be it ſo in the Name of God; I'll pay no leſs a* "*Ranſome, and thank you for the honour of Rating me ſo high.* Then the Prince would willingly have retracted his Words, for he ſaw himſelf caught now, and that by his means *Don Pedro* might be either depoſed again, or put to Death before he had ſatisfied him; and beſides ſome of his Council came to him and told him, that he had not done well, ſo eaſily to put him to his Ranſom, and would fain have perſwa-

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ded him to revoke his Promiſe. But the Prince, who was a Perſon of much Honour and Equity, ſaid poſitively, "*Gentlemen, ſince We have agreed thereto, We will by no* "*means break our Word: And truly it would be a great Shame and Reproach to Us*, "*if We ſhould any longer refuſe to deliver him, ſince he is content to pay ſo conſide-* "*rable a Ranſom.* So after this Sr. *Bertram* had nothing to do, but to contrive how to raiſe the Money; and he minded his Buſineſs ſo well, that by the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King, of the Baſtard of *Spain*, of the Duke of *Anjou*, who loved him entirely, and of ſome other Friends, he made a Purſe of an 100000 Franks, or 10000 *l.* Sterling, all which he paid in leſs than a Months time, and ſo was quit of his Impriſonment, and went ſtraight with 2000 Fighting Men of *Provence* to ſerve the Duke of *Anjou*, who then held Siege before the City of *Taraſcon*, which at that time held of the King of *Majorica* and *Naples*, in Right of his Wife Queen *Joan*.

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VII. We have before declared at large the whole Manner of the Prince of *Wales* his Expedition into *Spain*, [t] and how at laſt he left that Country, not well contented with King *Don Pedro*, and returned home again into his Principality of *Aquitaine*. After him returned all manner of Men of War, who had attended him; for they ſaw it in vain to tarry any longer in *Caſtille*; becauſe *Don Pedro* did but ſhuffle with them, and on the other hand they had a firm Confidence in the Prince's Word. But when they were come back, the Prince had not wherewithall to pay them ſo readily, as he expected: For the Buſineſs of *Spain* had wonderfully exhauſted his Treaſures, even to a Miracle. However all the reſt went home, relying on the Prince's Promiſe; but the Companions tarried ſtill, being quarter'd in *Aquitaine*, where for their Lives they could not forbear robbing and plundering, being to the Number of 6000 Fighting Men; For the Prince had left the other 6000 in *Spain* under Sr. *Hugh Calverley*. When therefore the Prince heard the Complaints of his People, concerning theſe Companions, he ſent unto them, deſiring and commanding them to avoid his Dominions; for the Country was not able to bear them. Now their Captains and Leaders were all either *Engliſhmen*, or *Gaſcogners*, as Sr. *Robert Briquet*, Sr. *John Frevile*, Sr. *Robert Cheney*, Sr. *Galiard* of *Viguier*, the *Bourg* of *Bartuel*, the *Bourg* of *L'Eſparre*, *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, *Bernard de la Salle*, and many others, who neither durſt, nor would diſpleaſe the Prince; for they did not a little fear to provoke him; but they much more lov'd to oblige him: And therefore they took the firſt opportunity to leave *Aquitaine*, and paſſed forth into the Realm of *France*, which they had us'd to call *Their Chamber*, going over the River of *Loire* into *Champaigne*, and to the Biſhoprick of *Rheims*, and ſtill their Numbers encreaſed. And theſe Men ſought Adventures every where, as they went in *France*, and gat great ſtore of Plunder, and did much miſchief; complaints whereof came in daily to the *French* King and his Council, who were as yet unable to apply a Remedy; but the Commons of *France* wonder'd extreamly, that the Prince of *Wales* ſhould ſend Men to make War among them. However King *Charles* of *France* ſent preſently for the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, whom he made Chief Captain againſt theſe Companions; becauſe he was a Valiant Knight, and of good Conduct; wherefore alſo that Wiſe Prince held him in High Eſteem and Favour. About this time there was a Marriage ſtruck up between the Young Earl of *Albret*, and the Lady *Iſabell* of *Bourbon*; whereat the Prince of *Wales* was nothing pleaſed; for he had rather, that he had taken a Wife out of *England*. Wherefore he ſpake many High Words againſt him, till ſome of his Council began to appeaſe his Diſpleaſure, by ſaying, "that it was Natu- "ral for every Man to ſeek to raiſe his Fortune as well as he might, and that a Loy- "al Knight ought not to be blamed for exalting his own Honour and Profit by Marri- "age, or otherwiſe; if at the ſame time he did not forſake to ſerve his Prince, or Maſter, as "far as in Duty bound. Theſe and the like Words ſomewhat allay'd the Prince's Paſſion: But whatever appearance he made, he was not fully ſatisfy'd; for he verily believed that his Marriage would occaſion ſome Revolting from him, as indeed it fell out ſhortly after.

[t] *Froiſ. c.* 240.

VIII. While theſe Companions were thus troubling the Realm of *France*, [u] the Prince of *Wales* was adviſed by ſome of his Council, eſpecially the Biſhop of *Rodez*, who was at that time Chancellor of *Aquitaine*, to raiſe a *Foüage* or Tax upon Chimneys throughout all his Principality, thereby to enable himſelf to pay the Debts he had contracted by his late Expedition; and beſide the State, which the Prince and Princeſs kept, was ſo great, that in all *Chriſtendom* there was not the like again. So there was held a Parliament for raiſing this *Foüage* at *Niort*, to which were ſummon'd all the Barons of *Gaſcogne*, of *Poictou*, of *Saintogne*, and of divers other parts, even from all the Cities and Good Towns of *Aquitaine*. Before all whom the Biſhop of *Rodez* declared in Preſence of the Prince, how this *Foüage* was to be raiſed, and that

[u] *Froiſ. c.* 251.

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the Design of Raising it, was chiefly to enable the Prince, their Lord, to pay such summs of Money, as he ow'd upon the account of his *Spanish* Expedition; and that however it was the Prince's Mind, not to continue the said *Foüage* any longer, than for the space of Five Years to come: All which time, supposing * One *Frank* for every Chimney, the Prince would have a supply of 1200000 *Franks per annum*, if the Matter had been effectually put in Execution. But althô to this Ordinance the *Poictevins* readily agreed, as also did the Representatives of *Saintogne*, *Limosin*, *Rouvergue*, and *Rochelle*; yet divers others of the Marches of *Gascogne*, refused to concurr with them, as the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*, his Nephew, the Lord of *Conde*, the Lord of *Pincornet*, the Lord of *Cominges*, the Vicount of *Carmaine*, the Lord *de la Barde*, and divers other Barons; "who said, how heretofore, when they "served the *French* King, they were not then grieved nor oppressed with any Subsi- "dies or Innovations, and no more would they now, if they could help it; for they "said, their Lands and Seignories were free and exempt from all such Duties; and so "the Prince had sworn to keep and maintain them. But however the better to make fair Weather for the time, and to get off with more ease from this Parliament, they then only answer'd, how they would take further Advice, and so return again by such a day, as well Prelates, Bishops, and Abbots, as Barons, Knights, and others. This was all the Answer, that the Prince and his Council could have at that time, and so they brake up and left *Niort*, having received a Command from the Prince to return again thither by a Day Assigned.

* *Du Chesne p.* 699.

Thus the Barons and the Lords of *Gascogne* went home to their several Places, having first firmly agreed together, by no means to return to the Parliament appointed by the Prince, nor to suffer the *Foüage* to be raised in their Lands; but rather to rebell against Him. And shortly after the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*, the Lord of *Cominges*, the Vicount of *Carmaine*, and the rest of the Barons, Knights, and Esquires of those parts, went into *France*, and there put forth their Complaints, in the *French* Kings Chamber, in presence of the King and his Peers, of the Grievances, which the Prince of *Wales* would do unto them; adding, that in such Cases, their whole Resort and Appeal ought to be unto the King of *France*, as unto their only Sovereign Lord. Then the *French* King, who made some scruple to break the Peace, which had been so solemnly established between the two Realms, answer'd them with dissimulation enough, "Surely, Gentlemen, the Jurisdiction of our Inheritance, and of the Crown "of *France*, we will always preserve and augment to our Power: But we have sworn "to keep sundry Articles, contained in the Peace of *Bretigny*, all which I cannot per- "fectly remember: Wherefore We shall Inspect, and consider the Tenor of the Let- "ters, and as much as in us lies, We will do you Right, and shall be glad to recon- "cile You with the Prince, our Dear Nephew: For perhaps he is not well advised, "thus to deprive either You or your Vassals of their Customs and Franchises.

With this answer for the present they contented themselves, but tarried still with the King at *Paris*, resolving not to return to their own places, nor to the Prince's Parliament, wherewith the Prince was extreamly displeased; but for all that he proceeded in raising the Tax aforesaid.

The Lord *John Chandos*, who was the very Chief of his Council, always gave his Opinion against this *Foüage*, and now especially, foreseeing the Ill Consequences thereof, he would willingly have perswaded the Prince to remit it; but when he saw the Prince resolv'd upon it, to the intent, he might not incurr any reproach or blame in that business, he took his leave of the Prince, shewing for his Excuse, that he was desirous to go into *Normandy* to visit his Lands of St. *Saviour le Vicount*, whereof he was Lord, and had not been there of Three Years. The Prince granted his request, and so the Lord *Chandos* rode from *Poicton* into *Coutantine*, and tarried in the Fortress of St *Saviour* more than half a year, till the Prince's service call'd him forth to Action. And all the while the Prince proceeded with an high Hand in raising this *Foüage*, which if he had brought about, would have amounted (as we said before) to more than 1200000 Franks *per annum*, every Fire to pay a *Frank*, and the Rich to have born out the Poor.

CHAP-

CHAPTER the FOURTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. Don Henry *the Baſtard, underſtanding how the Prince's Affairs began to be embroiled, takes Heart and returns into* Spain *with an Army againſt his Brother* Don Pedro. *He finds the King of* Majorica *ſick at* Valladolid, *takes him Priſoner, and having received many Cities and Towns, goes and lies down before* Toledo. II. Don Pedro *goes haſtily againſt him with a great Army, but being met unawares is beaten, flies into the Caſtle of* Montiel *and is there cloſely beſieged.* III. *For want of Proviſion he is forced to ſeek an Eſcape, but being taken is ſoon after murder'd by the Baſtard's own Hands: the Baſtard reigns in his ſtead.* IV. *The Diſcontented* Gaſcogners *urge the* French *King to ſummon the Prince of* Wales *to anſwer unto their ſeveral Complaints in the Chamber of Peers.* V. *At laſt King* Charles *by the perſwaſions of his Council, under much Caution, venters to ſummon the Prince; and ſo the firſt ſeeds of War are caſt again.* William *of* Wickham *made Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *with ſome Obſervations concerning him.* VI. *The* Black-Prince *in the midſt of his Warlike Preparations, is taken with an unknown and incurable Diſtemper.* VII. *The* Gaſcogne *Lords begin the War againſt the Prince, who ſends the Lord* Chandos *to oppoſe them.* VIII. *The* French *King lulls King* Edward *into ſecurity by his ſubtle Negotiations, till being ready he might ſurpriſe* Ponthieu *before-hand: Whereto when things are ripe, he alſo ſends his Defiance to King* Edward. IX. *Hereupon King* Edward *ſends forthwith to ſecure* Ponthieu, *but all too late; the King of* France *had been there before him.* X. *King* Edward *having taken all the Care he could for* Scotland *and* Ireland, *calls a Parliament, wherein he reſumes the Title of* France, *changes his Seals, and obtains a Mighty Aid for his Wars.* XI. Edward *the* Black-Prince *creates the Valiant Lord* John de Greilly *Captal of* Buſche, *Earl of* Bigorre, *which Creation is afterwards confirmed by the King his Father.*

I. NOW [a] of the Affairs of Prince *Edward* and of *Aquitain*, were all the Kings his Neighbours well informed, eſpecially *Don Pedro* King of *Aragon*, and *Don Henrique* the Baſtard, who took particular care to underſtand, how Matters went with the Prince. And when they heard that the Barons of *Gaſcogne* had applied themſelves to the Court of *France*, and began already in a manner to rebel againſt him, they were not a little pleaſed therewith. But chiefly the Baſtard was comforted at this News, for now he ſaw the Prince of *Wales* entangled with Domeſtick Troubles, he hop'd the more eaſily to reconquer the Realm of *Caſtille*, which before he had loſt by the Prince's means. Whereupon he took his leave of the King of *Aragon*, and departed from *Valencia* with the Vicount of *Rochebreton*, and the Vicount of *Rodez*, and 3000 Horſe and 6000 Foot in his Company, beſides certain *Genoueſe*, whom he retained for Wages. Thus he rode into *Spain*, and came before the good City of *Burgos*, which open'd her Gates and yielded unto him, acknowledging him for her Rightfull Lord and Sovereign. Thence he went to *Valladolid*, for he underſtood, how the King of *Majorica* was ſtill there, being not yet fully recover'd of his ſickneſs, which rendred him unable to go along with Prince *Edward* when he left *Spain*. The Inhabitants of *Valladolid*, who heard how the great City of *Burgos* had yielded up, thought not to offer to reſiſt him; wherefore they alſo received him, and paid Homage unto him. Being enter'd the City, enquiring for the King of *Majorica*, he was ſhew'd his Lodgings, and went up himſelf into the Chamber, where he lay not yet quite well, and accoſted him in this manner, "*Sir King of* Majorica, *You have been our Enemy, and to-*"*gether with the Prince of* Aquitain *and a great Army have invaded this our Realm of* "Caſtille; *wherefore We have Reaſon to ſeize upon You, and You muſt yield your ſelf* "*our Priſoner, or You are but Dead.* When the King of *Majorica* ſaw himſelf in ſuch a Caſe, and that it would be to no purpoſe to offer Reſiſtance, he anſwer'd, "*Sir King,* "*truly I am but Dead, if it ſo pleaſe You; and therefore I am ready to yield my ſelf* "*unto You, but to no other Man living. And Sir, if you are minded to deliver me to* "*any*

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 251. *f.* 144.

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"*any other Man, let me know it now: For I had rather die here, than once come into* "*the Hands of the King of* Aragon, *my most Mortal Enemy. Sir* (*replied* Don Hen- "ry) *don't you fear any such Matter: I will be no otherwise than Just unto You; and* "*if I should not do so I were to blame. You shall become my Prisoner, either to acquit* "*you freely, or for a Ransom at my pleasure.* Thus was the King of *Majorica* surprised and taken by *Don Henry*, who caused him to be kept there still, thô under a sure Guard, because of his Infirmity, and then he marched to the City of *Leon*, which immediately open'd unto him; and while he was here, all the Country and the Marches of *Galizia* submitted unto him, and many great Lords and Barons, who had lately done Homage to *Don Pedro*, came now in to *Don Henry*: For whatever Loyalty they had pretended to the other, in presence of the Prince of *Wales*, they loved him not in their hearts, because of his former Cruelties, to which they doubted he would quickly return again. But King *Henry* on the other side was popular, obliging and gracious to all Men, and moreover made large Promises to those who would own his Cause; so that in a manner all the Country acknowledged him for their Lord, only the great City of *Toledo* in New *Castille* would not obey his Summons, nor own him for her King. Wherefore *Don Henry* went thither with all his Forces, and began to lay Siege thereto, it being the only Considerable Place that had refused to admit him. All this while Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* was not with him; but now seeing the Duke of *Anjou* had lately ended his War in *Provence*, and quitted the Siege of *Tarascon* upon Composition, Sr. *Bertram* took his leave of him, and with divers Knights and Esquires of *France*, and 2000 fighting Men in his Company, made hast after King *Henry*, whom he found at the Siege before *Toledo*.

II. News was presently brought to *Don Pedro*, who was then in *Andaluzia* about *Seville*, and toward the Marches of *Portugal*, where he was not over-much beloved, how the Country fell away to the Bastard his Brother, whereat he was horribly incensed both against the Bastard, and all his Subjects of *Castille*, because they forsook him so disloyally. And he sware a great Oath, that he would take so cruel a Revenge on all those false People, as to leave a terrible Example to all false Traytors for the future. Then he sent forth his Summons to those whom he had most Confidence in, but many of them came not at all; they had more mind to follow King *Henry*, to whom they sent their Homages, and proffer'd their Service. When *Don Pedro* saw, that most of his expected Friends began to fail him, he had less assurance, and asked Counsel of *Don Hernando del Castro*, who never fail'd him to the last. *Don Hernando* advised him to muster as many as he could get for Love or Money, both *Moors* and Others, and so immediately to march against the Bastard before he conquer'd further in the Country. Accordingly King *Don Pedro* sent presently to *Ferdinando* King of *Portugal*, who was his Cosen German, and also to the Kings of *Granada*, and of *Belmarine* and *Tremissen*, with which Three, thô Heathen Princes, he made a strict and perpetual Alliance, and they sent him about 30000 *Moors* and *Saracens* to his Assistance: So that at last *Don Pedro* had gather'd together in the Marches of *Seville*, an Army of above 40000 Men, *Moors*, *Jews* and *Christians* together. And being furnished with these Forces, he became so well assured, that without tarrying for Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, who was coming to his Aid with 6000 Companions, all Chosen Men, he began to march against the Bastard his Brother, toward the City of *Toledo*, which was distant about seven Days journey from him.

Don Henry had News, how his Brother was coming against him with a great Army, and thereupon presently called a Council of War, wherein were all the Captains of *France* and of *Aragon*, especially Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, by whom he was chiefly swayed. And at this time his Advice was, that he should march forth immediately to fight his Brother, and in what Condition soever he found him, presently to set upon him: "*For* (says he) *Sir, I hear He comes against us with a great Power: And if* "*We tarry here waiting for him, it may turn much to our Disadvantage; not only by* "*reason of his Multitudes, but also because of this City which will be then at our backs,* "*and may by one brisk Sally ruine your Affairs utterly. Wherefore Sir, let us suddenly* "*come upon him; 'tis great odds, but we find him out of Order, and if once we have* "*that Advantage of him, he is certainly ours for ever.* This Counsel of Sr. *Bertrams* was received, and so King *Henry* went one Evening from the Camp with a Chosen number of the Best Knights and Captains, and about 6000 Select Men; the rest of the Army being left to carry on the Siege, under the Command of his Brother the Earl of *Sancelloni*. Thus he rode forth against King *Don Pedro*, sending before him seven Spies well mounted, who were always successively coming and going, and bringing him word

word from *Don Pedro* where he was, how far Advanced, and in what Posture He and his Army were. But of all this was *Don Pedro* unawares, for he imagined his Brother to be before *Toledo* still, and so he came forward in a more careless manner, without any good Order. AN. DOM. 1369. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLIII.

On the [b] 14 of *March* early in the Morning, King *Henry* and his Forces came up with *Don Pedro*, who had lain that Night in the Castle of *Montiel*, about 30 Leagues from *Toledo*, where he found good Acceptance, and was well entertain'd. But now having newly left the Place he continued his March towards *Toledo*, little imagining to be met withall by any Enemy that Day. When suddenly there came upon him *Don Henry*, with his Brother *Sancho* and Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, whose Conduct he chiefly rely'd on, and also the Beague of *Vilain*, the Vicount of *Rochebreton*, the Vicount of *Rodez* and their Retinues: All who riding wisely together in close Order came suddenly upon their Enemies, crying aloud—"*Castille* for King *Henry* and our Lady of *Clequin*, and so they presently discomfited and put back the Vaward of *Don Pedro's* Army; of which many were overthrown and slain without pity, for Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* had before advised, that none should be taken to Ransom, because of the great Numbers of *Moors* that were there.

[b] *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad hunc ann.* §. 11. *Mezeray p.* 78. *Mariana l.* 17. *c.* 13. *& Froiss. ibid.*

When *Don Pedro*, who was in the Main Battail among his Men, heard how his Van was assayled and beat back by his Bastard-Brother and the *Frenchmen*, he was strangely surprised, and saw too late, that he was betrayed and deceived by his Scouts, and in great Danger to lose all: For his Men were very much scatter'd abroad, and out of Order, against all Rules of Military Discipline. Notwithstanding like a Good Hardy Knight he kept the Field undauntedly, and caused his Banner to be unrolled to draw his People together, and sounded a Charge, and sent Post to hasten forward those who were behind, because he was fighting with his Enemies: So that his Men advanced with all the speed they could. The mean while there was a terrible Slaughter among the Foremost of *Don Pedro's* Men; for King *Henry* and Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* fought with so much Vigour and Resolution, that none were able to endure them. But yet the Victory was not presently obtain'd: For *Don Pedro* fought like a Lion, and encouraged and rallied his Men with great Bravery; and indeed he was above Six to one against the Bastard, but he was so suddenly taken, that all his Numbers availed little, they rather added to the Confusion.

So for a while there was a desperate Battle fought, the *Spaniards*, *Frenchmen*, and *Aragonians* contending against other *Spaniards*, *Moors*, *Saracens*, *Jews* and *Portugese*. *Don Henry* fought most valiantly indeed, and so did Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Sr. *Geoffry de Ricons*, Sr. *Arnold* of *Limosin*, Sr. *Guy Bailleul*, the Beague of *Vilain*, Sr. *Alan* of *St. Paul*, Sr. *Eliot* of *Carhais*, the Vicount of *Rochebreton*, the Vicount of *Rodez* and Others, who all performed their Parts with much Gallantry, as indeed it was necessary for them to do, for they found a fierce and strong People to oppose them. As for the *Jews* of King *Pedro's* Army they turned their Backs presently, and fled without striking one Stroke, but the *Moors* of *Granada*, of *Belmarine* and *Tremisen*, with the *Portugese* fought obstinately with their Bows and Swords, and did that Day much Mischief, and in the thickest of the Battle you might ever observe King *Don Pedro*, who like a Valiant Knight bestir'd himself all the while so stoutly, with a sharp Axe of Massie Steel in his Hands, that no Man durst abide his Strokes. But when the Banner of *Don Henry* his Brother met and encountred his, each Party crying their appointed Cries, then *Don Pedro's* firmest Battail began to open and give Ground, at which time *Don Hernando del Castro*, who was Chief Counsellour to King *Don Pedro*, seeing all things grow Desperate, said to the King his Master, "*Sir, save Your Self in time, and* "*return to your Castle of* Montiel, *for there You will be in safeguard: But if You are ta-*"*ken here, You are a dead Man without Mercy.* King *Don Pedro* took this Counsel, and left the Field as soon as he could, and rode back towards *Montiel*, whither he came in such good time, that he found the Gates open, and so entred with only twelve Persons more in his Company. But all this while his Men fought in the Field scatter'd, and out of Order as they were, for to submit was in vain, none were taken to Mercy. The *Moors* especially did what they could in their own Defence, for they were unacquainted with the Country, and therefore thought it vain to fly. But now Word was brought to King *Henry* and Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, that *Don Pedro* was fled, and had got into the strong Castle of *Montiel*, and that the Beague of *Vilain* had follow'd in Chace after him even to the very Castle, to the which there was but one Passage, and before that the said Beague had already pitched his Standard. Of this News King *Henry* and Sr. *Bertram* was very glad, and so fought their way toward the said Castle, beating down

and

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and slaying their Enemies by heaps, till they were even weary of Killing. The Chace endured for three Hours, so that above 14000 Men were slain, besides those who were wounded, and toward the end of the Fight taken to Mercy; but few escaped, except such as knew the Passages of the Country. This Battle was thus fought in a place called *Campo di Montiel*, not far from *Montiel*, which divides the Realm of *Valentia* from that of New *Castille*, on the 14 Day of *March*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXIX.

The Victory being thus obtain'd, *Don Henry* went and laid Siege round about the Castle of *Montiel*, wherein King *Don Pedro* was, sending at the same time to the Siege before *Toledo*, for his Brother the Earl of *Sancelloni*, commanding him to break up there, and to come with all his Power unto him, where the Head of all the Business lay. These Orders were obey'd, and the Earl of *Sancelloni*, with his Brother *Sancho* (who had been sent to fetch him) quitted the Siege before *Toledo*, and went to the King, their Brother, who lay before *Montiel*. This Castle was exceeding strong and able to have held out against them all a long while; if it had been well provided with Victuals and other things necessary. But it was so bare of Provision, that there was scarce enough in the Castle to serve a fortnight: Whereat King *Don Pedro* and his small Company were extreamly surprised; for they were so narrowly watched Day and Night, that a Bird could not come out of the Castle without notice. Upon which account King *Don Pedro*, seeing himself thus beset round by his Implacable Enemies, and that it was impossible to come to any accommodation, was very much cast down: Till at last all things duly consider'd, and their small stock of Victuals being ready to fail, he was advis'd to go away privily at the Hour of Midnight, only with 12 Persons, and *Don Hernando del Castro* in his Company; and so to commit himself to God, and the direction of such Guides, as were appointed to bring him into some better place of security.

[c] Lit. Dom. G. *vid. Odor. Rainal. &c. ut ante.*

III. Accordingly on the 23 of *March*, [c] being a *Friday*, about the time of Midnight, King *Don Pedro* and Twelve other Persons departed in great silence from the Castle of *Montiel*, in hopes to escape away unseen of their Enemies. The Night indeed was very Dark; but the Beague of *Vilaine* kept watch without, before the Entrance of the Castle with 300 Men; and as the unhappy King, being come out of the Castle with his Company, was going down an High-way, as closely as could be, this Beague of *Vilaine* who was always jealous, lest he should escape, and therefore kept the stricter Watch, thought he heard some Noise, and said to his Men, that were about him, "*Sirs, hold you all still: For methinks I hear the treading of Horses down the* "*High-way; We will go and learn, who they are, and what they intend hereabouts at* "*this time of Night: It may be, they are some, who are come to Victual the Castle.* And therewithall he stept forth with his Dagger in his Hand, and came to One, next before *Don Pedro*, and said, "*Who are You?* But he rushed forward with his Horse from him, and passed by. Then he stepped to *Don Pedro*, and took him by the Bridle; for he was resolved not to lose him, as he had the other, and said, "*Who are* "*You? Tell me your Name, or You are but a Dead Man.* When *Don Pedro* saw such a Company of Armed Men before him, and that it was impossible he should escape; he said, "*Sir, I am* Don Pedro, *King of* Castille; *I yield my self your Prisoner, and* "*commit me and my Company which consists but of Twelve Persons into your Hands.* "*Only, Sir, I require You, as a Man of Honour, not to deliver me into the Hands of* "*the Bastard, my Brother; but to secure my Life unto me, and I will pay You what* "*Ransome You will ask; for I thank God, I have enough.* Then the *Beague* answer'd, as it was said, "*Sir, I shall bring You and your Men into a place of safety; and your* "*Brother shall know nothing of You for me.* And therewithall he conveyed him into his own Pavilion, where also Sr. *Lewis* of *Carlonet* was lodged with him. Thô others say, [d] that Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* was the Man, that took the King, and that *Don Pedro* offer'd him 200000 Crowns of Gold to secure his Life; the Matter is all one, be it one, or t'other. But however *Don Pedro* had not been in the Tent a full hour, when King *Henry* and the Earl of *Rochebreton*, and some others came into the Tent, King *Henry* calling aloud, "*Where is that son of a Whore, the* Jew, *who calls himself King* "*of* Castille? *Don Pedro*, who was a Couragious and Hardy Prince, could not contain himself at this; but stept forth boldly, and said, "*Nay, thou art a son of an Whore,* "*and I the Son of King* Alphonso. And therewithall he grappled with his Brother *Henry*, and took him in his Arms and overthrew him on a Bench, and began to lay his Hand on his Dagger, and had most certainly slain him upon the spot, had it not been for the Vicount of *Rochebreton*; who at that instant took *Don Pedro* by the Leg,

[d] *Odor. Rainal. ut ante.*

and

and turned him upside Down; so that King *Henry* was now uppermost: Who immediately drew out a long knife, wherewith he strack King *Don Pedro* into the Body, and so slew him, at which time many of *Don Henry's* Men came in to his Assistance. There was slain together with him an *English* Knight, called Sr. *Ralph Helmes*, who formerly had been termed the Green Esquire, and another Esquire, named *James Rowland*; because they made Resistance. Bnt as for *Don Hernando del Castro*, he had this Reward of his Constant Loyalty, as only to remain a Prisoner of War with the Beague of *Vilaine*, till King *Henry* took him into his Favour; and the same Succes had the Rest, who attended *Don Pedro* in this his last Action. AN. DOM. 1369. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLIII.

Thus ended King *Don Pedro* of *Castille*, sirnamed the Cruel, after he had lived 34 Years and 7 Months, whereof he Reigned 19 Years within three Days; being now slain by his Bastard Brother, as it had been foretold unto him. His Body was left unburied for three Days; which was no less a Crime in the Bastard, than his very Murther: Except that it might seem in Policy necessary, thereby to convince all Men the better, that he was really Dead. The next Day the Governour of *Montiel* yielded up the Town and Castle to King *Henry*, who took him to Mercy, as he did all others that turned unto him. The News of *Don Pedro's* Death ran all abroad, whereat, as his Friends were sad, his Enemies rejoyced: But especially the *French* King, the King of *Aragon*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Anjou*, were glad at this Succes of *Don Henry*. He for his part, being now fully Established in his Throne, liberally Rewarded all his Friends and Assistants; as Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, whom he made High-Constable of *Spain*, and gave him Lands in and about the City of *Soria*, to the yearly Value of 20000 Franks, and to his Nephew Sr. *Oliver Manny*, other Lands worth half as much, and to others proportionably. And so he began his Reign over *Castille*, which his Posterity enjoy to this Day; a [c] greater Right being afterward brought unto his Grandson, *Henry*, Prince of *Astorga*, Son and Heir of *John*, King of *Castille*, Son and Heir of this *Henry*, the Bastard, by his taking the Lady *Catherine*, sole Daughter and Heiress of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, by his Second Wife, the Lady *Constance*, Eldest Daughter to the said *Don Pedro*, the True and Lawfull King of *Castille* and *Leon*.

[c] *Vid. Sandford's Genealog. Hist. l.4. c.1. p. 253. & Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 118.*

IV. But it is now high time to look nearer home, and take notice what Ill Effects followed that *Foüage*, which the Prince of *Wales* intended to levy in *Aquitaine*; the *Frenchmen* cunningly working upon the Discontents of a Few, till they had again kindled as great a Combustion, as ever was before between the Two Nations. Now [f] those of the lower *Marches*, as of *Bourdelois*, *Saincttogne*, *Poictou*, and *Rochellois*, readily agreed to the Matter, because they were nearer to the Prince's Court, and were generally accounted more firm and Loyal to him, than those of farther Parts: But as for others, especially those of *Gascogne*, they thought it too heavy a Burthen, and made many Remonstrances against it. So that the Prince held several Parliaments at *Niort*, at *Angoulesme*, *Poictiers*, *Bourdeaux*, and *Bergerac*; but still the Rebel *Gascogners* by their Letters and Messengers maintained, and said, how they could not suffer this *Foüage* to run in their Country; declaring, that their Resort, and Appeal, had ever been in the Chamber of *France*. At this mention of Resort, the Prince was extreamly offended, and argued against it, telling them, how they ought not to make any Resort there for the future: For he affirmed, "that the *French* King had quitted for himself "and his Heirs for ever, all Resorts and Jurisdictions whatsoever, when he resigned "those Lands entirely, and absolutely unto the King of *England*; as is plainly appa- "rent from the Tenor of the Charter of the Peace; Wherein those Matters are so "clearly explain'd, that there is not the least Clause of any One Article, where there "is any Reserve for the *French* King in time of Peace. These Words of the Prince were sent to those Lords of *Gascogne*, that refus'd to come to his Parliament; for from those, who were present, he had little or no opposition. But they answer'd again by their Letters, "that it was not in the Power of the *French* King to acquit them of "their Resort to his Court; for the Prelates and Barons of the Cities and Good Towns "of *Gascogne*, would never have suffer'd it, nor ever will they, if it were to do again; "thô the Realm of *France* should remain in perpetual War thereby. Thus the Prince and the Lords of *Gascogne* maintain'd each their own several Opinions; but the latter abode still at *Paris* with the *French* King; such as the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*, the Earl of *Perigort*, the Earl of *Cominges*, the Vicount of *Carmaine*, the Lords of *Cande*, *De la Barde*, and *Pincornet*; all who made heavy Complaints to the King, "how "the Prince of meer Pride and Presumption would tread them under his Feet, and "raise new and unheard of Taxes upon their Lands, which they said, they would

[f] *Froiss. c.242. f.146. sed Gallicè f.199.*

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"never ſuffer, conſidering their Reſort was to the Chamber of *France*: Wherefore "they humbly deſired, that the Prince might be ſummon'd to make his Appearance in "the Parliament-Chamber before the Peers of *France*, there to Anſwer concerning "thoſe Grievances and Innovations, which he had began to exerciſe againſt them. The *French* King was not unwilling to entertain theſe *Gaſcogners*, who thus required Juſtice of him, as of their Sovereign Lord, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould ſeek for Redreſs in ſome other place, and ſo he ſhould for ever loſe the Sovereignty over them. And on this account he at laſt condeſcended to their Requeſt, thô half againſt his Will; for he could not but ſee, that an open War would enſue thereby, which he was very loath to move firſt, at leaſt without ſome plauſible Pretence. Beſides at that time he ſaw his Realm not a little moleſted with the Companions, and other Enemies; and alſo he conſider'd, that his Brother, the Duke of *Berry*, with many others, were ſtill Hoſtages in *England*: Wherefore he thought to deal wiſely, and get firſt his Hoſtages home, and be fully provided of all things, and to try the Hearts of the People thoroughly, before he could abſolutely reſolve to ſummon the Prince of *Wales*. And accordingly there were ſuch ſubtle devices uſed, that before any open Breach was made, moſt of the Hoſtages got out of King *Edward's* Power, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Particularly, Prince *John* [g] Duke of *Berry*, having received a private hint of theſe Matters, obtain'd of King *Edward* to return into *France*, and there to recreate himſelf among his Friends and Relations for the ſpace of One Year; but he order'd his Affairs ſo cunningly by his frequent excuſes and the like, that he drove off the time, till the War was open; and then he thought himſelf freed from all obligations of Returning. And the Lord *Guy* of *Luxemburgh*, Earl of St. *Pol* made ſhift by much ſubtlety to get into *France* without taking his leave of King *Edward*. This Man was an Implacable Enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo that he could neither endure to hear, nor ſpeak a good Word of them; and now he urged on King *Charles*, as much as he could, to take the *Gaſcogne* Lords into his Protection; for he verily believed, that if once the Prince of *Wales* ſhould be ſummon'd, a War would moſt certainly enſue. And to this Opinion of the Earl of St. *Pol* agreed ſeveral of the Chief Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Knights of *France*, who added, how the King of *England* had not truly kept the Peace, to which he had ſworn and ſealed, according to the Tenor of the Treaty made at *Bretigny*, near *Chartres*, and afterwards confirmed at *Calais*. For they ſaid, it was manifeſt, how the *Engliſh* had hated and moleſted the Realm of *France* more, ſince the Peace was made, than ever they had done before. "*And Sir* (ſaid they) *what We now* "*averr, You ſhall find to be true, if it will pleaſe You to cauſe the Charters of the Peace* "*to be inſpected and read before You; even ſuch, as the King of* England *and the Prince* "*his Son, are by Faith and Oath obliged to perform.* Hereupon King *Charles*, to be the better enformed of all the Truth, and that he might not ſuffer any Encroachment upon the Rights of his Realm, cauſed all the Charters of the Peace to be brought into the Council-Chamber, and heard them read over more than once, the better to conſider and weigh the Point and Articles therein compriſed. Among others there was found One Letter, on which the King and Council ſtood moſt, becauſe it ſeem'd to ſpeak more clearly and plainly of what they now look'd for, the Tenor whereof ran thus, *viz.*

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 244.

"EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke "of *Aquitaine*, to all, who ſhall ſee theſe preſent Letters, Greeting. Know, that in "the final and laſt Accord and Peace made between Us and our Right Dear Brother, the "*French* King, are contained two Articles, compriſed in the form following.

"The *Firſt*, Where it is ſaid, how the foreſaid Kings are bound to cauſe to be con-"firmed all the ſaid Articles, compriſed in the Peace by the Biſhop of *Rome*, they "to be deliver'd from the Court of *Rome*, confirmed by Sentence, touching the "full Perfection and Accompliſhment of this preſent Treaty unto each of the ſaid "Parties, at leaſt within three Weeks, after the *French* King ſhall be arrived at *Ca-*"*lais*: and alſo, how to the intent, that theſe Articles and Treaties paſſed, may be "more firm and ſtable, there ſhall be made certain Bonds, and deliver'd, as followeth; "that is to ſay, Letters ſealed with the Seals of both the Kings and their Eldeſt Sons, "ſuch as ſhould be deviſed by the Councils of both the Kings. And alſo the ſaid "Kings and their Children, and others of the Prime Nobility, to the Number of *Thirty* "on either Part, ſhould ſwear, that they would ſtrictly obſerve, and cauſe to be ob-"ſerved to their Power, all the ſaid Articles, accorded and agreed on, and perform the "ſame without fraud or deceit. And alſo, that both the Kings and all their Friends "and Allies ſhould do their utmoſt, to bring all Rebels to Obedience, according to

"the

"the form and true Intent of the Peace: And alſo that both the Kings ſhould ſub- AN. DOM.
"mit themſelves and their Realms to the Correction of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to the end, 1369.
"that he ſhould oblige by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures thoſe, who ſhould otherwiſe refuſe to An. Regni
"comply with this Peace and Accord. And further both the Kings and their Heirs by Oath *Angliæ*
"and Promiſe ſhould renounce all Graces and Abſolutions of any thing herein agreed XLIII.
"to by them. And thô by Diſobedience, Rebellion, or Force of any of the Subjects
"of the *French* King, the ſaid King ſhould be hindred from performing all the ſaid
"Articles, yet neither ſhall the King of *England*, nor his Heirs for all that make any
"War upon the Realm of *France*; but both Kings ſhall joyn together to bring thoſe
"Rebels to Obedience, and to acquieſce in the ſaid Peace and Concord. And thô the
"Subjects of the King of *England* ſhould refuſe to yield up any Towns, Caſtles, or
"Fortreſſes, which they held in the Realm of *France*, and which by reaſon of the Peace
"ought to be deliver'd, or what any other Cauſe ſhould hinder, that the King of *Eng-*
"*land* could not perform what he ought, by reaſon of this Treaty, to perform, yet the
"King of *France* ſhall not make War therefore upon the Dominions of the King of
"*England*; but both the Kings ſhall joyn together to reduce thoſe Rebels to Obedi-
"ence, and by force to recover ſuch Towns, Caſtles and Fortreſſes, and to deliver them
"to whom they ought to be deliver'd. And of this there ſhould be made Obliga-
"tions and Bonds as ſure and perfect, as can be deviſed, as well by the Biſhop of *Rome* and
"the College of Cardinals, as by others.

There was alſo another Article in the ſame Treaty, which ran thus, "*Item*, In to-
"ken and perfect Aſſurance, that We deſire and intend to have, and to nouriſh per-
"petual Peace and Love between Us and our Brother of *France*, We ſhall renounce,
"and by theſe Preſents do renounce, all Graces, and other Proceſs of Deed againſt our
"ſaid Brother, his Heirs and Succeſſors of the Realm of *France*, and Subjects thereof,
"and do promiſe, ſwear, and have ſworn on the Body of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, for
"Us and for our Heirs and Succeſſors, not to do, nor ſuffer to be done, either by Word
"or Deed any thing againſt this *Renuntiation*, or againſt any thing contained in the
"foreſaid Articles: And if We do, or ſuffer to be done the Contrary any manner of
"way, (which God forbid) then We will, that We be reputed for falſe and forſworn,
"and incurr ſuch blame and infamy, as a King Sacred ought to incurr in ſuch a Caſe.
"And We poſitively *Renounce* all Diſpenſations and Abſolutions of the Pope, and if
"any be obtained, We will, that they ſtand for nought, be of no force, nor avail Us in
"any manner of caſe. And the more firmly to uphold the ſaid Articles, We herein
"ſubmit our ſelves, our Heirs and Succeſſors, to the Juriſdiction and Correction of the
"Church of *Rome*, and Will and Conſent, that the Biſhop of *Rome* confirm all the ſaid
"Treaty, and ordain Monitions and General Commands againſt Us, our Heirs and Suc-
"ceſſors, and againſt our Subjects, Commons, Univerſities, Colleges, or any other Bo-
"dies Politick, or ſingle Perſons, whatſoever they be, in giving Sentence General of
"Excommunication, Suſpenſion, or Interdiction, to run upon Us, or any of them, as
"ſoon as We, or They, ſhall do, or attempt any thing againſt the ſaid Treaty, in occu-
"pying, or withholding any Towns, Caſtles or Fortreſſes, or any other thing doing, Ra-
"tifying, or giving Counſel, Comfort, Favour, or Aid, privily or apertly, againſt any
"of the ſaid Articles. And further, We have cauſed our Moſt Dear Eldeſt Son *Ed-*
"*ward* Prince of *Wales*, to ſwear unto the ſame; and alſo our Younger Sons, *Lionel*
"Earl of *Ulſter*, *John* Earl of *Richmond*, and *Edmund* of *Langley*; together with
"our Right Dear Couſin, *Philip* of *Navarre*, and the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and of *Bre-*
"*tagne*, the Earls of *Stafford* and *Saliſbury*, the Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord of *Mon-*
"*ferrant*, *Walter Manny*, *James Audley*, *Roger Beauchamp*, *John Chandos*, *Ralph Fer-*
"*rers*, *Edward Spencer*, *Thomas Felton*, *William Felton*, *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, *Frank*
"*van Hall*, *John Mowbray*, *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, *Henry Piercy*, and divers others; and
"alſo, as ſoon as We can conveniently, We ſhall cauſe to ſwear, all our other Children,
"and the Major part of the great Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of our
"Realm of *England*. In Witneſs whereof We have put our Seal to theſe Preſents;
"Given at our Town of *Calais*, the 24 day of *October*, in the Year of Grace MCCCLX.

Among many other Writings that had been made, as well at *Bretigny* near *Chartres*, as at *Calais*, when King *John* was there, this ſaid Chapter being one, was chiefly now inſiſted on, and was well read and examin'd by King *Charles* in preſence of his Council; and after they had ſpent their Thoughts thereon, then the Prelates and Barons of *France* ſaid unto him, "Sir, it is moſt evident, that the King of *England* and his Son
"the Prince, have not duly kept the ſaid Peace, but have taken Towns and Caſtles, and
"do ſtill hold them to the infinite Dammage of this your Realm; and they Ranſom and

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"Pillage your People, becauſe the Money for the King your Fathers Redemption is yet "in part unpaid. Wherefore Sir, You and your Subjects have good Right and juſt "Cauſe to break the Peace, and to make War againſt *England*, and to endeavour to "take out of their hands all that they hold on this ſide the Water. Alſo certain of his Council adviſed him ſecretly upon mature Deliberation, "*Sir, boldly undertake this* "*War, for there is good Reaſon You ſhould ſo do: For as ſoon as ever You have once o-* "*pen'd the War, you ſhall ſee and find, that all the Dutchy of* Aquitain *will turn to* "*your ſide, as well Prelates, Barons, Earls, Knights and Eſquires, as the Burgeſſes of* "*the Good Towns. You may ſee Sir, how the Prince would have proceeded in raiſing of his* "Foüage, *but he cannot bring his purpoſe about, and yet thereby he hath loſt the Hearts of* "*all Men, for thoſe of* Poictou, Rochellois, Sainctogne, Quercy, Limoſin *and* Rou- "vergue *are of ſuch a Nature, that they can by no means love the* Engliſhmen, *nor the* "Engliſhmen *them (they are ſo proud and preſumptuous) nor never did. And beſides* "*all this the Princes Officers commit ſuch Extortion among the People of* Sainctogne, Poi- "ctou *and* Rochellois (*for they take all at Random*) *and raiſe ſo much in the Prince's* "*Name, that no Man is ſure of any thing that is his own. And further the Gentry* "*and Chief Men of the Country are diſguſted, becauſe they can attain to no Office of* "*Dignity or Profit: For the* Engliſhmen *and the Prince's Servants run away with all.* By ſuch Words as theſe was the *French* King encouraged to begin the War, and eſpecially he was inſtigated and moved thereto by his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, who lay at *Tholouſe*, wiſhing nothing more than to ſee the War open. For he could never endure the *Engliſhmen*, becauſe of ſuch Diſpleaſures as they had done Him and His formerly. And frequently the *Gaſcogne* Lords would ſay to the King, "*Moſt Dear Sir,* "*We are obliged to have our Reſort in your Court, wherefore we all humbly require, that* "*you would pleaſe to do us Right and Law, and as you are the moſt Juſt Prince in the* "*World, let us have Juſtice againſt the great Extortions, Grievances and Oppreſſi-* "*ons, that the Prince of* Wales *and his Men have and would put upon us. For Sir,* "*if you refuſe to do thus much for us, we muſt then ſeek ſome other Remedy elſewhere,* "*and ſhall be obliged to yield and ſubmit our ſelves to the Juriſdiction of ſuch a Lord,* "*as ſhall ſee We have Reaſon done us: Whereby you will loſe your Sovereignty over us* "*for ever.* The *French* King, who was extream loath to let them part (as alſo he was doubtfull of embracing their Intereſt) knowing that by them his Realm would receive much Strength and Advantage, anſwer'd theſe Complainants very courteouſly; "*Surely Gentlemen* (ſays he) *for want of Love and good Counſel you ſhall not* "*need to make your Reſort to any other Court, but only to Ours: But yet in a matter* "*of this Conſequence we ought to move with much Caution and Deliberation.* And thus the King drove them off for the ſpace of well-nigh a Year, but kept them ſtill with him at *Paris*, and paid for all their Expences, and gave them many Rich Gifts and Jewels. And ſtill he ſet men ſecretly to enquire among them, as it were of their own Heads, what they would really do, if the Peace were once broken between *England* and *France*, whether they would ſtand firm to the latter or no. And they always re- "ply'd, "*That if the War were once open, the* French *King ſhould not need to trouble him-* "*ſelf about any ſuch thing: For they ſaid, they themſelves were ſtrong enough to ma-* "*nage the War againſt the Prince and all his Power; and that when once they were own'd* "*by the King of* France, *they would like good Subjects live and die in his Quarrel.* Beſides all theſe Conferences, which that *Wiſe* Prince held, before he would venture upon a Breach of the Peace, he tamper'd alſo ſecretly with many others of other Parts, that were then under the *Engliſh* Dominion; as particularly with the Burgeſſes of *Abbeville*, a ſtrong and fair City of *Ponthieu* in *Picardy*, to ſift out whether or no on ſuch an Occaſion they would admit of the *French* Government; and they anſwer'd, how they deſired nothing ſo much in all the World, if they durſt, they hated the *Engliſh* ſo mortally. Thus the *French* King cunningly gat him Friends on all hands, or elſe he durſt never have done what he did: For he knew it was no ſmall matter to hold War againſt King *Edward*, and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, who had put his Father and Grandfather to ſo much Trouble. And for theſe his Fine Dealings he obtain'd of the *French* Nation the Title of *Charles le Sage*, or the *Wiſe*, thô ſurely the Title of his Father was more worthy of a *Chriſtian* Monarch, for that was *le Bon*, the *Good*. A little before this, namely [h] on the 3d of *December* in the preceding Year, being the firſt *Sunday* in *Advent*, was born unto King *Charles* of *France* his Eldeſt Son *Charles*, who was baptiſed by that Name on the *Wedneſday* following, being the 6 of *December*, and the Feaſt of St. *Nicolas* the Biſhop and Confeſſor, in the Church of St. *Paul*, near *Paris*. And within a few Days after was born unto the Lord of *Albret* his Eldeſt Son

[h] *Labbe Chron. Techn. ad ann.* 1368.

Son alſo: At the Birth of which Two, who were Coſen Germans, all the Realm of *France* rejoyced, but eſpecially the King himſelf. AN. DOM. 1369.

V. Thus the *French* [1] King being on all hands urged and perſwaded, did at laſt ſuffer Letters of Citation to be framed, therewith to ſummon the Prince of *Aquitain* forthwith to make his Perſonal Appearance before Him in his Chamber of Peers, to anſwer to the Complaints there to be made againſt him. And this Letter was principally deviſed by the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*, the Earl of *Perigort*, the Earl of *Cominges*, the Vicount of *Carmain*, the Lord *de la Barde*, the Lord of *Pincornet*, and the reſt of the Malecontents of *Gaſcogne*, who had been the principal Occaſion of all this. And when the Letter of Summons was drawn up, and duly corrected by all the Greateſt Heads in *France*, then it was concluded by the King and his Council, that it ſhould be ſent unto the Prince without any more ado. And two Perſons were pitch'd upon to execute this Office, the one named *Bernard Pelot*, who was Judge Criminal of *Tholouſe*, and the other a Knight of *Beauſſe*, called Sr. *John Chapponeau*. Which two with their Servants departed accordingly from *Paris*, and took their way toward *Poictou*, and ſo paſſed thrô *Tourain*, *Poictou* and *Saincſtogne*, till they came to *Blaye*, where they croſſed the *Garonne*, and ſo proceeded to *Bourdeaux*, where at that time the Prince and Princeſs held their Court. And ſtill in all Places where they came, they declared, how they were Meſſengers from the *French* King, upon which account they gain'd the better Welcome every where. Being come to *Bourdeaux* they took up their Lodgings for that Night, and the next Morning at a convenient Hour went to the Abby of St. *Andrews*, where the Prince kept his Court, and were received handſomly. When the Prince heard, that Meſſengers from the *French* King were arrived at his Court, he cauſed them to be brought before him: And they being come into his Preſence kneeled down to pay their Reverence, and ſo deliver'd unto him firſt their Credentials. The Prince having read theſe Letters ſaid, "*Gentlemen, You are welcome!* "*Let us now know the buſineſs, you are charged with unto Us.* Then the Doctor began, "*Right Dear Sir, here is another Letter, which being deliver'd unto us at* Paris "*by our Lord the* French *King, we promiſed on our Allegiance to publiſh openly in your* "*preſence; For Sir, they concern your Perſon nearly.* At this the Prince began to change Colour, as wondring what the Matter might be (as alſo did all the other Lords and Knights that were about him) nevertheleſs He refrained Himſelf and ſaid, "*Speak* "*on Sirs, what you have to ſay! Good Tidings We would be glad to hear.* Hereupon the Doctor took the Writing forth, and began to read it aloud, and diſtinctly word for word, this being the [k] Tenor thereof, *viz.*

"CHARLES, *by the Grace of God King of* France, *to our Nephew the Prince of* Wales "*and of* Aquitain, *Greeting. Whereas divers Prelates, Barons, Knights, Univerſities,* "*and Colleges of the Marches and Limitations of the Country of* Gaſcogne, *dwelling and in-* "*habiting on the Borders of our Realm, with ſeveral others of the Country and Dutchy* "*of* Aquitain, *have withdrawn themſelves unto Us in our Court, to have Right of cer-* "*tain Grievances and undue Moleſtations, which You by weak Counſel and ſlight Infor-* "*mation have purpoſed to do unto them; and at which thing we are ſurpriſed with won-* "*der: To obviate therefore and remedy the ſaid Matters, We* [l] *are ſo ſtrictly engaged* "*unto them, that by our Majeſty Royal and Sovereignty, We command You to come to* "*our City of* Paris *in proper Perſon, and there to ſhew and preſent Your Self before* "*Us in our Chamber of Peers, to hear Right concerning the ſaid Complaints and Griefs* "*moved by You, to do upon your People, who claim to have and to hear Reſort in our* "*Court; And that herein there be no fail, but that it be done as ſpeedily as you can,* "*after ſight of theſe Letters. In witneſs whereof We have ſet our Seal to theſe Pre-* "*ſents. Given at* Paris *the Twenty fifth Day of the Month of* January. When the Prince had heard and ſeen theſe Letters, he was horribly incenſed, and ſhook his Head for Anger, and beheld the *Frenchmen* with Eyes flaming with Fury, and having paused a little to correct his Paſſion ſomewhat, he returned this Anſwer, "*Gentlemen,* "*We will gladly go to* Paris *to our Uncle, ſince he hath thus handſomly invited Us, but* "*I'll aſſure you, that ſhall be with Helmet on our Head, and ſixty thouſand Men in our* "*Company.* At this the two *Frenchmen* kneeling down in great Fear ſaid, "*Ah!* "*Thrice Dear Sir, for Godſake refrain your Anger, and take not this Summons in ſuch* "*evil part, neither be diſpleaſed at us: Sir, we are but Servants ſent by our Lord the* "French *King, whom we are bound to obey, as your Subjects in like manner ought to* "*obey You. And as it was our Duty to obey his Commands, ſo Sir, whatſoever you ſhall* "*pleaſe to give us in Charge to ſay, we will fully declare it unto the King our Lord and* "*Maſter. Nay* (ſaid the Prince) *Sirs, I am not diſpleaſed with you, but with them* "*that*

[1] *Froiſ. c. 243.*

[k] *Froiſ. c. 243. f. 147. b. & Du Cheſne l. 15. p. 699. D.*

[l] *Nous nous ſommes ahers & aher dons avec eux.*

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"*that have ſent you hither. And the King your Maſter is lead by weak Counſel and* "*ſimple Information, thus to offer to combine himſelf with our Subjects, or to make him-* "*ſelf a Judge, where he hath nothing to do by any manner of Right or Title. For it ſhall* "*be evidently ſhew'd, that in the Rendring up, and putting the King my Father into* "*Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of* Aquitain, *both his Father and He, for Them and their Heirs* "*for ever, utterly diſclaimed and quitted all manner of Reſort or Juriſdiction, So that* "*thoſe who have occaſion'd this Summons to be made againſt me, have no other Reſort* "*of Right, but in the Court of* England *before the King my Dear Father, and before it* "*ſhall be otherwiſe, I aſſure you it ſhall coſt the Lives of an* 100000 *Men.* And with that the Prince flung away into another Room, and left the *Frenchmen* ſtill there, to whom certain of the Prince's Servants, who underſtood his Pleaſure, came and ſaid, "*Gentlemen, you may e'n go about your buſineſs when you pleaſe: You have duly performed* "*your Errand: But you are to look for no other Anſwer than what you have heard.* With that the Knight and the Doctor went to their Inn, and having there dined, made ready their Carriages in all haſt, and took Horſe with all their Servants, and went from *Bourdeaux* the way to *Tholouſe*-ward, for they deſign'd to ſhew the Duke of *Anjou* what they had ſeen and done. The Prince was extreamly diſpleaſed at the Inſolence of theſe Summons, and ſo were all the Lords and Knights of his Council, moſt of whom had adviſed Him to hang the two Meſſengers for their Pains, thô the Prince charged them to the contrary; and yet he had many a ſhrew'd Imagination againſt them. But when it was told him, how that they were gone without any other Licence then what was given by word of Mouth, and how they took their way toward *Tholouſe*, he called unto him Sr. *Thomas Felton* Seneſchal of *Aquitain*, and Sr. *Thomas Wake* Seneſchal of *Rouvergue*, his Chancellor the Biſhop of *Rodez*, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon*, and Sr. *Thomas Percy*, of whom he demanded, whether the *French* Meſſengers had any ſafe Conduct or no; and they anſwer'd, how they knew of none they had. "*No more have they* (ſaid the Prince ſhaking his Head) *but ſure it is not con-* "*venient, that they ſhould thus eaſily get off, and go and make their jangling to the* "*Duke of* Anjou, *who is but a ſmall Friend of ours, and will laugh heartily, that they* "*have thus ſummon'd Us in our own Houſe. I believe, all things conſider'd, they are rather* "*Meſſengers from my own Subjects, as the Earl of* Armagnac, *the Lord of* Albret, *the Earl* "*of* Perigort, Cominges *and* Carmain, *than from the* French *King. Wherefore becauſe of* "*the ſignal Affront that hath been put upon Us, We wiſh they were overtaken and clapt up* "*in priſon.* At this Motion all the Prince's Council were well pleaſed, only they ſaid, "*Sir, we fear You have been too ſlow as to this Reſolve.* Immediately the Seneſchal of *Agenois* was commanded to take along with him Sr. *William Molineux* a Worthy *Engliſh* Knight, and ſo ride Poſt after the *French* Meſſengers, and ſtop them till further Order. Theſe two and certain of their Men took Horſe accordingly, and purſued ſo diligently, that at laſt they overtook them in the Land of *Agenois*, and ſo arreſted them, pretending another Occaſion; for when they ſeized them, they ſpake not a word of the Prince's Command, but ſaid, how their Hoſt, where they lay laſt, complained of them for an Horſe, which he ſaid they had changed. The Knight and the Doctor wonder'd much at this Accuſation, and began ſeriouſly to excuſe themſelves, but all in vain, for they were preſently brought back to the City of *Agen*, and there clapt up in Priſon. But ſeveral of their Servants were ſuffer'd to go their way, who paſſing thrô the City of *Tholouſe*, told the Duke of *Anjou* of all that was done. At which he was not a whit ſorry: For he knew, that from hence another Occaſion of Hatred and Diſſenſion being given, things would at laſt be brought to Extremity; and accordingly he prepared for War, thô with all the Caution and Diſſimulation imaginable.

Certain of theſe Pages ſoon after went to *Paris* and told the *French* King of all the Premiſes, whereat he took great Indignation, eſpecially when he heard the Words, wherewith the Prince had threatned him, ſaying, "*how he would come and make his Per-* "*ſonal appearance before his Uncle; but that ſhould be with his Helmet on his Head, and* "60000 *Men at his Heels.* To withſtand all which, the *French* King made covertly vaſt preparation; for he well knew, it was no light Matter to wage War againſt the King of *England* and his Power: Seeing in times paſt he had put his Predeceſſors to ſo much pain and difficulty. Upon which account he was at firſt ſo backward to begin the War; but he was ſo importun'd by the Lords of *Gaſcogne*, and alſo hardly preſt by many of his own Council, who ſhew'd unto him the Extortions and other frequent Oppreſſions of the *Engliſh*, and that they were dayly like to grow more inſupportable, as likewiſe, that King *Edward* was in his Declining Age, and his Son, the Prince, ſick of an Incu-

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rable Diſeaſe; that at laſt he yielded to the War, thô much againſt his Will, conſidering the Deſtruction of many thouſand poor ſouls, which he ſaw, would neceſſarily enſue thereby. AN. DOM. 1369. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLIII.

Upon this he ventur'd firſt to ſend his Summons, which every Man knew would never be obey'd, but would occaſion a Breach of the Peace between the two Realms: And now becauſe of this fierce Anſwer of the Prince, King *Charles* and his Council made vaſt preparation, but as ſecretly as was poſſible: Thô for all his fine Conveyance, the Prince of *Wales*, who ever had his Eyes open toward that Quarter, ſince the Lords of *Gaſcogne* had been entertain'd in the Court of *France*; ſaw all along the cloſe train of theſe ſubtle Devices, and [m] ſent in good time his Letters to his Father into *England*, warning him "not to give too much Credit to any ſmooth Words or fair Overtures of "the *French* King, for he ſaw evidently, that he intended nothing but a Breach of the "Peace, and only had not yet begun the War for want of a fit opportunity. But King *Edward* could not think, that *Charles*, [n] who was no Man of his Hands, durſt ever preſume to defie him, who had obtain'd ſo many Victories againſt him and his Anceſtors, and he alſo believed, that the late Peace had been ſo ſolemnly confirmed, as to be inviolable with all thoſe, who had not quite abandon'd all ſenſe both of Honour and Religion. But eſpecially he was perſwaded by many of his Council, that the Prince only ſpake theſe things of Prejudice, as Young, Bold and greedy of Arms, and impatient of Peace, and therefore had too freely taxed the *French* Kings Honour, becauſe he deſired nothing more than War, and an opportunity of entring into Action. Upon theſe accounts King *Edward* gave but ſmall Credit to his Sons Letters; eſpecially becauſe King *Charles* all the while with deſign nouriſhed Security in him; by making frequent Remonſtrances and Overtures, how to continue for ever their preſent good Correſpondence, and to cut off all occaſions of Complaints, Jealouſies, and Miſconſtructions for the future. For it was his Deſign to uſe theſe Cautious Methods, till by his Verbal Negotiations, his Enemies being rock'd aſleep, and his own Affairs grown ripe, he might by Degrees get the reſt of the Priſoners and Hoſtages at liberty, and then of a ſudden be ready to Bite, as ſoon as he ſhould threaten. And firſt, [o] *John* Duke of *Berry*, one of the Principal Hoſtages, made ſhift, as we intimated before, to depart as lightly, as his Brother, the Duke of *Anjou*, had done before him. For having the laſt Year obtained leave of King *Edward* to viſit his Friends in *France* for one whole Year, when once he ſaw the War open, he look'd upon himſelf as excus'd, notwithſtanding his Oath, from ever returning again. An Opinion directly contrary to that of the Generous *Roman*, *Attilius Regulus*, who voluntarily return'd himſelf into his Captivity, even when he knew Death and Torments were prepared for him, and thô in a time of War; becauſe his Ranſome was not paid. Earl *John* of *Harcourt* alſo found means to get out of *England* about the ſame time; King *Edward* granting him leave for certain Months, at the inſtant Requeſt of his Uncle, the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, who was then at liberty in *Ponthieu*, and was a Friend to the Prince. And this Earl *Harcourt* intended to keep Word with the King of *England*; but upon his Return he fell ſick and fortunately continued Ill, till the War was begun; ſo that He never rendred himſelf back again. The Lord *Guy* of *Blois*, who was then but a young Eſquire, and Brother to *John* Earl of *Blois*, had a more Honourable, free, and eaſie way, whereby he gat off. For when he ſaw the *French* King, for whom he was an Hoſtage, not at all to mind his Deliverance, he fell in Treaty with the Lord *Ingleram de Coucy*, Earl of *Bedford*, who having Married the Lady *Iſabella*, King *Edward's* Daughter, had upon that account an Annual Allowance out of *England*. And this Treaty was ſo menag'd between King *Edward* and his ſaid Son-in-Law on the One part, and the Lord *John* of *Blois* and his Brother *Guy* on the Other part, with the Conſent alſo of the *French* King; that the Earldom of *Soiſſons* was deliver'd up into the King of *England's* Hands, for him to give the ſaid Earldom to his Son-in-Law, the Lord of *Coucy*, in conſideration of which Gift, the Lord of *Coucy* ſhould acquit King *Edward* of 4000 *l.* Annual Penſion; which hitherto he had allow'd him. And when all theſe Covenants were made, engroſſed, and interchangeably deliver'd, the Young Lord *Guy* of *Blois* was wholly acquitted for ever. And as for the Earl of *Alenſon*, he alſo obtain'd Licence of King *Edward* to return into *France* for a certain time: But he made ſo many excuſes, that at laſt the War was begun, and ſo he never return'd into *England*; thô ſome are of Opinion, that at laſt he paid 30000 Franks to be wholly acquitted. Some two Years before, *Lewis* Duke of *Bourbon*, who was alſo one of the Hoſtages, gain'd ſuch Favour in the Eyes of King *Edward*, that he obtain'd his good leave to go and ſee his Friends in *France* for a while. Now it happen'd, that during his ſtay at *Paris* with

[m] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 177. *n.* 43.

[n] *Mezeray p.* 80.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 244.

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the *French* King, *William Edington* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* deceaſed; whereupon King *Edward*, deſigning to advance *William* of *Wickham*, who was then his Chaplain, as alſo his Principal Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal, unto that Dignity, wrote into *France* to this Duke of *Bourbon*, "deſiring him for his ſake to intercede with Pope *Urban*, to allow, that this his Chaplain, who had been already elected by the Prior and Convent, might be admitted Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, promiſing withall unto the Duke, to uſe him favourably as to the Buſineſs of his Ranſome, if he would ſtir effectually in this Matter. The Duke of *Bourbon* was overjoyed at the ſight of theſe Letters, and ſhew'd them to the *French* King, who advis'd him to apply himſelf immediately to the Pope about that Affair. Accordingly he went to *Avignon*, and obtain'd a Bull with a Grant of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* for the ſaid Candidate; with which he return'd into *France*, and ſoon after into *England*, where he firſt treated with the King and his Council about his own Deliverance, before he would produce the Pope's Bull unto them. In ſhort, for the ſake of this Prieſt the Duke of *Bourbon* was wholly ſet free, paying only 20000 Franks, and *William* of *Wickham* was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and ſoon after Lord Chancellor of *England*. This Great [p] Prelate new built the Body of *Wincheſter* Church, Founded *New-College* in *Oxford*, and that Glorious Seminary of *Wincheſter*-College. He alſo built a Chappel at *Tichfield*, and left many other Monuments of Piety behind him, being by his own Vertue and the King's Favour not meanly advanced; for beſides his being Lord Chancellor and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he is ſaid to have held in *Commendum* the Archdeaconry of *Lincoln*, the Provoſtſhip of *Wells*, the Parſonage of *Manyhant* in *Devonſhire*, and no leſs than 12 Prebends. Having ſued the Executors of his Predeceſſor for Dilapidations, he recover'd of them 1662 *l.* 10 *s.* beſides a 1556 Head of Great Cattle, 3876 Weathers, 4717 Ewes, 2521 Lambs, and 127 Swine; all which ſtock, it ſeems, belong'd to the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* at that time. But of his Family and Name, of his Riſe and Offices, of his Eminence and Buildings, and other Great Marks of his Munificence and Liberality, I am forbid in this place to ſpeak more largely by the Laws of Hiſtory; and therefore ſhall refer the Curious Reader to the ſeveral Authors above quoted, and to our Common *Engliſh* Chronicles. Where they will find in this Man a moſt Notable Inſtance of Providence, and a ſtrong Incentive to Induſtry, by beholding in him an Example to what Height of Eminence, Preferment, and Dignity, Laborious Vertue can aſcend, thô little advantaged by Birth or external Splendour: And alſo what an Excellent way thoſe Men take, as well of Inſtructing Poſterity, as of preſerving and embalming their own Names to future Generations, who by Charitably diſpoſing of the Goods of Fortune toward the Advancement of Piety, Learning, and Good Manners, treaſure up unto themſelves a Rich Reward both of Worldly Fame, and of Eternal Glory. But to return to our Purpoſe.

[p] *De eo Vid. in Vitâ* Gulielmi Wickhami *à* Tho. Marten *Edit.* Lond. 1597. & Chandler *de Vitâ ejuſd.* & Truſſel's *Continuat. ad* Daniel's *hiſt. in* Henr. IV. *p.* 77. *ad An.* 1404. & Anton. Wood *Antiqu.* Oxon. *l.* 2. *p.* 126. & Weevers *Fun. Mon.* & Godwin's *Catal. Biſh. in* Wincheſter, *&c.*

[q] Froiſſ. 245.

VI. While [q] thus Matters began apace to ripen towards a War, the Prince of *Wales*, who was fully reſolv'd to come Perſonally to *Paris* in the Head of a Great Army the next Summer, ſent word to all the *Engliſh* Captains and *Gaſcogners*, whom he knew his Friends, to be ready by ſuch a time to come to his Service; and alſo to thoſe Captains of the Companions, who came out of *Spain*, and were now about the River *Loire*, he ſent word, that they ſhould not leave thoſe Parts; becauſe he expected very ſhortly to find Work for them; of which News they were all very glad. But ſo it was, that this Great Soul, which us'd ſo well to inform theſe Warlike Bodies, began now to bend beneath his own Weight, and bore about him a Mortal War of his own; a certain Fatal Diſtemper, which ſome [r] ſay, was brought upon him by Charms and Incantations; others, that he contracted it firſt in *Spain*, either by reaſon of the Infection of that Air, or from ſome lingring Poiſon; which 'tis thought, that Perfidious and Ungrateſull Tyrant *Don Pedro* gave him for a Requital of that Crown, to which he had reſtored him. I know, there are ſome, who have not ſtuck to ſay, that this Poiſon was given him by his Brother *John* of *Gaunt*, ſo to make way for himſelf to come to the Crown: But ſurely at that time, when the Prince was laſt with *John* of *Gaunt*, Prince *Lionel*, an Elder Brother to *John*, was alive; and beſides, that the Prince had two Sons now living, the ſaid *Lionel* had a Daughter alſo; all who were before him, as to the Succeſſion. I cannot, nor dare, ſo readily admit Popular ſlanders againſt the Perſons of ſuch Noble Princes: But however it was, Prince *Edward* was by this time ſo reduced; that he could hardly endure to ride on Horſeback; whereat his Men were extreamly caſt down, and his Enemies took the greater Courage. For the *French* King was fully informed of his Diſtemper (however it came) and the Phyſicians and the Chirurgeons of *France* began already to pronounce boldly; that the Prince was ſick of an Incurable Dropſie.

[r] Du Cheſne *ex* Walſingh. *ſed nil tale apud* Walſ.

VII. Now

VII. Now when Sr. *John Chapponeau* and the Doctor were taken and arreſted by the Seneſchal of *Agenois*, and Sr. *William Molineaux*, and clap'd up in Priſon, as we ſhew'd before; the *Gaſcogne* Lords, upon whoſe account they ſuffer'd, as the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*, the Earl of *Cominges*, the Earl of *Perigort*, the Vicount of *Carmain*, the Lord *Bertram* of *Cande*, the Lord *de la Barde*, and the Lord of *Pincornet*, being now in their own Country, and hearing of this Arreſt of the Meſſengers, took it in horrible Diſdain; for in their Name, and for their cauſe were they ſent: Wherefore they all concluded to revenge it, as ſoon as they might, and to begin the War; for they ſaid, ſo great an Affront was not to be ſuffer'd. Within a while they underſtood, how Sr. *Thomas Wake*, the Seneſchal of *Rouvergue*, was to ride to *Rodez*, the Chief City of that Province, to ſtrengthen his Fortreſs there, and for that purpoſe on ſuch a Day to come with 60 Spears from *Agenois*: Upon this Information at the time appointed, they laid an Ambuſh of 300 Spears to make ſure of Sr. *Thomas* and his Company. But of all this the Seneſchal knew nothing; ſo that at the expected time he came riding on with 60 Spears and 200 Archers, till a little beyond *Molieres*, he fell into the Ambuſh, which ſuddenly brake out upon him and preſently diſcomfited his Men, moſt whereof were ſlain, or taken; but [f] *Du Cheſne* ſpeaks too largely, when he ſays, that he and all his Men were cut in pieces: For many of his People, after the Civil Cuſtom of thoſe days, were taken to Ranſome, and he [t] himſelf by the Goodneſs of his Horſe eſcaped away alive, and got to the Caſtle of *Montauban*; and ſo the *Gaſcogne* Lords return'd home again for that time with their Priſoners. The Prince of *Wales* was then at *Angouleſme*, whither the News preſently flew, that his Seneſchal of *Rouvergue* was diſcomfited by the Earl of *Perigort*, and others, who had occaſion'd him ſo diſgracefully to be ſummon'd into the Court of *France*. He was highly diſpleaſed at the Report, and ſware, that it ſhould be dearly Revenged on thoſe, who had done him this ſignal Affront, and on their Lands and People. Then he wrote preſently to the moſt Valiant Lord *John Chandos*, who at that time reſided in *Coutantine* at St. *Saviour le Vicount*, commanding him immediately upon ſight of his Letters, to come unto him. Sr. *John Chandos*, who was always ready to obey, where it was his Duty, made all the Expedition imaginable, and came to *Angouleſme* to the Prince, who was very glad of his Arrival. Soon after the Prince ſent him with certain Troops of Men of Arms, and Archers to reinforce the Garriſon of *Montauban*, and thence to make War upon the *Gaſcogners* and *Frenchmen*, who dayly encreaſed, and overran his Lands. At his coming Sr. *Thomas Wake* left *Montauban*, and went, as before he had intended, to *Rodez*, and Victuall'd, and New-fortified the City and Caſtle, as alſo he did to the ſtrong City and Caſtle of *Millaud* on the *Tarne*, in the Marches of *Mompellier* in *Languedoc*; and in all places, where he ſaw moſt need, he ſet good ſtore of Archers and Men of Arms.

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[f] *Du Cheſne* P. 700.

[t] *Froiſ.* c. 246.

The mean while the Lord *John Chandos* lay at *Montauban* to keep the Marches and Frontiers there againſt the *French*, and with him were ſeveral other Great Lords and Captains, ſuch as the Prince had ſent thither along with him; namely, the moſt Noble and Warlike Lord *John de Greilly*, Captal of *Buſche*, the two Brethren of *Pamiers*, Sr. *John* and Sr. *Henry*, the Soldiche *de L' Eſtarrac*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Pons*, *Lewis* Earl of *Harcourt*, the Lord of *Pinant*, the Lord of *Taniboton*, Sr. *Richard* of *Pontchardon*. All which Lords and Knights made frequent Inroads into the Lands of the Earl of *Armagnac*, and of the Lord of *Albret*, who by Aid of other Lords of their Gang made ſhift to keep the Frontiers againſt them. So that ſometimes this ſide had the Advantage, and ſometimes the other, as evermore the adventures of War are various.

VIII. But all this while the ſubtle Duke of *Anjou* lay ſtill at *Tholouſe*, and made not the leaſt offer to ſtirr for any News that he heard, for ſo the King his Brother had ſtrictly charged him, by no means to make any War againſt the Prince, till he ſhould receive expreſs Order ſo to do. And all the while this Politick King was getting together good Captains and Souldiers in the moſt ſecret manner that it was poſſible; and particularly he wan to his ſide certain of the Companions, whom he ſent into the Marches of *Berry* and *Auvergne*, permitting them to live there upon the Country ſomething looſely, that they might not be ſuſpected for Friends, but withall he commanded them to make no War upon the Prince, till they had his expreſs Word for it. For he took all the Care in the world not to create the leaſt Suſpition, that he intended a War, till all his Deſigns againſt the Earldom of *Ponthieu* ſhould be ripe. Nor without cauſe: For if the King of *England* could but have gueſſed, that the *French* King would have broke the Peace, he could have very eaſily prevented the Loſſes,

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which he received afterwards in *Ponthieu*; and especially he would have made such good Provision for the City of *Abbeville*, and all the other Garrisons in that Country, that he should still have kept the Soveraignty thereof, maugre all the Power of *France*. And yet at that time the Seneschal of that County for King *Edward* was a Valiant *English* Gentleman, named Sr. *Nicolas Louvain*, who was in great Favour with the King his Master, as he well deserved: For he was so True, Loyal and Couragious, that he would rather have been drawn in pieces by wild Horses, than consent to any thing that might reflect upon his Faith and Honour. Yet not only he, but King *Edward* and all others were deceived at this time by the overreaching Devices of the *French* King, who the more to amuse King *Edward*, had a little before sent over the Earl of *Salebruche*, and Sr. *William Dorman*, to adjust Matters fully with him and his Council; and these Men the better to conceal the Malice they intended, complained of Wrongs done, as they said, unto them; for they declar'd unto the King and his Council, how on their Part the Peace was but slightly kept at the best, not only by reason of the War which the Companions, who were generally Subjects of *England*, had kept in *France* for about six whole Years, but also upon divers other Accounts, whereat the King their Master had no small cause to be disgusted. These Embassadors King *Edward* detain'd in *England* for about two Months, during which time (thô he expected to settle a right Understanding between the two Realms) they only made many frivolous Complaints to delay time, which almost tired the Kings Patience, but they were not much concerned at that, because they knew they did but follow the Commission they had from their Master. However they [w] made unto the King a Present of certain Vessels of Choice Wines and other Gifts from the *French* King, as a Token of his Brotherly Love and Good will. The mean while King *Charles* having understood for certain, that the Inhabitants of *Abbeville* were willing to own his Interest, and that the Wars were already open in *Gascogne*, and all his Friends stood ready to strike, as soon as ever they had the Word for it, resolved now to put things to the issue. Yet however, either being secure of the Advantage he had by taking this Start of King *Edward*, or desirous as far as he might, to avoid all Reproach, lest Posterity might cry shame of him, if he should invade any of the King of *England's* Lands, or the Prince's, without Defiance, he resolv'd by Advice of his Council, to send and defie the King of *England* and all his Adherents; and so he did by his Letters Sealed, which to his great reproach he gave to a mean Valet to carry. And yet before this, even while King *Edward* was giving his Audience of Leave to the *French* Ambassadors, he heard a Rumour, that the *French* King had sent Men of War into *Ponthieu*, and that he had notoriously broken the Peace by certain overt Acts of Hostility; whereupon in great Indignation he bad the Ambassadors get them Home with their Deceitfull Presents to their Deceitfull Master; and commanded them to tell him, how he detested from his Heart and Soul the dishonourable and unprincely Falseness which he had shewn: For which he doubted not, by the Grace of God, but to make him repent before long. Away went the Ambassadors with all speed, and at *Dover* they met with the Valet, who was come with the Defiance from *France*; the Substance whereof he secretly told them, as he was enjoyned to do, that they might make hast Home. But for all that they [x] were met with upon the Sea by some Men of War belonging to *Calais*, who knowing the War was already begun on that side by the *Frenchmen*, set upon them, and took away their Wines and other Presents, which King *Edward* had refused to accept, and brought them to *Calais*, the Earl of *Salebruche* and Sr. *William Dorman* escaping away to *Boulogne*.

[w] *Walsing. hist. p.* 177. & 178.

[x] *Walsing. hist. p.* 178. *n.* 10.

IX. A little before this the [y] Prince of *Wales* had sent Sr. *Guischard Dangle* to *Rome*, whither Pope *Urban* [z] was then gone for some while, to confer with his Holiness about certain Matters relating to *Aquitain*, and having found the Pope very complying in all his Concerns, about this time he returned homeward; when being upon the way he heard for certain, how the *Gascogners* and *Frenchmen* made War upon the Prince, and had already invaded the Principality. He was extreamly surprised at the News, and began to doubt how he should get home without being entrapped by his Enemies; however first he went to the Valiant and Noble Earl of *Savoy*, whom he found in the City of *Pignerol* in *Piedmont*, making War against the Marquess of *Saluzzo*. The Earl entertain'd Him and all his Company very honourably, and gave the Chief of them many rich Gifts, especially to Sr. *Guischard Dangle*, whom he respected more particularly for the sake of his Abilities in War, of which he had heard ample Commendations. Having here taken his leave, as he drew near to *France*, he heard more and more of the Difference between the Prince of *Wales* and the *French* King:

[y] *Froiss. c.* 246. *fol.* 149.

[z] *Vid. Odor. Rainald. ad hunc ann.* 1367. §. 2. *&c.*

King: So that he saw it impossible for him to return openly into *Guienne*, he was so generally known. Wherefore he gave the Charge of his Company to his Son-in-Law Sr. *John* of *Issoire*, and he himself, being disguised like a poor Priest in evil Habit, and on an old Hackney, took another way, and so at last with much adoe came safe to *Angoulesme* to the Prince, who received him with much joy. AN. DOM. 1369. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLIII.

But 'tis now time to return to this *French* Valet, who after the departure of the Earl of *Salebruche* and Dr. *William Dorman* out of *England*, rode strait for *London*: Where understanding, that the King was then holding his Parliament at *Westminster*, he obtained to be admitted into the *Painted-Chamber*, where then the King sat with the Chief Lords of his Council. Before whom, having declared, that he was an Esquire sent from the *French* King with Letters to the King of *England*, he kneeled down to the King and deliver'd him the Letters. The Valet being then dismist, the King, who was very desirous to hear News from *France*, especially to know the Purport of these Letters, caused them immediately to be open'd and read. All that were present wondred extreamly, when they heard the Defiance, and saw the Seal and other sufficient Marks of its Authority: But King *Edward* was mightily astonished, that a Prince who was no [a] Man of his Hands, should ever dare to defie Him, and admired whence this strange Confidence should arise; little thinking what crafty Measures had been taken, while he was lull'd asleep by their subtle Overtures. However for the present he gave order to tell the Valet, how he had perform'd his Duty very punctually, and might now e'n go about his Business, for he should have no hindrance at all. But both the King and his Council took it in great Indignation, that so mean a Fellow should be sent with this Defiance, and they all agreed, "That it was neither Reason nor *Deco-*"*rum*, that a War between two such Princes, as the King of *England* and the *French* "King, should be published by a contemptible Valet: It was more fitting to have been done by the hands of some Eminent Prelate, or some Valiant Man, either a Baron or a Knight at least. And indeed this Indignity put upon so Great a Monarch, was not well resented by many, that were Friends to *France*; but the *French* Ambassadors [b] excused it to the Pope and to the Emperour, that therefore their King chose to make his Defiance unto the King of *England* by Letters, because he was but a Vassal unto *France* for the Lands of *Aquitain* and *Poictou*. However King *Edward*, who own'd no such Matter, as knowing himself Absolute Lord of those Countries by the Tenor of the Peace, took this Affront in great Despite: But now it was past, and no Remedy could be had. Wherefore the Lords advised the King to send forthwith a Considerable Army into *Ponthieu* to keep the Frontiers there, and especially to take Care of the good City of *Abbeville*, which they knew to be in great Danger of loosing. This Motion the King approved of, and presently appointed the Lord *Henry Percy*, the Lord *Ralph Nevil*, the Lord *William Windsor*, and one Lord more to go thither with 300 Men of Arms, and a 1000 Archers in their Company. But as these Lords made themselves ready with all the Expedition imaginable, and were even now at *Dover* ready to cross the Seas, there came other News into *England*. For the *French* King had play'd his Cards too sure to be baffled now, so that as soon as by all likelihood it might be conjectur'd, that King *Edward* had received the Defiance, *Guy* Earl of *St. Paul*, and Sr. *Hugh de Chastillon* Master of the Crossbows of *France*, drew toward the Parts of *Ponthieu*, having secretly sent Command to all the Lords, Knights and Esquires of *Artois*, *Hainalt*, *Cambresis*, *Picardy* and *Vermandois*, such as were their Friends, to come to them immediately. Wherefore being of a suddain reinforced with above sixscore Spears, they came to *Abbeville* early in the Morning, as they had determin'd before by private Agreement with the chief Burgesses, and finding the Gates ready open for them, went in directly without the least Opposition, not doing any harm or violence in the World. But Sr. *Hugh de Chastillon* one of the chief Leaders, marched straight forward without any noise, and surprised Sr. *Nicolas Louvain* the Seneschal of *Ponthieu*, and together with him the Treasurer of *Ponthieu*, a Valiant Gentleman, thô of the Clergy. Thus the *Frenchmen* took many a Rich Prisoner with ease, and the *Englishmen* lost all that ever they had in the City of *Abbeville*. That same Day another Party of *Frenchmen* ran up to St. *Valery* and *Crotoy*, and enter'd both Places, and took them, together with another Town on the Sea side called *Noyelle sur Mer*. A little after the Earl of St. *Paul* with another Party went to *Pont de Remy* on the *Soame*, whither certain *English* had withdrawn themselves. The Earl assaulted them briskly, and was well received by the Defendants, so that a fierce and notable Skirmish arose, at which time the Earl Knighted his Eldest Son *Valeran*, who shewed that Day by his Exploits how worthy he was of that Honour. In short, the *English* being both too inconsiderable in Number,

[a] *Mezeray p.* 80.

[b] *Dinothi Adversf. p.* 278.

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and alſo ſurpriſed were put to the Worſe, being all either routed, ſlain or taken, together with the Town and Fortreſs. And thus in a manner all the Country and Earldom of *Ponthieu* was of a ſudden cleared of the *Engliſh*, ſo that they were now no more Formidable in thoſe Parts.

Now there were ſtill in *England* ſundry of the *French* Hoſtages, as the Earl *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, the Earl of *Porcien*, the Lord of *Roye*, the Lord of *Mauliverer* and divers Others, beſides moſt of thoſe of the Good Towns of *France*, who were all much troubled when they heard of the Defiance; but now when News was brought, how all *Ponthieu* was revolted, overrun and conquer'd, they were in a wofull Taking, not knowing what King *Edward* would do with them in ſuch a Caſe. And ſurely when He heard the News from *Ponthieu* he was horribly incenſed, that the Country had ſo treacherouſly revolted from him, and had many an Hard Thought againſt the *French* Hoſtages, who remained ſtill with him at *London*. But yet he conſider'd with Himſelf, how it would be but fruitleſs Cruelty, and a ſign of Irrational Revenge to wreak his Diſpleaſure upon them: Wherefore he only reſolved to keep them ſhorter of their Liberty, and not permit them to take their pleaſure as formerly; and ſo he ſent the Burgeſſes of the Cities and Towns of *France* into divers ſtrong Fortreſſes about in ſeveral parts of *England*. Nevertheleſs the Earl *Dauphin* of *Auvergne* he releaſed for a Ranſom of 30000 Franks, and the Earl of *Porcien* for 10000. But the Lord of *Roye* could not be admitted to any Ranſom: For he was not at all beloved either by the King or any of his Court; wherefore he was ſtill detain'd a Priſoner in great fear and ſorrow, till by good Fortune he alſo happen'd to be delivered, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

[c] *Froiſs.* 248.

X. When the King of *England* [c] ſaw, that he was not only Defied by the *French* King, but had alſo actually loſt the greater Part of *Ponthieu*, for the ſafety whereof it had coſt him more than an 100000 Franks, beſides the Revenues which the Country yielded to his Exchequer, in repairing of Towns and Caſtles: He ſaw plainly, that it was high time to have an Eye on all Parts; for he found his Adverſary of *France* wanted no Cunning nor Induſtry whereby to oppoſe him. And he heard particularly, how the *Scots* alſo had engaged againſt him in a new Alliance with the *French* King, and deſign'd to give him a Diverſion at the Back-door; Whereat he was grievouſly diſpleaſed, for he doubted the *Scots* more than the *Frenchmen*, not only becauſe they were a more implacable and obſtinate People, and kept their former Loſſes in mind; but alſo becauſe they were his near Neighbours, and could do him an Injury more eaſily, and eſcape Revenge more ſecurely. Wherefore firſt he ſent a conſiderable Number of Men of Arms, Archers and Others to the Frontiers of *Scotland*, as to *Newcaſtle*, to *Cuerlile*, to *Barwick*, to *Roxborough* and other Places. Beſides which he rigged forth a good Fleet, which was to ply about *Southhampton*, *Jernſey* and the Iſle of *Wight*. For he heard, how the *French* King was ſetting forth a great Navy to Sea, which was to come and invade *England*, or as others ſaid *Ireland*; wherefore thither alſo he was obliged to ſend no ſmall Reinforcement under the Command of the Lord *William Windſor*, [d] who being at the ſame time conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, had in conſideration thereof for his better Support in the Kings Service, a Grant of a 1000 Marks *per annum*, to be paid him out of the Kings Exchequer, untill ſuch a time as the King ſhould ſettle upon him Lands and Rents of that Value for Him and his Heirs for ever, and immediatly thereupon he had a Grant of the Mannor and Caſtle of *Dungarvan*, as alſo the Caſtle called the *Black-Caſtle*, to Him and the Heirs of his Body. With him went in this *Iriſh* Expedition, [e] the Lord *Thomas Fauconberg*, and other Perſons of Rank and Conduct; for King *Edward* not knowing on which ſide the ſtorm would fall, was obliged to take Care on all Sides: Though indeed he himſelf was not without ſome anxious Thoughts, by reaſon of the unexpectedneſs of this Alarum.

[d] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 509. *ex Pat.* 43. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 27.

[e] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 4. *ex Pat.* 43. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 32

But having thus for the preſent provided for all as well as he could, he calls together his High Court of Parliament, [f] which according to the Summons met at *Weſtminſter* in the *Octaves* of the Holy *Trinity*. At which time *William* of *Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Lord Chancellor of *England*, declared in the Painted Chamber, in Preſence of the King, Lords and Commons, the Reaſons of their preſent Aſſembly, ſaying, "How the King had always in his greateſt Affairs uſed their Advice and "Counſel, and eſpecially in making the laſt Peace with the *French*, which was yet "made on Condition, that by ſuch a Day the *French* King ſhould ſurrender up unto him "certain Countries beyond the Seas, that within ſuch a time he ſhould pay unto the "King certain Sums of Money; and that he ſhould never pretend for the future to a-

[f] *M.S. Rot. Par. p.* 103. *Sr. Rob. Cottons Abridg. p.* 108.

ny

"ny Juriſdiction or Soveraignty over *Gaſcogne* or the Parts thereabouts; in Conſide- AN. DOM.
"ration whereof the King of *England* ſhould from thenceforth lay by the Stile of 1369.
"*France*, which he had accordingly done. That whereas he for his Part had not ſlack- An. Regni
"ed his Duty, the *French* King had done the quite Contrary: for neither had he made *Angliæ*
"a full and due Payment of the ſaid Monies; and alſo he had ſummon'd the Earl of XLIII.
"*Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret* and Others, who were of the Kings Allegiance, to *Franciæ*
"anſwer to certain Appeals at *Paris*; nay further, he had ſummon'd the Prince of *A-* XXX.
"*quitain* himſelf (who was alſo of the Kings Allegiance) to appear among the Reſt.
"Beſides all which he had ſent certain Troops into *Ponthieu*, where he had ſurpriſed
"ſeveral of the Kings Garriſons and Forts: Whereupon the Prince of *Wales* and of
"*Aquitain*, by Advice of his Council had ſent to the King his Father, wiſhing him to
"Reſume the Title and Stile of *France*. And therefore the Chancellor deſired the
"Lords and Commons to take Counſel in the Matter, and to adviſe the King to the
"beſt of their Power about the Premiſes. Then there were appointed Receivers of Petitions for *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales* and *Scotland*, and alſo for *Guſcogne*, and other Foreign Places and Iſles, and after that Triers of the ſaid Petitions for all the ſaid Places. On the *Wedneſday* after, the Biſhops, Lords and Commons anſwered the King with one Conſent, "*That conſidering the Premiſes, He might with a Good Conſci-*
"*ence take up again the Stile and Name of King of* France, *and uſe his Arms as*
"*before.*

Accordingly the King at that inſtant took upon him the Name, Stile and Dignity of *France*, and on the Eleventh Day of *June*, being a *Monday* and St. *Barnabas* Day, his Seal of *England* being ſafely laid up, another Seal engraven with the Stile and Arms of *France* was taken and uſed, and ſeveral Patents, Charters and Writs therewith ſealed, and the ſame Day all the Kings other Seals were Changed, one [g] being circumſcribed with the Word *Franciæ* in the firſt Place, and the other with *Angliæ*, as at the Beginning. From which Time even to this Day, the Kings of *England* his Succeſſors, continue their Arms Quarter'd with *France*, in token of that Right, to which King *Edward* ſo juſtly now renew'd his Claim.

[g] *Aſhmole p.* 665.

After this, upon a full Account given of the Kings great Neceſſities, the Lords and Commons granted unto him for Three Years following, of *Denizens* for every Sack of Wooll Fourty Three Shillings Four Pence, of every Twenty Dozen of Fells Fourty Three Shillings Four Pence, and of every Laſt of Skins Four Pounds. But of *Aliens* for every Sack of Wooll Fifty Three Shillings Four Pence, of every Twelveſcore Fells as much, and of every Laſt of Skins Five Pounds Six Shillings Eight Pence, over and above the Old Cuſtoms.

Then it was Enacted, That all the Kings Forts and Fortreſſes ſhould be ſurveyed, repaired and edified: And it was caution'd by another Statute, that no Religious Aliens ſhould be left in a Capacity to diſcover the Secrets of the Realm; and now again were all the Lands of Religious Aliens ſeized into the Kings Hands, and lett to Farm to the Sovereigns of the ſame. That Remedy may be had againſt the exceſſive Selling of Armour, and the unreaſonable Demands of Horſe-Courſers. *The King will appoint the Officers of every Town to provide therefore.* That the Time of Preſcription may be from the Coronation of King *Edward the Firſt*. *The Old Law ſhall ſtand.* That *Sylva Cædua* may eſpecially be declared. *The Statute ſhall be obſerved.* That Sheriffs be no further charged than they ſhall receive. *The Party grieved upon Complaint ſhall have Remedy.* That the Indicted upon any Treſpaſs or Felony, may upon Iſſue joyned have a *Niſi Prius* againſt the King. *So the ſame concerneth Treaſon, the Chancellor or Keeper of the Privy Seal ſhall therein do Right.* That ſuch as dwell upon the Sea-Coaſts, may ſet up Poles or other Inſtruments, whereby Men may know the Encreaſe or Decreaſe of the Sea. *In time of War the ſame may be to leſs harm, and after taken away.* That the Acquittance of the Co-Executors refuſing Adminiſtration may be void. *The Law ſhall be uſed as heretofore.* It is agreed, that no Man be puniſhed contrary to the Statute. Such Commiſſions, as were to enquire of *Scotch* Labourers within the Realm, were repealed. The Print touching the Pardon of Foreſt Matters Chap. 4. agreeth with the Record. The Print touching the Staple to be removed from *Calais*, becauſe of the Wars, and to be held in *England* Chap. 1. differs much in Form from the Record, *quod nota*. The next Day being the Twelfth of *June*, the King gave his Thanks to the Lords and Commons for their great Pains, and for the Aid they had given him: And in ſome ſort of Recompence, promiſed to all ſuch as ſhould paſs over Sea with him againſt the *French*, that they ſhould enjoy and poſſeſs all ſuch Towns, Caſtles, Poſſeſſions, Perſons, Names, Arms and Honours as they ſhould obtain, win, conquer or take

of

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of the *French*, to them and their Heirs in Fee, saving unto the King all Regalities, and the Lands of the Church, and that every Person should have Charters of his own Prowess and Conquest. And further the King commanded, that all the Bishops should not only muster their own Servants and Tenants, but also all Parsons, Vicars, and other Religious Persons of the Clergy, all who were to be in a readiness upon Occasion to resist the Common Enemy. And then the Parliament brake up.

XI. One thing here We must not omit, namely, a Matter concerning the Bounty of the Generous *Black-Prince* extended to the truly Loyal and Valiant Gentleman, the Lord *John Greilly*, that Famous Captal of *Busche*: To whom he granted about this time the whole County of *Bigorre* in tail, reserving yearly at *Christmas* a Faulcon and a Tercel Gentle to be paid at his Castle of *Bourdeaux*, besides the known Services due out of that County; whereof he gave him his Charter, [h] "EDWARD, Eldest "Son of the King of *England*, Prince of *Aquitaine*, and of *Wales*, Duke of *Corn*-"*wall*, and Earl of *Chester*, Lord of *Biscay*, and of the Castle of *Ordiales*, to all, "who shall see, or hear, these Letters, We give to know: That for the good and "agreeable Services, which our Right Dear and Loyal Cousin, *John de Greilly*, Cap-"tal of *Busche*, hath rendred unto Us heretofore, and which He and his may ren-"der unto Us and Ours in time to come, We have given and granted, and by these "Presents do give and grant to Him and his Heirs Male Lawfully begotten, the Coun-"ty of *Bigorre*, with the Cities, Towns, Castles, Lands, Seignories, Homages, Juris-"dictions, High, Mean, and Low, Meer and Mixt Empire, Rights, Cens and Rents, "Revenues, and other Profits, Emoluments, and Appurtenances of the said County: He "rendring unto Us and our Heirs every Year for ever, at our Castle of *Bourdeaux*, "at the Feast of *Christmas*, a Faulcon and a Tercellet Gentle, and doing unto Us "and our Heirs Liege Homage, and Oath of Fealty, Resorts, and other Duties, which "ought to be done to Us for the said County. In Witness of which We have cau-"sed to be put to these our Letters Patents our Great Seal, Given at our City of *An*-"*goulesme* the 27 day of *June*, in the Year of Grace MCCCLXIX. This Grant of the Prince's to that Noble Lord, was in [i] *April* following confirmed by the King, his Father, under the Great Seal of *England*; only reserving to the King and his Heirs, Kings of *England*, the Liege Homage of the said *John*, and of his Heirs for the said County; and also the Sovereignty and Resort of the said Earldom, and all other Duties, to Him, as Superior Lord, due therefrom. And so Command was sent from the King to all States, and Officers in that County, to be obedient and answerable to the said *John Greilly*, as to the Earl of the said Earldom of *Bigorre*, in all things pertaining to the said Earldom.

[h] *Extant Gallico idiomate apud* Selden's Titles of Honour. *Part.*2. *c.*3.§.13.*p.*518.

[i] *Rot. Vasc.* 44. *Ed.*3.*m.*8.*n.*4.

CHAPTER the FIFTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *The Dukes of* Anjou *and* Berry *begin to War upon the Principality; several* English *and* French *Captains alter their Copies.* II. *The Earls of* Cambridge *and* Pembroke *are sent over by King* Edward *to the Prince's Assistance; and Sr.* Hugh Calverley *returns out of* Spain *with* 6000 *Companions. The Latter is sent by the Prince to make War upon the Discontented* Gascogners, *and the two Former against the Lands of the Earl of* Perigort, *where they lay Siege to* Bourdeilles. III. *Sr.* Simon Burley *taken Prisoner by the* French, *and his Men all routed, slain, or taken.* IV. *The Lord* John Chandos *takes the strong Town of* Terrieres; Realville *besieged by the* French. V. *The Dukes of* Anjou *and* Berry *make use of the Clergy to debauch the hearts of the* English *Subjects in* France *from their Duty; King* Charles *makes solemn Processions, and is very devout, in order to raise up the Courages of his People. The Bishop of* London *sets forth King* Edward's *Right to the People from his Pulpit: Both the Kings seek foreign Alliances.* VI. *The Two Kings set forth an Account of their several Causes to the World; with certain Copies of both their Cases, as they were then menaged by the best Lawyers of* Italy, France, *and* England. VII. *The Reasons, whereby the* French *pretend to cut off from King* Edward *and his Posterity, not only*

ly all Right to the Crown of France, *but alſo from his Right to* Aquitaine; *which yet had belonged to* England *in Right of the Lady* Eleanor, *Daughter and Heireſs to* William *laſt Duke of* Aquitaine, *and Wife to King* Henry *the Second of* England. VIII. *The Pedigree of the Kings of* France, *from King* Philip *Son of St.* Lewis *to King* Charles *the Fair, Brother of Queen* Iſabell, *Mother of King* Edward *the Third.* IX. *Reaſons alledged by the King of* England *for his Right and Title to the Crown of* France.

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I. THE mean while, [a] as ſoon as ever the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry* knew for certain, that the Defiance was made, and the War between the two Crowns open; they thought not to ſleep any longer, but made their Special Summons, the One in *Auvergne*, and the other about *Tholouſe*, with deſign to raiſe Forces, and go and make War upon the Principality. The Duke of *Berry* for his part had ready at his Command all the Barons of *Auvergne*, of the Biſhopricks of *Lyon* and of *Maſcon*, together with the Lord of *Beaujeu*, the Lord of *Villiers*, the Lord of *Tournon*, Sr. *Godfrey* of *Boulogne*, Sr. *John* of *Armagnac*, Sr. *John de Villemur*, the Lord of *Montagu*, the Lord of *Taraſcon*, Sr. *Hugh Dauphin*, the Lord of *Roſhefort*, and divers others; with all whom he drew toward *Berry*, and the Marches of *Touraine*, where being mightily reinforced, he began to make terrible War upon the good Country of *Poictou*; but he found it ſo well furniſhed with Men of War, both Knights and Eſquires, that no conſiderable Advantage was likely to be gained here. Yet beſides all this Power of the Duke of *Berry's*, there were at the ſame time in the Marches of *Touraine* Three conſiderable Captains of the Companions, who held Garriſon there for *France*, as Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, *Carlonet* the *Breton*, and Sr. *William de Bourde*; who all made War upon the *Engliſh*. There was alſo at that time an *Engliſh* Eſquire, named *Percival Damorie*, whom the Duke of *Lancaſter* had left Captain in a Caſtle of his, called *Beaufort*, between *Troyes* and *Châlons*: This Man, ſeeing the War now open, renounced his Allegiance to his Natural Lord the King of *England*, and turn'd to the *French* ſide, and ſware Allegiance to King *Charles*, who received him gladly, Rewarded him well, and left him ſtill Captain of the ſaid Caſtle, adding unto him another Eſquire of *Champaigne*, named *Owen*: ſo theſe two did much miſchief to the *Engliſh* thereabouts; being Perſons of great Valour and Experience in the Wars.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 248. & 249.

But to recompence the Loſs of this *Engliſh* Eſquire, the Noble Lord *Canon* of *Robſart*, who had hitherto been all along on the *French* part, came over voluntarily to the King of *England*, and ſware unto him Faith and Obedience for ever againſt all Men living: Whereat King *Edward* was well pleaſed, not only upon the account of the Man's Valour and Nobility, but alſo of his known Judgement and Integrity; which were ſufficient to add Reputation to a Cauſe, he was pleaſed to own. The Duke of *Anjou* wan over to his ſide certain *Gaſcogners*, Captains of the Companions, as Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, the Little *Mechlin*, the *Bourg* of *Bartuel*, *Edmund Ortingo*, *Perot* of *Savoy*, *Ralph Braye*, and *Nandon* of *Pons*, who all with their Troops turn'd to the *French*, to the great Diſpleaſure of the *Engliſh* on the other part, who were much weakned thereby. But *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, the *Bourg de l' Eſparre*, Sr *Robert Briquet*, Sr. *Robert Thinne*, Sr. *John Freville*, Sr. *Guliard du la Motte*, and *Emery* of *Rochechoüart*, remain'd ſtill for the *Engliſh* Intereſt. Thus Knights and Eſquires chang'd their Copies on both ſides, as Hope, or Affection perſwaded them; eſpecially the Captains of the Companions; for they all took part either with the *Engliſh* or the *French*, none of them remain'd Neuters. The Companions of the *Engliſh* ſide lay for the moſt part about the Biſhoprick of *Mans*, and alſo in baſe *Normandy*, where they had taken the City of *Vire*, and deſtroy'd all the Country about.

II. But theſe Forces were too ſmall to uphold the *Engliſh* Intereſt on that ſide the Sea; wherefore King *Edward* ſent his Son *Edmund* of *Langley*, Earl of *Cambridge*, and his Son-in-Law, *John Haſtings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, to go into the Dutchy of *Aquitaine* to the Prince, his Son, and there joyn him with a certain Number of Men of War, the Chief Captains whereof were the Lord *Guy Brian*, the Lord *Miles Stapleton*, Sr. *John Trivet*, Sr. *Thomas Baniſter*, and divers others, beſide the two Princes. The Lord *Guy* [b] *Brian* was Admiral of the Fleet, toward the ſetting forth whereof King *Edward* had commanded his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, to impreſt all ſuch Ships, as were in the Port of *Kaermerdin*, of one hundred Tunns and upwards, and to ſend them well-mann'd and victuall'd to *Portſmouth* by ſuch a time, to be employ'd by the ſaid Sr. *Guy* in the Kings Service. All things being ready, they took the Sea, as early as they might, being

[b] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p.* 151.

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being in all [c] 500 Men of Arms, and 4000 Archers, who ſailing toward *Bretagne* had Wind at Will, and arrived ſafely at the Port of *St. Malo* in the Iſle. When *John* of *Monford* Duke of *Bretagne*, heard of the Arrival of his Brethren of *Cambridge* and of *Pembroke*, he was very well pleaſed, and immediately ſent certain of his Knights to bid them Welcome, the Chief whereof were Sr. *John de Lantriguer*, and Sr. *John St. Auguſtin*. This Kindneſs of the Duke's highly ſatisfied the two Earls; for till then they were not aſſured, that the Lords, Knights, and Good Towns of *Bretagne*, would give them leave to paſs thrô their Country. But now they boldly deſired that Favour of the Duke, who, whatever new obligations he had to *France*, could not in Honour deny this Requeſt to thoſe, by whoſe Aid he had obtain'd his Dukedom, wherefore he gave them leave, only conjuring them to pay civilly for what they ſhould take. Then the two Earls ſent for all thoſe *Engliſh* Companions, who now lay part in the Fortreſs, called *Chaſteau Gontier* in *Anjou*, and part in the City of *Vire* in low *Normandy*, all whom they took along with them, and ſo paſſed by the River of *Loire* at the Bridge of *Nantes*, without doing any harm to the Country. Now from the time that Prince *Edward* had finiſh'd his *Spaniſh* Expedition, Sr. *Hugh Calverley* was order'd to lie about the Marches of *Aragon*, with 6000 able Men of War of the Companions in his Company, in order to receive the Moneys, for which *Don Pedro* ſtood engag'd unto the Prince: Thô all that expectation proved fruitleſs by reaſon of the Death of the ſaid King, who was ſlain, as we have ſhew'd by his Baſtard Brother. When this Sr. *Hugh Calverley* heard, how the *French* King made War upon the Prince, his Lord, he marched haſtily thrô *Aragon* and *Foix*, and came into *Bigorre*, and ſoon after went and preſented his Service to the Prince at *Angouleſme*, who received him joyfully, and kept him ſtill with him, till his Brother, the Earl of *Cambridge* ſhould come to him with the reſt of the Companions out of *Normandy* and *Anjou*, they having already ſold their Fortreſſes with Deſign to come to his Service. And when the Earl was come, he made Sr. *Hugh Calverley* Chief Leader of all the Troops of Companions, and ſent him into the Lands of the Earl of *Armagnac* and the Lord of *Albret*, there to make War, and burn, waſte, and pillage the Country. Now it is to be remembred, that the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke* tarried ſtill at St. *Malo*, till all their Company had paſſed the *Loire*, as the Duke of *Bretagne* had agreed; and when they had tarried there to refreſh themſelves Four Days, they went after their Men to the City of *Nantes*, where the Duke received them with great Demonſtrations of Kindneſs, and entertain'd them and their Servants Three days. On the Fourth they took their leave of the Duke, and paſſed over the great River of *Loire*, at the Bridge of *Nantes*, and ſo began to enter into *Poictou*; continuing their journey till they came to *Angouleſme*, where they found the Prince and Princeſs.

[c] *Mezeray p.* 81.

Prince *Edward* was extream glad to ſee his Brother, and Brother-in-Law, and enquired of them, how the King, his Father, and the Queen, his Mother did, and having enjoy'd them for Three Days, he then ſent them upon an Expedition into the Earldom of *Perigort*. So they took leave of the Prince, and with 3000 Choſen Men, among whom were divers Knights and Eſquires of *Poictou*, *Sainctogne*, *Limoſin*, *Quercy*, and *Rouvergue*, rode forth in very good Array, and preſently enter'd the Lands of *Perigort* with Fire and Sword. Having taken ſome few Places, they began to lay Siege to a ſtrong Fortreſs, called *Bourdeilles*, wherein were two Brethren, Eſquires, *Arnold* and *Bernard* of *Batefoile*, and ſeveral other Valiant Men, lately ſent thither by the Earl of *Perigort*, beſides thoſe whom he appointed to Defend his other Garriſons and Fortreſſes in thoſe parts; all which were ſingular-well provided with Artillery, Victuals and other neceſſaries to maintain thoſe Places a good while, as generally the Souldiers reſolved to do. So that during this Siege before *Bourdeilles*, there were many Aſſaults made, and many Gallant Feats of Arms performed on both ſides. For the two Eſquires within were right Hardy and approved Captains, and ſuch as hated the *Engliſh* Name mortally: And came frequently to the Barriers, and skirmiſhed Valiantly, ſometimes winning, and ſometimes loſing, as the Adventures of War do uſually vary.

III. On the other ſide in the Marches of *Anjou* and *Touraine*, there were no leſs than a 1000 *French* Spears, as *Bretons*, *Burgundians*, *Picards*, *Normans*, and *Anjouvins*, who did no little harm upon the Prince's Land, being led by Sr. *John Bull*, Sr. *William* of *Bourde*, Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, and *Carlonet* the *Breton*; againſt whom the Prince had laid Men of War in the Frontiers of *Poictou* and *Sainctogne*, under the Command of Sr. *Simon Burly*, Sr. *Dangouſes*, and ſeveral other Knights of *England* and *Gaſcogne*, who yet were hardly one Fourth part of the *Frenchmens* Number; for the *French* were at leaſt a 1000 Spears, and the *Engliſh* not above two or three Hundred at moſt. For the

the Prince had ſent the Lord *Chandos* with 500 Spears into *Montauban*, and a far greater Number with Sr. *Hugh Calverley* into the Lands of the Earl of *Armagnac*, and of the Lord of *Albret*; but the Greateſt Number of all lay now with his Brother the Earl of *Cambridge*, before *Bourdeilles* in the Earldom of *Perigort*: So that there were but few Forces in *Poictou*. And yet even they acquitted themſelves manfully upon all occaſions, and did their Devoir in keeping the Frontier Garriſons, and never refus'd to meet and skirmiſh with the *Frenchmen*, thô they were nothing equal unto them in Number. One day however among others it happen'd, that the *Frenchmen* were certainly informed, how ſome *Engliſh* Troops were abroad; at which News they were glad, and laid a great Ambuſh of 500 Men to receive them, as they ſhould come back from an Enterpriſe, which they had accompliſhed between *Mirebeau* and *Luſignan*. And ſo as they were returning by a broken way, the *Frenchmen* roſe up out of their Ambuſh, and came upon them with great Fury, being headed by Sr. *John Bull*, Sr. *William* of *Bourde*, Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julien*, and *Carlonet* the *Breton*. Then there began a fierce and hot Rencountre; for the *Engliſh* fought with much Courage and Skill, as long as they were able to endure, and their Captains Sr. *Simon Burly*, and Sr. *Dangouſe* approved themſelves like Noble Knights that day: But being little more than an handfull of Men in compariſon with the *French*, and they ſurpriſed too, they were at laſt utterly diſcomfited, and forced to flight. Sr. *Dangouſe* ſaved himſelf, as well as he could, and eſcaped into the Caſtle of *Luſignan*; but Sr. *Simon Burly* was ſo narrowly purſued, that he was taken Priſoner, and almoſt all his Men either taken or ſlain: But a very few eſcaped clear off. AN. DOM. 1369. AN. REGNI *Angliæ* XLIII. *Franciæ* XXX.

With this Victory the *French* return'd joyfull to their Garriſon, having ſent the glad News of their Succeſs to the King, who received it well: But the Prince of *Wales* was much diſpleaſed at the Loſs, eſpecially becauſe Sr. *Simon Burly* was taken; for he loved him entirely, and had been educated with him from a Child, and alſo Sr. *Simon* was Maſter of many Noble and Worthy Qualities, and had all along bore himſelf with much Honour in the Service of *England*; and beſides, they were all extraordinary Men both for Courage and Loyalty, that were either ſlain or taken at that time. Wherefore the Prince took this Loſs as a very conſiderable Blow given unto him; and no wonder, ſince ſometimes One Man is worth an Hundred; and ſome One Man by his Wit and Conduct will do more good for his Prince and Country, than a Thouſand others. But the Prince ſaw, that ſuch Events were the natural Products of War, and that it was the uſual Faſhion of the World to bring forth freſh Loſſes and Croſſes; wherefore he choſe Patience for his Remedy. However this was gain'd by that Miſchance, that ever after the *Engliſhmen* and their Friends rode with more care abroad, and in greater Numbers.

IV. This while the Lord *John Chandos*, and Sr. *Guiſchard* of *Angouleſme*, alias *Dangle*, were at and about *Montauban* with their Troops, a matter of ſeven Leagues from *Tholouſe*, where they undertook many great Enterpriſes, but brought but few of them to any good Effect; having as yet done little more, than that they kept the Frontiers. Wherefore now they reſolv'd to go and lay Siege to *Terrieres* in *Tholouſaine*, and having made all things ready, they went from *Montauban* and inveſted it quite round. Here they found it was not feaſable to carry the Place by Aſſault or any other way, than by Mining: So they ſet their Pioneers at Work; who did their buſineſs ſo well, that the Town was enter'd, taken, and plunder'd, and all within put to the Sword. During that ſame Expedition they had intended to have taken another good Town, named *La Vaur* on the River *l' Agout*, about ſix Leagues from *Tholouſe*, on the very Confines of *Albigeois*. With this deſign they laid a ſtrong Ambuſh in a Wood hard by, and ſent away Fourty of their Company, ſecretly armed, but in the Habit of Countrymen to go and ſeiſe on the Gates. But they were betray'd by a Boy of the Country, who was on foot not far from them, when they came from the Ambuſh in the Wood, and ſo ran before them, and diſcover'd their Enterpriſe; and thus that project being daſh'd they return'd to *Montauban*.

About that very time the Duke of *Anjou*, being at *Tholouſe*, ſent forth the Earl of *Perigort*, the Earl of *Cominges*, the Earl of *Liſle*, the Vicount of *Carmaine*, the Lord *de la Barde*, Sr. *Bertram de Taride*, the Lord of *Pincornet*, Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, the *Bourg* of *L' Eſparre*, the *Bourg* of *Bartuel*, *Edmund Ortingo*, *Ralph Braye*, *Perot* of *Savoy*, and *Nandon* of *Pons*, and others with their Troops, to the Number of 10000 Men. Theſe Men preſently made an Impreſſion into the Land of *Quercy*, where they began to do much Miſchief in burning and ravaging the Country, and ſo came before *Realville*, and there laid a ſtrong Siege to the Town. But the Seneſchal of *Quercy* had

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so well furnished the Place with all things necessary, that it was not likely to be won easily; especially since the Garrison resolv'd to die every Man, rather than to yield up the Place, thô the Townsmen would gladly have received the *French*, if they durst. Wherefore the Captains of *France* sent to *Tholouse* for Four great Engines, which they made ready and reared up against the Walls, casting therewith both Night and Day massie Stones, and huge pieces of Timber against the Fortress; besides which, they set their Pioneers a Mining: But the *Englishmen* with great Courage comforted each other, and slighted all their Art and Fury; thô at last for want of Succour We shall find them to be taken only by reason of the Mines: But for the present We shall leave them.

[d] *Froiss. c.* 252. *f.* 152.

V. While these *French* Captains [d] were thus busie in *Quercy*, the Duke of *Berry* was in *Auvergne* with a great Power of Men of War, the chief Leaders whereof were the Lord *John* of *Armagnac*, his Uncle the Lord *John de Villemur*, the Lord *Roger Beaufort*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, the Lord *Villiers*, the Lord of *Semur*, the Lord of *Tarascon*, Sr. *Hugh Dauphin* and many more, who ravaged about the Marches of *Rovergue*, *Quercy* and *Limosin*, where they did much Harm, and at first found no great Opposition. And besides this application of Force, there were not wanting other Arts, not then so frequent in the World, but since those Days very common, which made use of the help of the Church to blow up a Fire of Combustion in the State. For the subtle Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry* prevailed with the Archbishop of *Tholouse*, who was a Politick and Learned Prelate to go to the City of *Cahors*, of which place his Brother was then Bishop; and here together these two Brothers so elegantly preached, and set forth the Right of King *Charles* against King *Edward's* Pretensions, that the whole City turned *French*, and sware unto the *French* King Faith and Homage from that time. And with these Arts the Archbishop rode about thrô the Country, and every where took care to set forth the Equity of his Masters Quarrel with such advantage of popular Arguments, and the Reputation which he added thereto from Religion and Scripture Proofs; that together with the Terror of the Duke of *Berry's* Arms, and those of the Duke of *Anjou*, who hover'd thereabout, he obliged no less than sixty Towns, Cities, Castles and Fortresses, to submit to the Obedience of the *French* King, who had indeed the cheif place in their Hearts before. And as this Archbishop went abroad abetting and maintaining the King his Masters Cause, in and about the Marches and Limitations of *Languedoc*: So also in *Picardy* divers other Prelates and Clergymen brought the Right of the Two Kings into their Pulpits, where they discussed the Matter so plausibly, that King *Edward* was ever concluded in the wrong. And the Common People, who in those Days readily swallowed more Course Morsels than these, were fully satisfied with all that was said; thô in my Opinion, it is not only below the Dignity of Princes to make use of such abject Devices, but also no way corresponding to the fame of Learning and Religion, to appeal so fawningly to the Vulgar, whom as they please they may easily cheat with false Colours. But in *France* Dr. *William Dorman* was especially remarkable for these Tongue Victories, for he rode about from Town to Town, and from City to City, and spake with such power and force of Rhetorical Insinuations, and handled his Points so cleverly, that all who heard him, believed in a manner every Word he said; and the Controversie between the two Kings was so artificially represented by him, that the *French* King had apparently the Advantage on his side. Besides all this King *Charles* himself was so moved with Devotion, [e] that he not only caused Fastings and Processions to be used throughout his Realm by the Clergy, but Himself also and his Queen would often attend them going barefoot; and in all Churches there were put up continual Prayers to God, devoutly requiring and imploring of his Majesty, to assist and maintain the Right of the Realm of *France*, which had suffer'd so great Tribulation for so many Years. Nor was King *Edward* less Pious, or less (honourably) Politick: For he also used the same Method thrô his Kingdom, the rather that his Subjects might be the more ready to venture their Lives and Fortunes in a Cause, which they first understood to be Just and Right. There was at that time one Dr. *Simon Tibald, alias Sudbury* Bishop of *London*, a Man very well seen in the Canon Law and the Scriptures, and of great Eloquence, who made many Sermons in the most publick places of the City, declaring and proving unto the People, that the *French* King had renew'd the War, not only against his Oath, but also against all Right and Reason, with manifest Injustice, Fraud and Perjury; all which together with King *Edward's* Title to *France*, he demonstrated with great force of Argument and Rhetorick, to the ample satisfaction of all his Auditors. And I must confess, that it might not seem unnecessary for both the Kings to provide, that their Subjects should be generally

[e] *Froiss. ibid. Mezeray, &c.*

nerally informed of the particulars of their Quarrel; that so they might more readily, and with a good Conscience assist their several Masters in this War, at which both the Nations were sufficiently alarum'd already. And King *Edward* himself, who was as well furnish'd with Wisdom as Valour, nothing doubted, but that this War would prove as great and as momentous, as ever any he had been engaged in, because of the Advantage which the *French* King had gain'd by surprising him thus, as chiefly because of the new Method of this his politick Enemy, and also of the Mutability of his *French* Friends. Wherefore he thought it fit for his behoof to stirr up all his Assistants and Allies, that might any ways lie opportunely to divert the impending Mischief: And so he sent into *Brabant* and *Hainalt*, to learn whether they would own his Quarrel or no; and especially he desired Duke *Albert* of *Bavaria*, who at that time govern'd the Country of *Hainalt*, instead of his Elder Brother Duke *William* (who had been for some time before Distracted, and continued so to the day of his Death) to open his Country upon Occasion, and to let him go and come into *France*, or tarry there if need should be with an Army. Duke *Albert*, at the Request of the King of *England* his Uncle, especially because Queen *Philippa* his Dear Aunt, urged him also thereto, readily granted to have his Country open for the use of King *Edward*, being not a little perswaded to this Matter by *Edward* Duke of *Gueldres*, who was Son to King *Edward*'s Sister *Eleanor*, and had lately married Duke *Alberts* Daughter; and with him concurred the Duke of *Juliers*, who was Cosen German to the said *Albert* of *Bavaria*. These two Lords were strictly bound to King *Edward*, the one being (as we said before) his Nephew, and the other the Cosen German to King *Edward*'s Children, and to the said Duke of *Hainalt*; and yet by many other Ties were they obliged to the *English* Interest, and each of them was by Covenant retain'd to serve King *Edward* with a 1000 Spears apiece at their own Charges. And therefore they not only advised the King now to bring over Duke *Albert*, but they also Themselves joyn'd their Perswasions; so that what by their Means and the *English* Gold, he was at first won to declare himself for *England*. But when the Lord of *Cominges*, who was then in the Court of *France*, heard thereof, he hasted into *Hainalt*, where he menaged Matters so cunningly with the Lord *John Verchin* Seneschal of *Hainalt*, by whose Advice all the Dukes Matters were chiefly order'd; and who in his Heart lov'd the Interest of *France* beyond that of *England*; that by the Concurrence of the Earl of *Blois*, and the Lord *John* of *Blois* his Brother, together with the Lord of *Ligny*, and the Lord of *Brabanson*, who were all well belov'd with the Duke and Dutchess of *Hainalt*, King *Edward's* Design was wholly quash'd, and the labour of his Ambassadors overthrown: Thô even they could obtain no more of the Duke than this, that both He and his Country would stand Neuter in the Affair; and the same Answer was also return'd by the Lady *Jane* Dutchess of *Brabant*: For at that time her Husband was absent, being in *France*, where he contracted secretly a League with that King.

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VI. And surely King *Charles* of *France*, who was a notable Politician, had secretly prepared himself many Friends both in *Hainalt* and *Brabant* almost two years before, and had brought over to his Interest the greater part of the Chief Counsellors, and Friends of all the Great Lords of both Dukedoms. And now to put the better Gloss upon his renewing the War, and to make his Cause more plausible in the Eyes of the World, he copied out divers Extracts of the Letters relating to the Peace made at *Bretigny*, and ratified at *Calais*, and therein he set forth the Substance of what he according to his Obligation had done, and of what the King of *England* and his Children had not done, thô by Oath and Honour bound thereto: All along producing such Articles and Points as made for Himself, and against King *Edward*, but cunningly concealing, smothering or colouring what made to a contrary purpose: So that his Cause seem'd only just, and the *English* bare all the Blame. And also he privately caused certain Learned in the Laws to be Feed to set forth their Opinions at large, concerning the Right of the *French* King against the King of *England*, both as to the Matter of the Crown, and also to the Superiority and Resort of *Aquitain*; and there are yet [f] Extant two Discourses on that Point, written by two Famous Doctors of those Days, belonging to the University of *Bononia* in *Italy*, whose Names were *John de Lyana* and *Richard de Salicete*. Many of which Papers, and others of the like Nature, together with his own Letters, the *French* King procured to be published in the Courts of all the Princes, and Great Lords, his Neighbours, the better to prepare them to allow of his Quarrel. So that King *Edward* to save his Credit, was obliged also to use his Pen against this New sort of Enemy, and to justifie and defend his Claim, and to prove the Breach of the Peace to lie wholly at the *French* Kings Doors; which he performed

[f] *M.S. Reverendi Dr.* Joh. Spencer *S.T.P. C.C.C. apud* Cantab. *Magistri & Decani Ecclesiæ Cathed.* Elienfis.

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notably by his Letters ſent into *Germany*, and other Places where he valued his Reputation, or thought to have any Friends. From which Humour of both the Kings [g] *Paulus Æmylius*, rather ambitious to ſhew his Rhetorick than Hiſtorical Fidelity, has invented two notable Declamations, which he ingeniouſly enough fancies to have been ſaid before *Charles* the Emperour and his Son *Wenceſlaus*, the one by an *Engliſh* Orator in Behalf of his Maſters Cauſe, and the other by a *Frenchman* who holds the contrary opinion: Whereas if that Author had conſulted *Decorum*, he would have remembred, that King *Edward* often proteſted to acknowledge no Mortal, whether Pope or Emperour, as Judge of his Controverſie; and that he had but little Reaſon to expect to find the Emperour any thing favourable to him, ſince he ſlew his Father at the Battle of *Creſſy*; and could not be ignorant, how mightily he was addicted, as well as more nearly allied to King *Charles* and the Houſe of *France*. Wherefore we, who religiouſly endeavour to avoid theſe Gaudy Vanities, thô we have Matter enough of Authentick Arguments to fill up a Speech or two, yet preferring the venerable ſimplicity of Truth to all the Fucoes of Vain-Glory, ſhall here ſet down the Arguments on both Hands, as they were then really ſtated by the Beſt Lawyers of both Kingdoms; in which doing, leſt where our Authorities cannot be ſeen, our Faith be called in queſtion, We declare not only, that our ſelves are wholly ignorant in this, as well as many other Sorts of Learning, but that the Ancient Copies are to be ſeen in *Latine* in a *M.S.* of the Reverend Dr. *Stillingfleet* Dean of St. *Pauls*, and in *Engliſh* in another *M.S.* of the Reverend Dr. *Spencer* Dean of *Ely*, and Maſter of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*, which *Engliſh* Copy appears to have been with much Care tranſlated from the other by ſome Perſon of Quality for the Uſe of that Moſt Noble Prince of *Wales*, *Henry*, Eldeſt Son to King *James* the Firſt.

[g] *Paul. Æmyl. f.* 294. *&c.*

And to omit the ſeveral Preambles touching *Succeſſion of Women*, and *Succeſſion by Repreſentation*, as alſo touching *Diſtance of Degrees*, and *Collateral Succeſſion*, I ſhall the readieſt way come to the Matter; but firſt (thô in ſome meaſure we have more than once ſtated the Caſe before) it is neceſſary for Evidence ſake here again to ſet down the Matter of Fact, as it happen'd in the Realm of *France*. *Videlicet*, That King *Philip*, Son of St *Lewis* King of *France*, had two Sons lawfully begotten, *Philip* the Fair, and *Charles* of *Valois*; And that the ſaid *Philip* being Eldeſt, after the Death of his Father, obtain'd the Kingdom, and that *Charles* deceaſed, leaving behind him *Philip* of *Valois* his Son lawfully begotten. That afterwards *Philip* the *Fair* begat Three Lawfull Sons, *Lewis*, *Philip* and *Charles*, and alſo One Daughter named *Iſabel*, who was married to the King of *England*, and brought forth *Edward* the Third, whilſt the foreſaid *Philip*, Grandfather to the ſaid *Edward*, remain'd alive. That at laſt *Lewis* and *Philip*, Brothers to *Iſabell* being Dead without Iſſue Male, King [h] *Philip* their Father alſo died. That after him reigned the foreſaid *Charles*, his only Son ſurviving, who likewiſe died without Iſſue. Now according to the State of the Fact, the Queſtion doth riſe in Law to be this. The Lady *Iſabell*, next Collateral to her Brother King *Charles*, being diſabled to Succeed by a continued Cuſtom of that Realm, or by a Statute lawfully publiſhed, which excludeth Women from Succeſſion in the Kingdom, whether *Edward* her Son, or *Philip* Son of the Firſt *Charles*, who was Uncle to this Laſt King *Charles*, ſhould carry the Crown and Kingdom of *France*, according to the Lawfull Rules of Succeſſion.

[h] This to be favourably taken; for *Philip* died firſt, and then his Three Sons in order ſucceeded.

In which doubtful Caſe, I ſhall firſt lay down certain Reaſons on the Behalf of *Philip*: But before other Matters, becauſe the whole Knot of the Buſineſs is rooted upon the Cuſtom and Statute whereof I have ſpoken, leſt the Foundation ſhould fail, I will ſtrengthen that Statute with certain Reaſons, and Firſt thus.

Arguments for the *French* Kings Right.

This Statute (as it is preſuppoſed in the State of the Queſtion) was lawfully made and publiſhed, the Nobility of the Realm being thereto called, and all thoſe, who had any Right or Intereſt in this Caſe to be called. So that it proceeded from the whole Council of the Realm lawfully aſſembled. Therefore whether Authority to make Statutes be a Matter of meer or mixt Empire, or elſe of ſimple Juriſdiction, the Statute is of Force, and Good [i] in Law.

[i] Arg. *l. Illicitus. §. Qui univerſis. ff. de Offic. Præſid. l. Humanum C. de Legibus. l. Omnes populi. ff. de juſt. & jure junctis. ibi notatis* Barth. *in primâ quæſtione principali ſuæ repetitionis, unà cum notatis ejuſdem in l. Imperium in quæſt. ſuâ, quæ incipit Quer. quibus Judicibus ff. de Juriſdict. Omnium Judic.*

Again this Statute is greatly confirmed by the Apparent Profit, which by the good Proviſion thereof is much procured to the Realm of *France*. Leſt if a Woman ſhould ſucceed, the Weakneſs of her Sex might become Fatal to the [k] State: Whereto ſtrongly maketh the Law *Fœminæ ff. de Reg. Juris*, with other Laws which affirm, [l] that Women muſt not exerciſe ſuch Offices as appertain to Men.

[k] Arg. *ad hæc Inſt. quibus alie. licet non vel in Fl. primi re.*

[l] *ff. de poſtuland. l. 1. §. ſexum junct. ib. gl. fac. & l. in multis. ff. de ſtatu Hominum.*

This is alſo made good, in that Law, which was in Force in the Middle Time of the Empire of *Rome*, bearing more Favour unto Men in Succeſſion of Collaterals (of which

which Quality is this now in Question) did sometimes dispose, [m] that Inheritances should pass from one to another among the Male Kindred, althô they were in a very distant Degree. But the Women Kindred should then only succeed in case they were Sisters; If they were more remote, whether descended of Sisters or any other, they were held incapable. For if that Law could exclude Women Kindred from Lawfull Succession, as it did, because otherwise the Correction thereof comprised in these cited Laws had not been necessary (for that which is not, [n] cannot be abolished, broken or corrected) *Then* this [o] Statute may do the same in the Kingdom of *France*.

Again, that the Right of a Kingdom is carried by Hereditary Succession, or by Prerogative of Custom, it is brought in only by Positive and Civil Law, [p] to wit Custom. Therefore it followeth, that it may be taken away by the same Law, and consequently by the Law of this *Statute* [q] or *Custom*. By which it seemeth to be as clear as the Light, that the Lady *Isabell* could not come to the Crown of the Realm of *France*, as being altogether disabled and excluded by Statute.

So then upon this Foundation thus laid beforehand, many Reasons may be raised against King *Edward*. For lawfull Successions proceed by Degrees; that is from one Degree to another: So that as a Man is nearer in Order of Degree, so [r] is he stronger in Right of Succession. But in Case of our Question, the nearer and stronger Degree of *Isabell* is plainly disabled from Succession by Statute. Therefore this Lawfull Succession, as interrupted or stopped by Her, cannot proceed to a further Degree, *viz.* to King *Edward*: Because Succession goeth on by Steps, and not *per saltum*, [s] as *Baldus* noteth. And this Sequel is proved, for [t] that the Overthrow of Order is also the Overthrow of that which is to be Ordered: And upon [u] Destruction of the Antecedent, the Destruction of the Consequent doth ensue.

Again, if King *Edward* should make Claim of any such Succession, this must be by reason of the Royal Blood, derived unto him from King *Philip*, his Grandfather by the Mothers Side, by the Mean of his Mother. But the Mother had no such Blood in her self, capable of Succession, as it appeareth by that which hath been said; *Ergo*, [x] She could not convey the same unto her Son.

Again, every [y] Right by Derivation thereof is made more feeble: Therefore if this Blood was not of Ability to succeed in the Mother, as it appeareth before, much less shall it be of that Ability being conveyed and deriv'd into King *Edward*. The Form of Proof is taken *à Majori ad Minus*. To the same Purpose an Argument may be drawn from [z] another Law, where a Son, being in the Power of his Father, cannot appoint his Son, and the Grandchild of his Father (who holdeth Authority over both) to take upon him to be the Heir of his Mother deceased; upon Consideration of this Reason, that the Father, who giveth Authority is in that Case, that by Himself in Person he cannot enter into such an Inheritance. Therefore by parity of Reason in the Case of this Question, the Mother *Isabell* cannot give Right of Succession to King *Edward*, because by her Self in Person she is not able to succeed. To the same purpose serveth the Law, *Filium habeo. ff. ad Senatusconsultum* Macedonianum.

Again, where a Nephew or Grandchild hath a Grandfather, and a Father of divers Conditions, the Nephew shall bear the Condition not of his Grandfather, but of his Father, from whom immediately he descendeth, and to whom only he shall succeed; [a] althô the Father shall be of worse Condition than is the Grandfather. Therefore this King *Edward* shall succeed only the Disabled Condition of his Mother, which is his immediate Parent, and not the Condition of his Grandfather, who is mediately his Ancestor: Because a Disposition to this Effect cannot descend to Him, but by a *Mean*, by which *Mean* he cannot succeed, no more than she her Self could.

Again, the State of the Mother chargeth the Sons with no Condition [i] from which she her Self is free: Therefore the State of the Mother is the Cause, that her Son hath no Right of Succession, from which she her Self is excluded. The Consequent is proved, because an Argument is good in Law [c] from a Charge to a Benefit, and likewise to the Contrary.

Again, in Succession of Collaterals (of which quality is this in Question) the Sons of the Brother, or Sister deceased, are raised in the Rank and Place of their Father or Mother, and do represent their Person only, and not their own, as by many Examples it doth appear. For when Brothers both by Father and Mother do concurr with Brothers by the Father only, or only by the Mother, to the Succession of a Brother deceased, They, who are joyned by both Parents do [d] exclude those, who are joyned only by One. Put case then, that a Man hath Brothers joyned to him by One side only, and Sons of a Brother deceased, who was joyned by both sides, which of these shall succeed him, if he die Intestate? Surely if we consider the Sons of the Deceased Brother in their own Persons, because they are not Brothers both by Father and Mother to their Uncle (of whose Succession the

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[m] *Inst. de Leg. Agnat. succ.* §. *Cæterum ubi benè facit ratio ejusdem.* §. *posita ibi. Quod ideò C. de Leg. her. l. Lege XII Tab.*

[n] *ff. de injust. rupt. & irrit. test. l. nam etsi.*

[o] Arg. *præmiss. & ff. de Legibus l. non est novum & l. de quibus cum similibus*

[p] *Le. & no. 8. q. 1. c. Moses. ibi glo. & Archid.*

[q] Ar. *ff. de Reg. jur. l. Nil tam naturale. Inst. de jur. natur. Gent. & Civ.* §. *Sed Naturalia & inst. de legit. Agnat. tutela.* §. *Fi.*

[r] *Inst. de legit. Agnat. Success.* §. *Placebat. & ibi not.*

[s] *In tit. qui feud. da. poss.* §. *& quia. & facit l. ut Gradatim. ff. de munere & oner. injunct. l. qui indignus. ff. de Senatoribus.*

[t] *L. tria prædia. ff. de servit. rust. præd.*

[u] *ff. de Offic. ejus, cui mand. est Jurisdictio. l. 1.* §. *hujus rei argumentum.*

[x] Arg. *l. Nemo. ff. de Reg. Jur. & l. traditio. ff. de acquirendo rerum Dominio.*

[y] *ff. l. Plenum. ff. si usus ministerii. ff. de usu & hab.*

[z] *Filius familiâs. ff. de acquir. Hæred.*

[a] *C. de Decurionib. l. Privilegio lib. 10.*

[b] *L. Nullus solius C. de Decurionibus l. 10.*

[c] Arg. *l. secund. Naturam. ff. de Reg. jur. adidem etiam & eo. mod. facit. l. si Pater ff. quæ in fraud. Credit. in Prin.*

[d] *Auth. post fratres C. de Her. & dict. est. S. presuppositione tert.*

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Doubt is made) they ſhould not exclude the Brothers by Father only, or by Mother only; ſeeing they are more diſtant in Degree: But becauſe in all Reſpects they repreſent the Perſon of their Father, and poſſeſs his Right, they [c] exclude the Brother of the Deceaſed, by the Father or by the Mother only. Now therefore in the caſe in Queſtion, concerning the Succeſſion of a Brother deceaſed, ſeeing *Edward* the Son of the Siſter *Iſabell* ſhall repreſent in ſuch Succeſſion the perſon only of his Mother, and ſeeing ſhe is diſabled (by that which is before alledged) and could not ſucceed, neither can He.

[c] *Auth. de Her. qui ab inteſt. §. ſiquis Conſanguineus Coll. IX.*

To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth the Law, [f] which ſaith, that if a Patron uſeth violence to his Libertine, or Freedman, and thereby diſableth himſelf, that he cannot ſucceed him, this Diſability doth not only affect his own Perſon, but alſo extendeth to his Poſterity: That as well they, who are Deſcended of him, as himſelf, do thereby loſe the Right of Succeſſion. In like manner, here the Diſability of the Mother extendeth unto her Poſterity, and conſequently unto King *Edward*.

[f] *L. qui contra. ff. de jure Patron.*

Again, the Diſabled *Meane* corrupteth, or maketh void, [g] as in the Law, which ordaineth, that a blemiſh or diſability in a Former Degree infecteth thoſe that follow: So that they cannot claim the Right of Succeſſion, or Privileges of their Anceſtors. *Ergo*, &c.

[g] *L. à Divo Marco C. de queſt. & §. hoc autem notandum. tit. qui feud. da. poſſ.*

Again, in Succeſſion of Collaterals, a [h] Right never poſſeſſed by that Perſon, who hath former place in Degree, is not tranſmitted to thoſe that follow. But this *Iſabell*, who was before King *Edward* in Degree, was never in Poſſeſſion of that Right, becauſe ſhe could not by reaſon of the Statute, and therefore ſhe did not tranſmit it to her Son.

[h] *C. de his qui ante apert. tab. l. vinc. arg. à contrario ſenſu. junct. ib. no. at. Cy. in VII. queſt. ſua arg. & l. ſi ita legat. §. ſi volet. ff. de leg. I*

To the ſame purpoſe an Argument may be drawn from the Law [i] which ſaith, that if a Father hath a Natural Son, who cannot ſucceed him, althô his Son begetteth a Natural and Lawfull Son, yet that Nephew or Grandchild in reſpect of the Grandfather, ſhall be only Natural, and is not Legitimate in regard of [k] his Goods, althô he be for his Fathers Goods. And the reaſon is there added, becauſe ſuch Right of Legitimation cannot be tranſmitted unto him by any Lawfull Conſequence, but by interpoſition of the Natural Iſſue it is interrupted. Therefore in the Caſe in queſtion, ſeeing the Precedent Perſon hath no ability to ſucceed (as had not the Iſſue, who was only Natural) it cannot be ſaid by any Conſequence in Law, that Legitimation (that is to ſay, Right to ſucceed) is transferred from her unto her Son (as was not to the Natural and Lawfull Iſſue) becauſe the Antecedent being overthrown, *&c.*

[i] *L. ſi. C. de Naturalibus liberis.*

[k] *i.e.* Grandfathers.

To the ſame purpoſe an Argument may be brought from the Law [l] wherein is compriſed, that the Son loſeth his Right of Patronage in Freed-men, becauſe he is ſet at large from his Fathers Authority, and therefore may Lawfully be ſued by them without leave of Court. But what if afterward he ſhall have a Son Lawfull not ſet at Liberty, but in the Power of his Father, whether may he challenge right of Patronage from the Perſon of his Grandfather. And it is ſaid, becauſe the Father, being between him and the Grandfather, is emancipated and freed from his Fathers Power, he cannot. Therefore in like caſe King *Edward*, althô Legitimate, cannot make claim, becauſe his Mother placed in the Middle, is excluded by Statute, and ſo, as it were, emancipated and ſet free.

[l] *L. ſed ſi hâc lege ff. de in jus vocand. §. ſed ſi filius meus emancipatus.*

To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth that, which *Joh.* [m] hath noted, whoſe Words I will ſet down, becauſe of the Authority of the Writer, which is a matter of great Regard. He [n] maketh this queſtion, What if the Son of a ſervant, whoſe Father is Free, will contract Marriage, whoſe conſent ſhall be required? Whether the Fathers or the Grandfathers? For one of their conſents he [o] muſt have; althô if it be done without their conſent, the Marriage doth hold. The Text of Law [p] plainly ſaith, not the Fathers, becauſe he is in ſervitude, but the Grandfathers. But the Gloſs there ſaith, that if this Son were conceived, during the ſervitude of his Father, [q] he ſhall not be in the Power of his Grandfather, becauſe the Grandfather receiveth Power over the Nephew by the Father. Here then he was free, when he begat him, of whom the queſtion is made; but afterwards he became [r] a ſlave. And this maketh againſt the King of *England*: For admitting that he might have Right in the Kingdom of *France*, yet it is by no other way, but by his Mother, as the ſame King acknowledgeth. But the Mother is diſabled to ſucceed in the Kingdom, *Ergo*, &c. Alſo the Mother, when living, claimed nothing, as in Right ſhe could not, therefore 'tis impoſſible, that King *Edward* ſhould have any Right: For it is hard and repugnant to reaſon, that a Man ſhould come to the extreams, but by the *Meane*, as it is expreſſed [s] in the *Extravagant* of Pope *Boniface*. And hereof I have ſpoken in [*] another place. For if ye exclude him from whom

[m] *In Collect. in c. 2. propoſuit de conjug. ſerv.*

[n] *Arg. ff. ſi cert. pet. l. 1.*

[o] XXX. *q.* 1. *c.* III, IV. & V.

[p] XXXII. *q.* 3. *c. patrem.*

[q] *Inſt. de pa. po. §. ſi. d. c. patrem.*

[r] *Vid.* the Words of *Joh.* in his Collect. becauſe the Book, which I have ſeen is very falſe.

[s] *Incip. Unam Sanctam.*

[*] *C. Cum Marthæ de Celebr. Miſſ.*

whom I have, or may have, Title, you [t] do thereby alſo exclude me. And if the Grandchild ſhould ſucceed by the Perſon of his Mother, ſhe being excluded, he cannot come in; as in the Caſe propounded [u] *Speculator* hath alſo noted. Thus far againſt *England*.

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Here follow Arguments for King Edward's *Right to the Crown of* France.

To *the Contrary*, for King *Edward* theſe Proofs do ſtand: And *Firſt*, We may be induced to be of Opinion, that the Statute beforemention'd ſhould not be of force: For that the Daughter ſhould ſucceed in the Inheritance of her Parents it is a Precept of the Law of God, as it is expreſſed, *Numbers* XXVII. v. 6, 7, 8. upon Petition of the Daughters of *Zelophehad*; whereto ſerved that of *Tobit* VI. v. 11. & 12. It is alſo a Precept of the Law of Nature; which [x] is alſo confirmed by the Canon Law, and by the laſt Civil Law; whereby all difference of Sex and of Kindred, whether by Father or Mother, is taken [y] away. Therefore ſeeing it is againſt the Law of God, the Law of Nature, the Law Canon and Civil, to exclude a Woman from Succeſſion to a Kingdom, which is carried in Courſe of Succeſſion by Right of Blood, as the [z] Law expreſſeth, and as *Baldus* after *Inno*: [a] firmly holdeth, it followeth, that this Statute is not of any ſtrength in [b] Law.

But admitting, that this Statute ſhould be of ſtrength, yet ſhall it not hurt King *Edward*, that his Mother, althô diſabled thereby, ſhould the leſs tranſmit the Right of Royalty unto him. This is plain: For where there is Ability in regard of the Common Law, althô there be a Diſability by a ſpecial Law; yet this Impediment of Diſability ſhall not be any hindrance, that a Right ſhould not be conveyed by ſuch a diſabled Perſon to another; as appeareth by the Law, where [c] a Stranger being of Ability by the Common Law, althô diſabled by ſpecial Law, to receive a Benefit by Title there expreſſed, yet he tranſmitteth that Benefit to another. Therefore ſeeing *Iſabell* is of Ability by Common Law, as it is manifeſt by the Premiſes, althô I ſhould confeſs, that ſhe is diſabled by ſpecial Law of the ſaid Statute, yet this Right of the Kingdom may be carried from her unto King *Edward*.

Again, by a Diſabled *Meane* (ſo it be not altogether of no Ability) a Right may [d] be tranſmitted to another, which the Interpreters of the Law do note, in handling the Queſtion of a Procurator not enabled, having a Warrant to make a [e] Subſtitution. But here the *Meane*, which is *Iſabell*, is not altogether of no Ability, as appeareth by that which hath been ſaid: Therefore, *&c.* And that *Iſabell*, being the *Meane*, is not altogether diſabled, by the Statute, whereof we ſpake, it is plain: For the Right of a Kingdom is carried by way of Inheritance, in reſpect of the Royal Blood, as it appeareth by that which hath been alledged, and ſaid in the Firſt Reaſon of this part. But the Right of Blood cannot by any Covenant of Man by any Civil Law be altogether broken, or determin'd againſt. Therefore the Right of Royal Blood, which is in *Iſabell*, remaineth ſtill enabled, at leaſt in Habit and Power to this Kind [f] of Succeſſion. It ſeemeth alſo, that this Royal Blood in *Iſabell*, is conſiderable two ways, One, as Royal Blood; another, as Royal Blood qualified. Therefore althô ſuch Blood may be ſaid to be diſabled from Succeſſion to the Kingdom, in regard it is in a Woman; yet can it not be ſo ſaid, in regard that it is ſimply [g] Royal: In which regard it ſhall be eſteem'd of Ability to tranſmit and carry a Right to another.

But althô I ſhould confeſs, which yet I do not, that by ſuch Statute the Mother is altogether diſabled from Succeſſion, yet it ſeemeth, We may hold, that King *Edward* is to be admitted to the ſame Right. And that by a notable Law, [h] where it is ſaid, that althô the Mother be incapable of the Succeſſion there mentioned, yet others, who are deſcended of her muſt be admitted, as if the Mother were not. For that muſt not hurt or prejudice, which cannot help or benefit a Man, *Ergò*, &c.

Yea, althô We ſhould grant, that the Mother is ſo diſabled, that ſhe can tranſmit no Right unto King *Edward*; yet may he make claim from his Grandfather by the Mother, to wit from King *Philip*. This is proved by that [i] Law, where the Father being baniſhed, the Sons do not loſe thoſe Rights, which proceed from their Anceſtors, or elſe from Nature. And therefore they ſhall be Lawfull Heirs to their Brethren and Tutors [or Guardians] to their Kindred, notwithſtanding the Miſadventure of their Father. In like ſort the Royal Succeſſion ſhall be due unto King *Edward*, becauſe it cometh to him by his Lineage and Blood, notwithſtanding the Calamity of his Mother.

To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth another Law, [k] where a Son begotten after that his Father hath loſt thrô his own fault the Dignity of a Senator, ſhall be the Off-ſpring of a Senator from the Perſon of his Grandfather who retaineth that Dignity. Where the

[t] *C. quamvis de ſen. & re judicat.*
[u] *Guliel. Durandi in ſpeculo Juris. tit. de Succeſſ. ab Inteſt. Verſic* Quid ſi.
[x] *Auth. de Her. & falc. §. ſemper & ibid. Glo. not. in ver. filiis ff. de Bon. Damnatorum. l. cum ratio & ibi ſimiliter bona. Gloſſ. in verb. Parentes.*
[y] *D. Auth. poſt Liberos.*
[z] *In C. Grandi de ſup. negl. præl. lib. VI.*
[a] *In Repertorio ſuo ſuper* Inno. *in verb. Rex, quæſtione 2.*
[b] *Arg. Inſt. de Jur. Nat. Gent. & Civili §. ſed Naturalia. ff. de ſepulchro violato l. 3. §. Divus funct. notat.* Bartholi *in l. omnes populi in 3. quæſt. Principali ſuæ Repetitionis ubi videte & notat. Cy. C. de precibus imp. offerend. l. reſcriptum. q. 3. unà cum notat.* Joh. Fabri *in d. §. ſed Naturalia.*
[c] *ff. de Legatis præſtand. l. 3. §. ſed ſi proponas.*
[d] *ff. Quod cujuſque Univerſ. nomine. l. item eorum §. ſi Decuriones.*
[e] *Joh. And. in de Religioſis in fi. de Procur. ubi etiam Geſſal. in in verb. ſubſtituere & Paulus in verb. Commiſſum & Card. ext. de uſur. c. 2. & junct. in c. fi. de Procur.*
[f] *Ar. l. Jus Agnationis. ff. de pactis l. Jura ſanguinis. ff. de Reg. Jur. & l. Abdicatio. C. de patriâ poteſtate.*
[g] *Arg. l. Celſus ff. de Arbitris.*
[h] *ff. ad Tertull. l. 2. §. fi.*
[i] *ff. de Interdict. & Relegat. l. 3.*
[k] *L. Emancipatum in fi. ff. de Senator.*

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the [l] Father is Patron of a Libertine, or Freed-Man, and by whom Right of Patronage ſhould be tranſported to the Son; if he loſeth his Right thrô his own Default, becauſe he compelleth his Freed-Man to take an Oath, yet doth not the Son alſo loſe his Right. And ſo the Father may without Offence be ſued by the Libertine, but the Son cannot. Divers other [m] Laws to the ſame purpoſe may very aptly be alledged.

So then, King *Edward* may make his Claim from the Perſon of his Anceſtors, althô he cannot from the Perſon of his Mother. The Diſability of his Mother is no hurt or hindrance unto him, as it appeareth by the Law, where [n] the Preſcription of the Second Poſſeſſor is not interrupted, or any ways infeſted, althô ſuit was brought againſt the Firſt Poſſeſſor. Becauſe the Succeſſor taketh no ſtrength or encreaſe of Title from him, that went before. *Ergò*, &c.

To the ſame purpoſe other [o] Laws may be alledged; but moſt ſpecially the Law *Filius ff. de ſuis & legitimis Hered.* which ſerveth fitly to this purpoſe, by an Argument taken from the contrary ſenſe. For there it is ſaid, that if a Son be debarred from ſucceeding his Father, and a Stranger appointed Heir upon Condition, during the Dependency whereof, the Son ſo debarred hath a Son Lawfully begotten, who is Grandchild in reſpect of the Grandfather then deceaſed. Althô the Condition ſhould fail, yet the Lawfull Inheritance ſhall not come to the Grandchild born after his Grandfathers Death; the Reaſon is, becauſe he was conceived after the Death of his Grandfather. Therefore from the Contrary ſenſe, if he had been conceived during the Life of his Grandfather, his Lawfull Inheritance ſhould have come unto him, althô his Father being in the Middle, ſhould have been diſabled before his Conception, as there he was. So conſequently in the caſe here in Queſtion, ſeeing King *Edward* is ſaid to have been conceived, and alſo born, during the Life of his Grandfather, King *Philip*, as it is preſuppoſed in the State of the Queſtion, the Lawfull Inheritance of his Grandfather *Philip* (which is the Kingdom) ſhould come unto him, notwithſtanding the Diſability of his Mother.

Again, that this Statute, which diſableth the Mother, ſhould in no caſe be hurtfull to King *Edward*, it may thus be proved. The Words of a Statute muſt not be extended to a caſe, not expreſly compriſed [p] within the ſame. Eſpecially, for that Statutes are taken in Law to be of ſtrict Interpretation, as [q] *Bartholus* noteth. But by the Words of the Statute a Man is not excluded, and the Feminine Gender doth never comprehend the Maſculine, eſpecially in Matters, that are [r] Odious. *Ergò*, &c.

Again, the Diſpoſition of a Teſtator, and of the Law are eſteemed equal: For the laſt Will of the Dead is a [s] Law. But the Teſtator by excluding the next in Blood, excludeth [t] not thereby his Grandchildren; and therefore a Law or Statute doth not ſo exclude.

Again, whereſoever the Reaſon of a Law, or of a Statute ceaſeth, the Law or Statute [u] doth ceaſe. But in the caſe in Queſtion, the Reaſon of the Statute ceaſeth in regard of King *Edward*, becauſe it ſeemed to reſpect only the weakneſs of the Sex of Women, of which Sex King *Edward* is not.

Again, Statutes, Laws, and Cuſtoms, which are brought in againſt common Reaſon, are [x] moſt ſtrictly to be taken in their proper Terms and Caſes, and in no wiſe to be extended by Conſequence to other Caſes. But this Statute is againſt common Reaſon, as it is deduced in the firſt ground for this part. Therefore ſeeing it ſpeaketh only of a Woman, it muſt not be extended to her Son. As in reaſon of Divine Juſtice, Original Sin is propagated to Children from their Parents, who are altogether freed from Sin by Baptiſm: By the ſame Reaſon it ſeemeth, that the Royal Succeſſion may paſs to the Son from his Mother, who was altogether deprived of the ſame.

Again, that in the Caſe now in Queſtion, King *Edward* is more ſtrong in Right, than King *Philip*, his Great Uncles Son, it is thus proved. Althô the Son repreſenteth the Perſon of his Father or Mother deceaſed, when he joyneth with his Uncles ſurviving, or their Sons, in ſucceeding to an Uncle or Aunt deceaſed, yet when he cometh to ſucceed with Kindred more remote, to wit, with his Great Uncle or his Sons (as it is in the Caſe now queſtion'd) he ſhall exclude that remote Kindred, and ſucceed alone by his own Perſon, and ſhall not repreſent the Perſon of his Father or Mother, and from thence receive either Benefit or [y] Diſadvantage. Therefore althô in our Caſe the Mother of King *Edward* be diſabled, yet ſhall he in his own Perſon ſucceed and exclude the ſaid *Philip*, becauſe he is further off in Degree, to wit, in the Fourth Degree from King *Charles* (of whoſe Succeſſion this Debate doth ariſe) whereas King *Edward* is in the Third Degree.

Again,

[l] *ff. de jus voc. l. adoptivum in fi.*
[m] *ff. de jure Patron. l. Divi fratres. §. fi. & ib. glo. not. & facit glo. in d. l. Adoptivum in fi. & l. Emancipatum in fi. ſup. allegat. & Eb. Bart. Will. de Cun.* viz. *in l. Emancipatum. & facit ſimiliter. ff. de bon. l. b. l. in ſervitutem. §. ſi Patroni.*
[n] *L. 1. C. de Præſcript. long. temp.*
[o] *L. fi. C. Unde Liberi. & l. 1. C. de Edicto ſucceſſorio, cum ſimilibus junct. glo. in d. l. finali.*
[p] *Ar. ff. ſol. Matr. l. ſi verò. §. de viro.*
[q] *In l. omnes populi. ff. de juſt. & jure in 6. queſt. principali circa med.*
[r] *ff. de leg. 2. l. ſi ità ſit ſcript. & nota* Cyn. *c. de ſervis fugit l. quicunque.*
[s] *Ut in Aut. C 7 §. diſponat. Coll.* IV.
[t] *ff. de lib. & poſth. l. ſignis Poſthumus.*
[u] *L. Adigere §. quamvis. ff. de jure Patron.*
[x] *L. quod non ratione junct. l. quod contra ff. de Legibus.*
[y] *Not.* Cyn. *in d. Auth. poſt Liberos.*

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Again, it being granted, that they are equal in Degree, as they are not, yet it seemeth, that King *Edward* is to be preferred. For Right of Inheritance in proper Nature is principally due unto Deſcendants; whereupon the Law [z] ſaith, that in Succeſſion to thoſe, who die inteſtate, the Firſt Place is given to Children, becauſe they are [a] Deſcendants. But it is certain, that in reſpect of King *Charles* (of whoſe Succeſſion we now do treat) King *Edward* is in the Third Degree of the Collateral deſcending Line: But *Philip* is in the Fourth Degree in the equal Collateral Line. Therefore ſeeing that King *Edward* not only hath Prerogative of Degree, but alſo is favoured by reaſon of Deſcent, it followeth, that He is to be preferred before *Philip*, &c.

[z] *L. Nam eiſi parentibus. ff. de inoff. teſtam.*
[a] *Inſt. de Her. qui ab inteſt. in princip.*

Nonnulla deſiderantur.

VII. *The Reaſons, which the* French *alledge for excluding* Edward *the* Third, *King of* England, *and his Poſterity both from the Kingdom, and the reſt of his Inheritance in* France, for Brevity ſake I ſhall reduce to theſe few Heads; That either a Woman had Right to ſucceed or not; if a Woman had, then the Three Daughters of *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* the *Long*, and *Charles* the *Fair*, ſhould have had the Right before the Mother of King *Edward*, who was but Siſter to thoſe three Brethren Kings, becauſe the Daughters ought to be preferred before the Siſter in the Succeſſion of their Fathers, as every Man doth know. [*But here lies the Fallacy, that whereas 'tis acknowledged on King* Edward's *Part, that the Daughters Perſons are excluded, and the Siſters alſo, but not their Male Iſſue, thoſe Daughters at the time of the Vacancy of the Kingdom by the Death of King* Charles *the* Fair, *had neither of them any Iſſue Male, but King* Edward *the Son of the Siſter was then a Male, and actually King of* England.] Then is urged the Force of the *Salique* Law, which is ſaid to have been approved and confirmed by *Charles* the Great, by which means, ſay they, King *Edward* could not be admitted to the Crown of *France*, ſince he could lay no Claim but by his Mother, who could not give that to Him which ſhe her Self never had, nor in Right could or ought to have. And to this purpoſe or effect, the Uſe and Cuſtom hath been at all times notoriouſly obſerved within the Realm of *France*, that when a Woman is expelled from any Succeſſion, or from Succeeding in a Fee, the Sons which are deſcended of her, are always precluded and excluded from the ſame. Neither ſhall it ever be found, that a Woman hath ſucceeded to the Crown of *France*, or [b] given Right of Succeſſion to a Man or to a Woman. And ſo it appeareth evidently, that the Law, whereby a Woman is utterly debarred from the Succeſſion to the Realm of *France*, was not made in the Time of King *Edward*, nor of his Mother, nor in Prejudice of them. For in Caſe a Woman might or ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of *France*, that Law ſhould have been prejudicial to the Daughters of the Three Brothers Kings, who Reigned ſucceſſively in *France*, and not to the mother of *Edward*, who was but Siſter of the ſaid Three Brothers.

[b] The Falſity of this appears *l.* 1. *c.* 22. §. 1. *p.* 289.

Then it is urged, that King *Edward* before he began the War, had done Liege Homage unto King *Philip de Valois*; and it could not ſtand, that King *Edward* ſhould be Supream Lord, and alſo Vaſſal of one and the ſame Thing. And that this Liege Homage remain'd in the Treaſury of the Kings Charters at *Paris*, in the Letters Patents of King *Edward*, with a ſilk Label and green Wax, the Tranſcript whereof is extant [c] in the former Part of our Hiſtory.

[c] *Vid. Lib.* 1. *c.* 3. §. 1. *p.* 37.

That yet notwithſtanding King *Edward* unjuſtly, and without good Tittle, made mortal War by notorious Attempts upon the King of *France* his Leige Lord, he laid Hand alſo upon the Perſon of his ſaid Lord, incurring the Crime of Felony and Treaſon; wherein the ſaid King *Edward* grievouſly offended, and ſo loſt by way of Confiſcation all that which he had within this Realm, whether in *Aquitain*, or any other Place. Inſomuch as yet further, neither he nor his Succeſſors were afterwards capable, or ought in Terms of Juſtice to have the ſame Lands and Dominions. So much is the Crime of Treaſon by all Laws, by all Rights, by all Men of juſt Judgment diſallowed and condemned.

That afterwads King *John* being taken Priſoner by Miſadventure of War, a certain Treaty was made at *Calais* in the Year 1360, whereby the *Engliſh* had the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, and the County of *Ponthieu* and *Monſtreul*, and ſhould have had alſo a certain Summ of Money, whereof they received Fourteen Thouſand Pieces of Gold, which was no otherwiſe conſented unto, but that they ſhould avoid all the Villages and Fortreſſes, which their Followers or other Adherents then held in the Realm of *France*. And further, King *Edward* ſhould have ſent his Meſſengers or Procurators unto *Bruges*, within a Year after that Treaty to accompliſh certain Matters, which both He and his Sons, and other Great Lords of *England* had taken Oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts, and upon the Holy Sacrament to perform: And yet they neither came, nor ſent to the

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said place of *Bruges*. And so the Messengers of the King of *France* expected them a long time, for performance and accomplishment of that which had been agreed and promised on his Part. And as for the Avoidance out of the said Towns and Castles, many Knights and Esquires, and Others yet alive do know and can testifie; as they, who oftentimes armed themselves, and travelled for Recovery of them by Sieges, Assaults and other Means, to the great Charge of the King of *France*. Whereupon it followeth, that the *English* are bound to the Restitution of all that which was deliver'd unto them by the said Treaty of *Calais*, upon Condition and Limitation before expressed, together with the Charges and the Interest since that time, and the same Treaty is to be held void in Law.

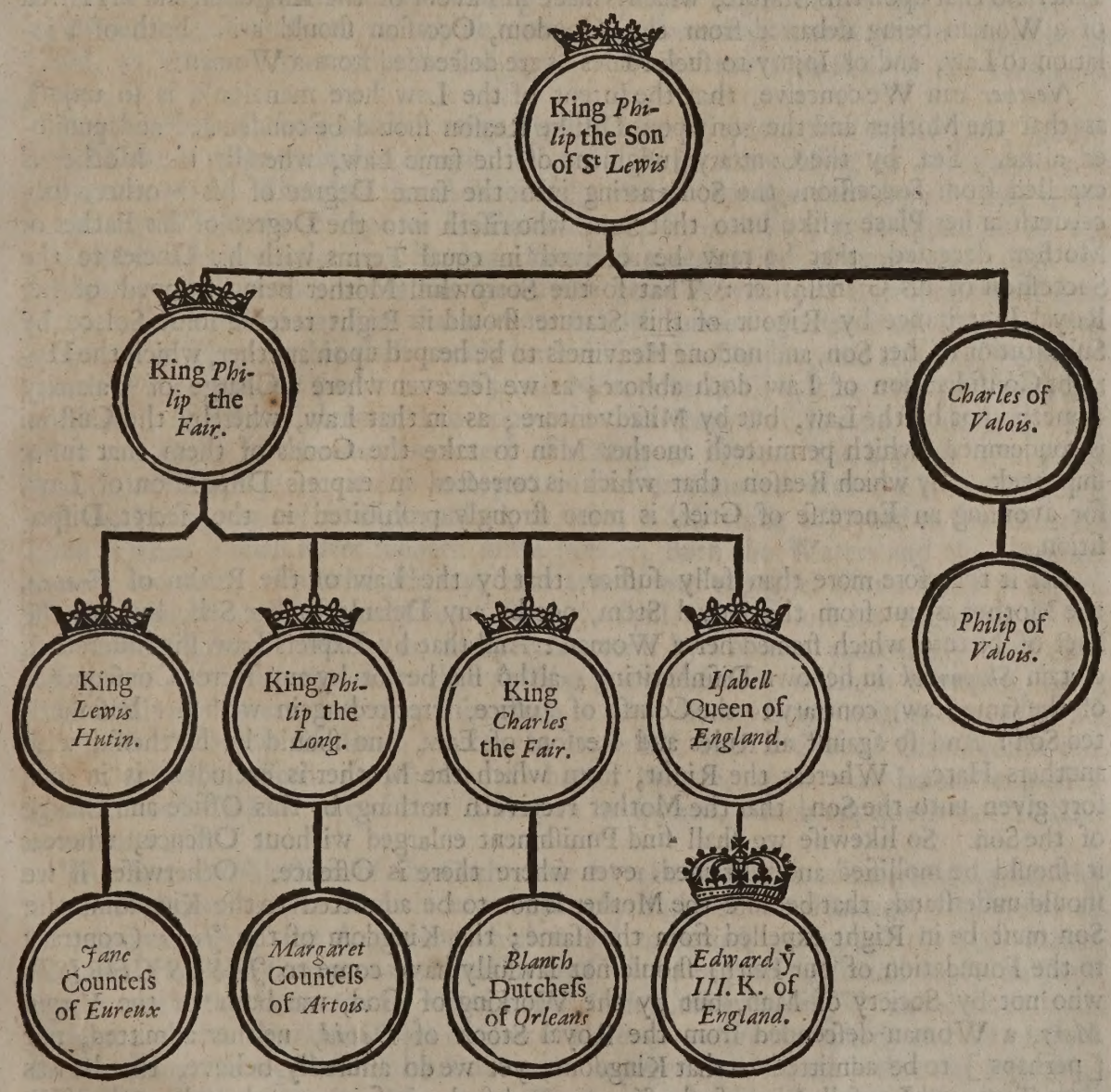
Then 'tis declared, how King *Philip* who was Earl of *Valois*, succeeded to the Crown of *France*, as next Heir Male of the said Crown, drawing his Descent from Male to Male, by the Right Line of Holy King *Lewis*: Whereas it is but 214 Years or thereabouts, since the *English* had first any thing in *Aquitain*. It is further alledged, how the *English* by acting many Outrages and Mischiefs disabled themselves from holding the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, and the County of *Ponthieu* and *Monstreul*, unless they would acknowledge the King of *France* for their Sovereign Lord. And therefore that the said King of *France* hath resolved by strong Hand, and by way of Affecting the Execution of Justice, to cause the said Lands and Dominions to be reduced into his own Possession, and to be annexed to the Right of the Crown of *France*. For that a Soveraign Lord hath no clearer Means of Purchase or Encrease, than by way of Confiscation; especially of that which riseth upon the Crime of Treason, as it is in this present Case.

It was also set forth at large by the Letters and Rescripts of King *Edward*, how the King of *France* never renounced either the Reversion or Soveraignty of those Lands, which were deliver'd to the King of *England* by the Treaty of *Calais*: And it was said by way of Corollary, that neither the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, nor any other Lands whatsoever ought ever to be deliver'd to the *English* upon any Respect, because (among other Reasons) the *English* never yet had, altho' it were but one Foot of Land in *France*, whether it were by Marriage or otherwise, but in the end they always raised Wars and Troubles against the King and State of *France*.

And further there were noted and set down many Expeditions made into *Aquitain*, both before and since the time of *Charles* the *Great*, occasion'd by Justice of the Kings of *France*, for Condemning and Depriving many Dukes of *Aquitain*, because of their Rebellions and other bad Behaviour, declaring manifestly, that the said Dutchy of *Aquitain* was sometime the Proper Right and Inheritance of the Kings of *France*; and that did evidently appear, in that *Charles* the *Great* made and ordained *Lewis* the *Gentle*, his Eldest Son, King of the said Country of *Aquitain*; as King *Dagobert* long before made *Hubert* his Brother by the Fathers side only. Many other things are there contained, which pretend to answer all that the *English* could say or alledge: But We shall now hear what the King of *England* could say in his own Behalf, when We have first set down a short Genealogical Table of the Descent from St. *Lewis* to King *Edward* and *Philip* of *Valois*.

THE

VIII. THE
PEDIGREE
OF THE
Kings of FRANCE
From *Philip* the Son of St. *Lewis* untill *Charles* the *Fair*.



IX. *Reasons alledged by the KING of* ENGLAND *for his Right and Title to the Kingdom of* FRANCE.

UPON Suppoſal, as it is evident and notorious in Fact, that *Philip* of Famous Memory, ſometime King of *France*, the Father of *Charles* of Honourable Remembrance King of *France*, laſt deceaſed, and of the moſt Gracious Lady, *Iſabell* Queen of *England* our Mother, was our Grandfather by the Mothers Side: Then was no Male ſurviving, nearer than We to the ſame King *Charles*, at the time of his Death, of all thoſe, who were deſcended with him from our Grand-

1 *Reaſon*, Proximity in the Deſcending Line.

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father *Philip* Uncle to our Adversary. Now the Person of a Woman is not capable of that Kingdom by a Law therein anciently observed, which Law by way of final Cause respecting the Favour of that Realm, lest the State thereof should decline under the Weak Government of a Woman, by Excluding the Person of a Woman doth not therefore exclude the Person of a Man descended of a Woman so excluded: Lest Matters Odious should be extended (which is Odious in Law) from Person to Person, from Sex to Sex, from Cause to Cause, from Hatred to Favour: And lest the Feminine Gender (which is contrary to all Rules of Law) should comprise the Masculine, especially in a case of an Odious Nature. For to this end the Law before mention'd excludeth the Weakness of Women from bearing Rule, that more Profitable Provision might be made for the State, and that the next Male, no otherwise debarred, might be Assumed into her Place, especially to that Right, which did not first spring from the Mother so excluded, but is originally derived and propagated from the Grandfather to the Grandchild. Otherwise by this odious Enlarging another Absurdity in Justice would ensue, that the Nearer Collateral should be excluded, and the more distant and remote brought in: Seeing that by the Law of Nature and of Nations, Brothers and Sisters and their Sons are preferred in mutual Succession before other Collaterals in another Line. So that upon this Statute, which is made in Favour of the Kingdom, and in Hatred of a Woman being debarred from the Kingdom, Occasion should arise both of Violation to Law, and of Injury to such Males as are descended from a Woman.

2 *Reason*, Restraint of things odious.
3 *Reason*, the Femin. Gender compriseth not the Masculine.
4 *Reason*, Derivation of Right from the Grandfather by the Mother.
5 *Reason*, Absurdity in Law.
6 *Reason*, The Descending preferred before the Collateral.

Neither can We conceive, that the Intent of the Law here mention'd is so unjust, as that the Mother and the Son upon Dislike Reason should be condemned and punished alike. Yea, by the Contrary Judgment of the same Law, whereby the Mother is expelled from Succession, the Son entring into the same Degree of his Mother, succeedeth in her Place; like unto that Son, who riseth into the Degree of his Father or Mother deceased, that he may be received in equal Terms with his Uncles to the Succession of his Grandfather: That so the Sorrowfull Mother being stripped of her Royal Inheritance by Rigour of this Statute should in Right receive some Solace by Substitution of her Son, and not one Heaviness to be heaped upon another, which the Upright Consideration of Law doth abhorr; as we see even where a Charge of Calamity cometh, not by the Law, but by Misadventure; as in that Law, whereby the Custom is condemned, which permitteth another Man to take the Goods of them that suffer shipwreck. By which Reason that which is corrected in expres Disposition of Law, for avoiding an Encrease of Grief, is more strongly prohibited in the secret Disposition.

7 *Reason*, the cause or reason of the Law ceasing.
8 *Reason*, the Son entreth into the Degree of his Mother to succeed his Grandfather.
9 *Reason*, One vexation not to be added to another.

Let it therefore more than fully suffice, that by the Law of the Realm of *France*, the Mother is cut from the Royal Stem, not by any Default in her Self, but by the Fact of Nature which framed her a Woman: And that by Expres Law she suffereth a certain *Shipwreck* in her own Disinheriting; althô she be not by any secret Consequence of the same Law, contrary to the Course of Justice, wrecked again with her Disinherited Son: And so against all Rules and Reasons of Law, one should be burthen'd with anothers Hate. Whereas the Right, from which the Mother is excluded, is in such sort given unto the Son, that the Mother receiveth nothing by this Office and Charge of the Son. So likewise we shall find Punishment enlarged without Offence, whereas it should be mollified and restrained, even where there is Offence. Otherwise, if we should understand, that because the Mother is not to be admitted to the Kingdom, the Son must be in Right expelled from the same; the Kingdom of the *Jews* (contrary to the Foundation of our Faith) should not lawfully have come to *JESUS CHRIST*, who not by Society of Man, but by the Working of God, was born of the Virgin *Mary*, a Woman descended from the Royal Stock of *David*, neither admitted, nor [perhaps] to be admitted to that Kingdom; yet we do assuredly believe, that he was then True and Lawfull King of the *Jews*. And far be it from our thoughts, that *JESUS* the Son of *David* by Royal Succession, should either break or unty the Knot of Observing the Law, seeing he came to accomplish the Law, and not to break it. And this Excellent Example of Lawfull Succession may reasonably stop their Mouthes, who babble against our Right to the Realm of *France*, *viz.* That they be not separated, either by Constitution or Construction of the Law, in Regard of Lawfull Degree and Order of Succeeding, whom in that Regard the same Reason joyneth as Equal.

10 *Reason*, One not to be burthen'd with anothers Hate.
11 *Reason*, Punishments to be restrained.
12 *Reason*, from an Instance of great Authority.

Neither were we duly called in this Business, which did so greatly concern our Prejudice; And moreover our Procurators, who were then in *France*, that for Us and in our Name, they might propose and oppose what should be Expedient, were not only not admit-

13 *Reason*, because not called.

admitted in Judgment, but repelled with terrible Commination of Death. And ſo that which was paſſed by the Twelve Peers of *France*, doth nothing relieve or juſtifie our Adverſary. And if the Examination of our Caſe had pertained to the ſaid Peers, which it did not, becauſe they are not our Competent Judges: Yet they ſetting apart the Office of Judges, did unjuſtly (in regard of Us, to whoſe Minority, to whoſe Tender Age at that time Favour ſhould have been afforded) perform the office of open Spoilers, whoſe Proceſs in Prejudice of Us, althô it had been made by Competent Judges, our Minority ſhould have rendred of no Effect. And yet the ſame could not ſtand in Force againſt a Man of Age, being debarred from ſuch Defence as proceedeth from the Law of Nature, which cannot be taken away by any Prince or Poſitive Law of State.

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14 *Reaſon*, becauſe in Minority.

Let us ſee now, what flattereth the Conſcience of him, that poſſeſſeth the Kingdom of *France*, due and devolved unto Us by Right; upon what Favour of Law he feedeth, with what Colour of Juſtice he is cloaked, when he wanteth Ground of Law to ſuſtain the Juſtice of his Cauſe againſt Us. Among other things he is ſaid to pretend Objections taken from Us; the Homage which We acknowledged unto his Grandfather for the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, and the Oath, which We made unto him for the ſame. That He, who could ſay nothing in his proper Right, might find ſomewhat to ſay by fetching Objections to oppoſe, from Us: Suppoſing it ſufficient to ſupplant a Child, as We were then, that he had againſt Us Full and Free Rule in the Realm of *France*.

Two Objections, *Homage* and *Oath*.

But the *Firſt* of theſe is taken away by Authority of ſpecial and expreſs Law, whereby a Minor is relieved in his Harms, inſomuch as an Act tending to his Grievance is altogether void. Therefore the Acknowledgment of Homage done by a Minor, overcarried by Weakneſs of Age to his Exceeding Loſs, and alſo (as it appeareth by the great Prejudices upon the ſame Homage intended againſt Him) circumvented, doth not endammage that Minor, whom the ſpecial and good Proviſion of Law preſerveth from Harm. For who will not ſay, that a Minor is both harmed and deceived, if by acknowledgment of Homage He ſhall unduly both ſubject his Dutchy, and alſo loſe the Kingdom of *France*, when (as it is ſaid) it is Notorious in Law, that this Minor is King of *France*, to whom alone and to none other, as King that Dutchy is ſubject. For when the Duke of *Aquitain* becometh alſo King of *France*, the Dignity of a Duke ſettleth in the Kingdom, and is incorporated and confounded with the Royal Dignity, and the Name thereof is extinguiſhed, as being a leſs thing adjoyned to the Greater: Even as when a ſmall River runneth into a greater, both the Waters and the Name are therein drowned. For who will ſay, that ever it was thought, that a Minor in expreſs Terms acknowledging Homage for a Dutchy, ſhall ſecretly loſe his Right to a moſt Excellent Kingdom? And ſo in the Speech utter'd by a Minor, exceedingly both damnified and deceived, not only that ſhall be comprehended, which is expreſſed, being reſpectfully not great, but that alſo which is very Great, being neither expreſſed nor imagined. Whereas if ſmall Matters be expreſſed, and a General Clauſe followeth, the Clauſe compriſeth no Matter of higher Nature, than was before expreſſed. Neither doth the Law intend that Thing to be ſpoken, which appeareth not to have been meant.

The *Firſt* Objection anſwered.

The *Second* Objection of the Oath made by the Minor in acknowledging his Homage, is altogether untrue, as it may appear by ſight of the Homage, which was acknowledged. And that Argument which is ſaid to be inforced againſt the ſame Minor, *viz.* that Homage ſimply made is taken by Cuſtom to preſuppoſe and imply an Oath, cannot work any harm to the Minor: For ſuch Cuſtom is deny'd, and althô it ſhould without prejudice be granted; yet is it not of force (as before is touched) to hurt a Minor, that by doing Homage he ſhall be ſaid ſo to be engaged by his Oath; that the Extremity of the *Novell Conſtitution*, *Sacramenta Impuberum*, ſhould take place againſt him. For ſeeing that *Authentick* Conſtitution doth rigorouſly and newly diſpoſe againſt Wretched Minors, who are endamaged, in that an Oath ſhall prejudice them, in Contracts concerning Affairs of their Eſtates; this muſt be underſtood of a true Corporal Oath, Generally for reſtraint of things, that are Odious, and eſpecially, that thoſe Acts, which take away Religious Relief of Minors, be not drawn into Conſequence. For a Civil or Imaginary Act is not of equal Force with a Natural Act, which is required in an Oath, to the Prejudice of a Minor; where the Law doth not ſpecially ordain, what ſhall be held of like eſtimation.

The *ſecond* Colour removed.

Anſwer to the Novel Conſtitution *Sacramenta Impuberum*.

Alſo the Words of the ſaid *Authentick* do exclude the Reaſon of an imaginary Oath; for that it ſaith not ſimply----*The Oaths of them under Age*, but----*The Oaths*

of

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of them under Age voluntarily made. For an Oath voluntarily made by a Minor is of ſuch a Nature, that it can by no reaſon be equall'd by an Oath, which a Minor ſhall be imagin'd, or ſuppoſed, to have made, except ſpecial Conſtitution of Law ſhall ſo provide. Thoſe Oaths likewiſe, which are called Voluntary, or are ſuppoſed by General Cuſtom, receive no derogation by ſpecial privilege, granted unto Minors. Alſo by Authority of Great Doctors the ſaid *Authentick* requireth an Actual Oath to exclude a Man from impugning an Act by reaſon of his Minority in years. Of whom ſome, moved perhaps by too free favour to prevent and provide againſt the Grievances of Minors, do then only admit of this *Authenticall*, when full Puberty, to wit, the Age of XVIII Years, is accompliſhed: That the Written Rigour to the cruel undoing of Minors, may ſo proceed, that it ſhall rather fall than riſe. But here it was not ſworn in that manner, or by ſuch a Perſon, the Minor being within the Compaſs and Courſe of that time. Yea, the Truth is; *That no Oath was made at all.*

Thus were the ſeveral Cauſes of the two Kings ſet forth and maintain'd by Law and Argument, but 'tis ſeldom heard, that ever a Crown was won by pleading; the ſword being too Powerfull for the Law, and Prejudice more prevalent than Juſtice or Reaſon. Wherefore now we haſten to the ſecond Argument, which was to be diſcuſſed in the Field, but as yet the two Main Diſputants were not matched together. However [a] firſt of all the Duke of *Guelders* and the Duke of *Juliers*, who were perfectly *Engliſh* in Heart, as well as in Blood, took it in extream Indignation, that the *French* King had ſent a Defiance to ſo Mighty a Prince, as King *Edward*, by the Hands of a mean Valet; horribly in their minds blaming both him and his Council, for putting ſo unworthy an Affront on ſo Honourable a Monarch. "For, ſaid they, the War between two ſuch "Potent Kings ought ſurely to have been publiſhed and denounced by Perſons of the "beſt Rank and Quality, as Prelates, either Biſhops or Abbots, or ſome Noble Baron "or Valiant Knight at leaſt; and not by a ſimple Valet, as the *French* King had moſt "inſolently and preſumptuouſly done. Wherefore they vow'd forthwith to ſend and defie the *French* King, reſolving ſhortly after to invade *France* with Fire and Sword, and there to leave ſuch Marks of their Reſentment, as ſhould be legible for more than 20 Years following. Althô this their Reſolution was diſappointed by the Celerity of the *French* King: For hereupon the Earl of St. *Paul*, being order'd to joyn with the Duke of *Brabant*, went againſt theſe two Dukes of *Juliers* and *Guelders*. Toward the Declining of this Year [b] the two Parties met together in a place, called *Baeſwilder*, between the *Rhine* and the *Meuſe*; where after a Bloody Fight, on the one ſide, the Duke of *Juliers* was ſlain, and on the other the Duke of *Brabant* taken Priſoner; but ſoon after by the Emperours means he was deliver'd and ſo this Matter was ended.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 252. *f.* 153.

[b] *Mezeray p.* 83.

CHAPTER the SIXTH.

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fairs. XII. *The* Engliſh *Companions take* Bellepeche, *and therein the Duke of* Bourbon's *Mother.* XIII. *King* Charles *preparing to invade* England, *King* Edward *ſets himſelf in a poſture to receive him.* XIV. *And ſends over the Duke of* Lancaſter *with an Army to* Calais. XV. *The* Engliſh *take the Caſtle of* La Roche Sur Yon. XVI. *The Lord* James Audley *Seneſchal of* Aquitaine, *returning into* England, *is ſucceeded by the Lord* John Chandos. XVII. *The Vicount of* Rochechoüart, *being releaſed from Priſon, revolts from the Prince and defies him.* XVIII. John *Duke of* Lancaſter *makes great havock in* Ponthieu; *at which News King* Charles *leaves off his Deſign of invading* England, *and ſends the Duke of* Burgundy *againſt him with a Mighty Army.* XIX. *The Duke of* Lancaſter *goes forth to meet him, and encamps at* Tournehan: *The two Armies confront one another for many days.* XX. *The Lord* Chandos *intending an Expedition, deſires the Earl of* Pembroke's *Company; but is deny'd; however he goes forth, and does what he pleaſes in* Anjou, Touraine, *and the Lands of the Vicount of* Rochechoüart; *and on Proſpect of a great Advantage over the* French, *ſends again to the Earl of* Pembroke *to come and joyn him; but is again deny'd: Whereupon the Lord* Chandos *deſiſted for that time.* XXI. *The Earl of* Pembroke *deals ſeverely in* Anjou *and* Touraine, *and the Lands of the Vicount of* Rochechoüart, *but being ſurpris'd by the* French *at* Puirenon, *loſes many Men, and is beſieged in a Church-yard; whence he ſends to the Lord* Chandos *for Succour; and being hotly aſſaulted the next day, ſends again.* XXII. *The Lord* Chandos *hardly at laſt reſolves to help him; but upon News of his approach, the* Frenchmen *retire.* XXIII. *The Death of* Philippa, *Queen of* England, *her Tomb, Epitaph, and Praiſe.* XXIV. *The Lord* Robert *of* Namur's *Quarters beaten up by the* French; *but he beats them back.* XXV. *A ſtory of the Earl of* Warwick *exploded.* XXVI. *The* French-men *break up, and march off in the Night; whereupon the Duke of* Lancaſter *returns to* Calais *to refreſh his Men.* XXVII. *The Earl of* Pembroke *makes another Expedition into* Anjou, *and takes* Pont de Cé, *St.* Maure, *and other places.* XXVIII. *The Duke of* Lancaſter's *March thrô* Picardy *into* Normandy, *with Deſign to burn the* French *Fleet. But the Earl of St.* Paul *being got into* Harfleur *with* 200 *Spears, ſaves the Town, and prevents their Deſign.* XXIX. *Sr.* Nicolas Lovaine *takes the Lord* Hugh de Chaſtillon, *Maſter of the Croſsbows of* France. XXX. *The Duke of* Lancaſter *returns to* Calais; *The Earl of* Warwick *dies.* XXXI. *The Duke of* Lancaſter *returns into* England, *and finds himſelf a Widdower. The Death of the Earl of* Suffolk *and of the Biſhop of* Exceſter. XXXII. *The* French *King raiſes a Tax.*

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I. WE ſpake before, how King *Edward* labour'd earneſtly about Five Years ago, to make up a Match between the Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders*, who was Dowager to the laſt Young Duke of *Burgundy* [a] and the moſt Wealthy Heireſs in all *Chriſtendom*, and a Son of his, named *Edmund*, Earl of *Cambridge*; all the particular Negotiations of which intended Match are both too long, and alſo unworthy to be related. The Earl of *Flanders* [b] himſelf was not unwilling, and had alſo enter'd Solemn Engagements by Covenant to promote and effect the Nuptials: But the Lady *Margaret* her Grandmother, a *Frenchwoman*, both in Blood and Affection, oppoſed her ſelf againſt this Alliance with all her Power, being rather minded to fortifie the Houſe of *France*. Wherefore ſhe preſt her Son with all the Vehemence imaginable, even ſo far as to threaten [c] to cut off thoſe Breaſts of hers, wherewith ſhe had given him ſuck, becauſe they had nouriſhed up ſuch an ungrateful and unnatural Son. Theſe Words of hers touch'd him to the Quick; ſo that he reſolved in his Mind to beſtow his Daughter elſewhere: As he had opportunity enough to do, for many great Princes Courted the Young Lady with aſſiduous application; but eſpecially he was call'd upon by the *French* King, to beſtow his Daughter upon his Brother, *Philip* the *Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*. And this Politick King had ſecretly ſo tamper'd with Pope *Urban*, that he could by no means be prevail'd with to allow a Diſpenſation for the King of *England's* Son to Marry her; for they were within the Degrees forbidden. The Earl of *Flanders* therefore [d] being thus preſs'd upon by his Mother, as well as by the *French* King, and finding, by the Pope's obſtinacy, that the Marriage would not preſently take with *England*, eſpecially conſidering, that it was high time for his Daughter to be Married, becauſe he had no more Children, and alſo believing, that the Young Duke of *Burgundy* would be no improper Match for his Daughter, who before had been Married to that Title; upon theſe and the like accounts he ſent certain Meſſengers into *England*, deſiring the King to acquit him from his Obligations, ſince a Diſpenſation for a Marriage with his Son could not be obtain'd by any means.

[a] *Mezeray p.* 78.
[b] *Froiſ. c.* 253. *fol.* 153.
[c] *Mezeray ibid.*
[d] *Froiſ. ibid.*

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means. King *Edward*, who was not apt to ſuſpect any fraud in Princes, and Men of Honour, conſidering withall, that the Young Lady was not to loſe her time, ſince he could not hope for any timely Diſpenſation, freely releas'd him of all Covenants to that purpoſe, of which he gave his Letters; wherewith the ſaid Meſſengers return'd to *Bruges*, and ſhew'd their Lord the Earl, how they had ſucceeded, which pleas'd him wondrous well. And ſoon after the Marriage was fully agreed on, between *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Earl's Daughter, theſe being the Conditions, "That the Earl of "*Flanders* in conſideration of this Match, ſhould have 50000 Franks; that the Towns "of *Liſle* and *Doway*, ſhould be deliver'd up unto him in gage for certain Sums of Mo-"ney, which the *French* King hereupon undertook to pay to the Earl of *Flanders*: Who accordingly had preſent Poſſeſſion thereof, and placed his own Subjects therein. This Compoſition being made and Ratified, they proceeded to the Marriage, which was held and conſummated in the City of *Gaunt* with great Pomp and Solemnity; many High Lords, Barons, and Knights, being preſent, eſpecially the accompliſh'd Young Lord *Ingleram de Coucy*, Earl of *Bedford*, who was ſent thither by the *French* King to add Grace to their Dancing, Juſts, and Triumphs.

But when King *Edward* of *England* ſaw, that the Earl of *Flanders* was by means of his Daughter allied thus to the Houſe of *France*, he knew not what to think, whether or no the Earl would take Part againſt him for the ſake of the Duke of *Burgundy* his Son-in-Law, and Preſumptive Heir: For he doubted much, what kind of Covenants might have paſſed on that Occaſion between the *French* King and the Earl, to his Prejudice. Wherefore he became now more ſevere with the *Flemings*, and vexed them more than heretofore both by Land and by Sea, as they were about their Merchandiſe. And at this the *French* King was not at all diſpleaſed, but rather laughed in his ſleeve; for he hoped, that thereupon a War would enſue between the *Engliſh* and the *Flemings*. But however the Wiſe Men of *Flanders*, and the moſt Wealthy Burgeſſes of the Good Towns had no mind to break with *England*, not only becauſe of their loſs of Trade conſequent thereupon; but becauſe in a manner all the Commons of *Flanders* were abſolutely enclin'd to King *Edward's* Side, and generally believed his Title to the Crown of *France* to be much fairer, than that of the *French* Kings.

II. The mean while King *Edward*, who was as buſie to procure himſelf Friends, as the *French* King was on the other hand; to ballance this Loſs of the Earl of *Flanders*, ſent to his Coſen *Charles* King of *Navarre*, whom he knew to be at no good Terms with the *French* King: Becauſe he claimed a Right of Inheritance to certain Lands which he held, concerning which both their Councils had often treated. But ſtill the King of *France* denied, that he ought to inherit them, and ſo Matters reſted at this time, both the Kings being not yet come to Daggers drawing, but exceeding Jealous of each other. Particularly the King of *Navarre*, who was then in Baſe *Normandy*, began ſeriouſly to fortifie his Towns and Caſtles in *Coutantine*, and the Earldom of *Eureux*, and other Parts of *Normandy*, which came unto Him by his Mother the Counteſs of *Eureux*, or otherwiſe; He himſelf making his chief Reſidence at *Cherburgh*, with Men of War ready in that as well as all other his Garriſons. Among others at this time in his Service, there was that Eminent Warrier Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, who as then govern'd *Carentan*, a City beyond the Paſſage of St. *Clement* in the Limits of *Coutantine*, which belonged to the King of *Navarre's* Inheritance. This Sr. *Euſtace* was one of the King of *Navarre's* Principal Councellors, but a Subject and Liegeman to the King of *England*; wherefore King *Edward* ſent now to him to ſift the King of *Navarre* throughly; and he ſo far prevail'd with him, that at laſt the King of *Navarre* with a private Company, went on Board an *Engliſh* Veſſel called the *Lynne*, and ſet ſail for *England*, where he was heartily welcome to King *Edward*. And here at laſt it was agreed, that the King of *Navarre* immediatly upon his return to *Cherburgh*, ſhould admit *Engliſh* Troops into all his Garriſons, and alſo ſend and defie the *French* King. After which he returned with a ſtrong Convoy of *Engliſh* Knights and Archers into *Normandy*, where he diſpos'd of moſt of the Men in Garriſons; but thoſe few who returned home with the Ships, had but ill Fortune: For they met with certain Pirats, *Normans* and others, who being far ſtronger ſet upon them fiercely, and within a while took and ſlew them every Man, they would not receive one to Mercy. Which was a great Trouble, as well as Loſs to King *Edward*; but the matter was paſt all Recovery.

III. Soon after the King of *Navarre* was return'd ſafe to *Cherbourgh*, Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt* being ſent for by the Prince of *Wales*, took leave of him to go and

ſerve

ſerve the Prince according to his Duty; thô the King was at firſt very loth to part with him; but Sr. *Euſtace* ſhew'd him ſo many Reaſons, that he was forced to give him his leave. So Sr. *Euſtace* went on Board with all his own Troops, and arrived ſafely at St. *Malo*, whence he rode to *Nantes*, there to paſs the River of *Loire*; all which was done not without the Conſent of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who yet otherwiſe ſtood neuter in the Caſe. Thence he rode into *Poictou*, and thence to *Angouleſme* to the Prince, who received him gladly, for he was one of the Beſt Captains of the Age. He had not been long there, but the Prince ſent him away to reinforce the Lord *Chandos* and the Captal of *Buſche*, who lay then at *Montauban*, keeping the Frontiers againſt the *French*: And to them Sr. *Euſtace* was heartily welcome.

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IV. The mean while the Knights of *Picardy* held their Rendezvous, with deſign to go and aſſault the ſtrong Town of *Ardres*, which was about three *French* leagues from *Calais*, about five from *Graveling*, and from St. *Omers* four leagues Northward. The Captains of theſe Forces, by the *French* Kings Command, was the Lord *Moreau de Fiennes* Conſtable of *France*, and Sr. *John Werchin* Conſtable of *Hainalt*, who made up no leſs than a 1000 Spears, all Knights and Eſquires, beſides Common Souldiers. Being thus ſtrong, they went and lay down before the Fortreſs of *Ardres*, which at that time was ſufficiently provided with *Engliſhmen* and all things neceſſary; wherefore the Garriſon valued not the Siege a ſtraw, but were ready at their Defences as Occaſion required, and were at all Points well aſſured; althô the *Frenchmen* had promiſed not to leave them, till they ſhould be Maſters of the Place. After two or three Days the *Frenchmen*, *Picards* and *Hainalders* drew out into the Field ready armed for the Aſſault in freſh and terrible Array, and ſo they ſet upon the Town in ſeveral places together with great Fury, but nothing at all to their Advantage: For many of them were ſlain, and more wounded, but no Man could tell of any Winnings, they either then had, or were like to have. Wherefore on the fifth Day after their firſt coming thither, they left *Ardres* little weaker in its Garriſon, but much ſtronger in the Reſolution, which the Enemies Deſpair of Prevailing had left behind. And ſo that Expedition fell to nothing; for all the Souldiers had leave to depart for that time to their ſeveral Homes.

V. A fairer Succeſs crown'd the Arms of thoſe *Frenchmen*, who lay before *Realville* in *Quercy*, for together with the Companions of their ſide, they amounted to no leſs than 12000 Fighting Men, beſides 3000 of the Duke of *Berry's* Men, lead by Sr. *John* of *Armagnac*, Sr. *John de Villemur*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, and other Knights of *Auvergne* and *Burgundy*, who lay at leaſt within two Days journey of them, being ready to reinforce the Siege if need ſhould be. Now the Lord *John Chandos*, and the Captal of *Buſche*, Sr *Guiſchard Dangle*, Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, and other *Engliſh* Captains, that kept the Frontiers at *Montauban*, were well informed of all the Particulars of this Siege of *Realville*, and of the great Number of Enemies, with whom of themſelves they were no ways able to cope, and at the ſame time not hazard the loſs of their own Garriſon: And yet they could not by any means perſwade the two young Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, to break up for the preſent their fruitleſs Siege, which they held ſtill before *Bourdeilles*, and to come and joyn them to ſave their Friends. Which certainly had been more for their Honour and Advantage too; for then having a pious and an honourable Work they might have returned to the Siege, laden with Glory, and a *Civic*, as well as Triumphal, Crown.

So the *Frenchmen* before *Realville* not only caſt with their Engines night and day, but ſet their Pioneers at work alſo; who at laſt cauſing an huge Pane of the Wall to fall down, the Town was enter'd, and all the *Engliſh* within put to the Sword, which was a great Pitty; for among them were many Valiant Eſquires: But as for the Townſmen, who were *French*-born, they were taken to Mercy, on Condition to be thenceforth True and Faithfull Subjects to the Crown of *France*. And ſo the *French* Lords and Captains, having ſet there New Officers with a good Garriſon to defend the Place, went away and took up their Quarters about in the Country of *Quercy* and *Rouvergue*, to refreſh themſelves more at eaſe: But the Companions of that part went to *Cahors* and thereabouts; from whence they overran and infeſted all the Country, as much as own'd the *Engliſh*; the Names of their Captains were *Edmund* of *Ortingo*, *Perot* of *Savoy*, *Ralph Braye*, the little *Mechlin*, *Arnold* of *Pons*, and others aforemention'd.

But the Earl of *Perigort*, the Earl of *Liſle*, the Vicount of *Carmain*, the Earl of *Cominges*, and other *Gaſcogne* Lords, were fain to return into their ſeveral Countries; For in *Perigort* lay the two Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, and on the other ſide

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Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, Sr. *Robert Briquet*, Sr. *John Freville*, *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, Sr. *Ralph Camois*, the Bourg of *Bartuel*, the Bourg *de l' Esparre*, and all the Companions on the *Engliſh* ſide made ſharp War, and ravaged with Fire and Sword in and about the Lands of the Earl of *Armagnac*, and of the Lord of *Albret*.

VI. All this while Sr. *Thomas Wake*, that Valiant Seneſchal of *Rouvergue*, gallantly maintain'd for his Maſter, the *Black-Prince*, the City and Caſtle of *Milland*, which is about a Days journey from *Mompellier*; and thô all the Country about him was ſoon after turn'd *French*, yet ſtill he held the Place, maugre all his Enemies, for about a Year and an Half afterward; beſides another good Fortreſs hard by: In all which time he made many Excurſions upon his Enemies to his Honour, till Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* put him out of all, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Becauſe by reaſon of the Prince's ſickneſs, and the ſeveral ſmall Armies of the Enemy, the War was thus carried on by Parcels in many Places at once, we hope the Judicious will pardon us for thus handling Matters, as indeed they were acted, by Piecemeal, which yet we ſhall endeavour to do, as exactly as the Nature of the thing will allow.

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 255. *f.*154.

While the [e] Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke* lay thus before *Bourdeilles*, there were in the Marches of *Poictou*, Sr. *John Bull*, Sr. *William Bourde*, Sr. *Lewis* of *St. Julian*, and *Carlonet* the *Breton*, with more than 1200 Fighting Men, who imagin'd and ſtudied day and night, how to get Towns and Fortreſſes in *Poictou*, by Surpriſe, Aſſault or Scalado. One time above others they gat by ſurpriſe and Scalado the Caſtle and Fortreſs of *la Roche de Pozay*, on the River of *Creuſe*, at the Entrance of *Poictou*, about 2 leagues from *la Haye en Touraine*, and near *Chaſtelleraut* on the *Vienne*. At this loſs all the Country of *Poictou* was in a Conſternation, for here the *Frenchmen* put a good Garriſon, having repaired and fortified the Caſtle, and well furniſh'd the Place with Artillery and Victuals. The Prince of *Wales* was extreamly concerned at the News of this ſucceſs of the *Frenchmen*, and thereupon, thô 'twas too late to remedy what was paſt, he ſent for Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, Sr. *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Pinant* and ſeveral Others, then with the Lord *Chandos* in Garriſon at *Montauban*, to come unto Him: For he intended to diſpoſe of them ſome other way. At the Prince's Command they left *Montauban*, and went to *Angouleſme* to the Prince, who forthwith ſent them all to *Poictiers* to defend that City, and thence to make Frontier War on the *French*.

About that very time a Potent Baron of *Poictou*, the Lord of *Chauvigny*, who was alſo Vicount of *Breſſe*, abandon'd the *Engliſh* Intereſt, and fell off to the *French*, and ſo having furniſhed his Town of *Breſſe* in *Maine* near *Lavardin* with *Bretons* and other ſtout Souldiers, he went himſelf to *Paris* to the *French* King: As for his Town of *Chauvigny*, that was ſtill in the Hands of the *Engliſh*. The Prince of *Wales*, and all the Loyal Barons of *Poictou* were extreamly diſpleaſed at this News, but the Vicount of *Rochehoüart* was mightily ſuſpected of having an hand in the Matter; for the Prince was credibly informed, how he was an Occaſion of that Revolt, and that he deſign'd himſelf to go over to the *French* King, only he waited a fit Opportunity. Thus much being depoſed againſt him the Prince ſent for him, and charged him with the Matter, producing his Evidences to the no ſmall confuſion of the Vicount: And though he made the beſt Excuſe he could, yet he was forthwith committed to Priſon, and there kept a conſiderable time in great Danger; for there were ſhrewd ſuſpicions (thô no full Proof) of his Guilt: But the Prince was ſlow to go to extremity of Blood without a plain and evident Conviction.

VII. But however in part to revenge this Treaſon of the Lord of *Chavigny*, the Prince immediatly ſent forth his Grand Seneſchal of *Poictou*, the Renowned and Valiant Lord *James Audley*, a Man of High Courage and Conduct, the ſame who gain'd ſo ſignal Reputation at the Battle of *Poictiers*. This Gallant Heroe having the Prince's Commiſſion, gather'd together a Conſiderable Army, conſiſting of the ſeveral Retinues of all the Great Barons and Knights of *Poictou*, who ſtill ſtood Loyal, the Chief whereof were the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle*, the Lord *Lewis Harcourt*, the Lord *Moubron* of *Linieres*, the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Dinant*, the Lord of *Taniboton*, the Lord of *Montendre*, Sr. *Richard Taunton*, Sr. *Geoffry Argentine* a Noble *Engliſh* Knight, Sr. *Baldwin Freville*, a Valiant Baron of *England* Seneſchal of *Saintogne*, and divers other Knights and Eſquires of *England* and *Poictou*, to the Number of 1200 Men of Arms, beſides Archers and Footmen. This gallant ſmall Army departed from *Poictiers* in good Array, and rode on till they came into *Berry*, where they began to ravage, burn and plunder at a prodigious rate: The whole Country trembled

bled before them. Thus they proceeded without the leaſt Oppoſition, till they came into *Tourain*, ſcattering all the way Ruine about them, ſending Terrour before them, and leaving Deſolation behind them: For all the Country fled away into ſtrong Holds, there was none able to look them in the Face. At laſt they came into the Lord of *Chauvigney's* Country, who had ſo lately turn'd to the *French* ſide, and there they put all to Fire and Sword, finding nothing to reſiſt them but ſome few of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes. In ſhort they came before the Town of *Breſſe* in *Maine*, and gave thereto an Aſſault, which laſted an whole Day without any great advantage to the Aſſailants: However they pitch'd up their Tents, reſolving not to ſtir till they were Maſters of the Place; for they believ'd it not impregnable. Early the next Morning, which was a *Saturday*, they renewed the Aſſault, approaching the Town in good Order, every Lord under his Banner: And here was a difficult Pull indeed, for thoſe of the Garriſon defended themſelves to the very utmoſt, becauſe they knew their Lives were at ſtake. But the Archers of *England* ſhot ſo thick, that none durſt look thrô a Loop-hole for fear of an Arrow, and ſo at laſt the Town was carried by fine Force, the Gates being caſt down into the Ditch, and a free Entrance left for all Men. All that were found in Arms were ſlain without Mercy, ſixteen of their Chief Captains being taken and hanged up in their Armour, maugre the Vicount their Maſter, who had ſo traiterouſly turn'd to the *French* ſide and left them to anſwer for his ſins; the Town alſo it ſelf was plunder'd and burnt, and the Inhabitants rifled of all that ever they had, many Hundreds of them being ſlain and drowned. After which Execution the Lord *James Audley* returned Victorious to *Poictiers*, there to refreſh himſelf and his Men after this hot Service, and alſo to wait the Prince's further Pleaſure.

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VIII. There was [f] about this time Sr. *Robert Knolles*, a Valiant *Engliſh* Leader, in the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, where he had a fair Eſtate, upon the account of his late ſignal Services to Duke *John*: But his Heart was always firm to his Country, and he had before this manifeſted his Valour and Loyalty in many eminent Difficulties, as well under King *Edward*, as his Son the *Black-Prince*, by whom this Year he was retained. When he underſtood, how the *Frenchmen* made ſuch ſharp War againſt the Prince his Maſter, and deſigned to put him out of his Inheritance of *Aquitain*, at the Conqueſt whereof he himſelf had been before, he was horribly incenſed againſt them, and preſently reſolved to go with all his Power, and ſerve the Prince at his own Charges. Accordingly he equipped four handſom Veſſels in the Mouth of the *Vilaine*, and when all was ready, he left his Caſtle of *Derual*, and drew to the Port with ſixty Men of Arms, and as many Archers in his Company, with all whom he arrived ſafely at the Key of *Rochelle*. Here the Citizens made him very, but not heartily, welcome, for at that time they neither wiſh'd him, nor any other *Engliſh* Man, half ſo much Good as they pretended: Their Hearts were *French* all over. However now they durſt do no otherwiſe, but make them good Cheer, for they were over-aw'd by the Garriſon, and their Captain Sr. *John Devereux*, who was there under the Prince: But their chief Seneſchal was then with the Lord *John Chandos*, and Sr. *Thomas Percy*. Sr. *John Devereux* entertain'd nobly Sr. *Robert* and his Men for two Days together, and then Sr. *Robert* took his leave, and rode forth till he came to *Angouleſme*, of whoſe coming the Prince and Princeſs were very glad, eſpecially the Prince, to whom all Men of Worth and Valour were very Dear, he received him gratiouſly; inſomuch that for the ſake of his Courage and Experience in the Wars, he made him General of all thoſe Knights and Captains, who were then upon an Expedition, commanding them all to obey Sr. *Robert Knolles* as Himſelf, and they all anſwer'd, they would do it moſt punctually. But althô in this Matter the *Black-Prince* ſhew'd himſelf an Impartial Friend to Vertue by preferring true Merit, yet there fell an Inconvenience thereby, which he ſhould have foreſeen; for becauſe he was not of ſuch Noble Birth as ſome, who were under him, they envy'd him the Honour of the Place, and cauſed afterward a Diſſention in the Army, as We ſhall ſee too ſoon. Nobility of Birth, though it be not eſſential to Vertue, is certainly very Ornamental, and always reconciles Worth to the Opinion of the Vulgar, or however advances it above the reach of Envy.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 256. *f.* 154. *b.*

Sr. *Robert Knolles* having tarried at *Angouleſme* but five days, till all his Troops were ready, took then his leave of the Prince, and began his March with theſe Knights of the Prince's in his Company, Sr. *Neale Loring*, Knight of the Garter, the Lord *Baldwin Freville*, Seneſchal of *Sainctogne*, Sr. *William Molineux* Seneſchal of *Agenois*, *Hugh* Lord *Haſtings*, *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon*, Sr. *Stephen Coſſington*, Sr. *Dangouſes*, Sr. *John Trivet*, Sr. *Thomas Baniſter*, Sr. *John Taunton*, Sr *Nicolas Bond*, and more than 60 Knights; ſo that in all they were above ſixſcore Men of

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Arms, beſides thoſe, whom Sr. *Robert Knolles* brought with him, 500 Archers, and as many Footmen, arm'd with [g] *Brigandines*; all very deſirous to fight the *French-men*. Thus Sr. *Robert Knolles* marched forth toward *Agen*, intending for *Quercy*, where he heard the Companions were: But however he tarried a day or two at the City of *Agen* to refreſh his Men, and to learn ſome certainty of his Enemies. There Sr. *Robert* heard, how his old Friend and Companion in Arms, Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, being then a Captain of no leſs than 300 Companions, was in thoſe parts; but that he had been lately corrupted by the Duke of *Anjou* to change the Intereſt of *England* for *France*. Wherefore Sr. *Robert* now ſent Meſſengers to ſpeak with him, and Heralds to allow him a ſafe-Conduct, deſiring him to meet him in the open fields at ſuch a time and place, as he then limited. At the enterview Sr. *Robert* careſſed him extreamly; and ſo by little and little they fell on to other diſcourſe, till at laſt Sr. *Robert*, having drank to him, and made him ſit down in his Pavilion, came to the Point, and ſaid, "he both wonder'd and griev'd, that a Man of his Honour ſhould not only leave his "Friends, but his Reputation too, by forſaking the Service of a Prince, ſo Noble, ſo "Valiant and Juſt, as the Prince of *Wales* was, and from whom he himſelf had re-"ceived no ſmall Benefits. That it could hardly be believed, and he wiſh'd, it might "never be proved, that ſo gallant a Gentleman, as Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret* was, ſhould "ever be debauched from his Loyalty to his Prince, by the ſubtle Arts of Faith-"Breakers, and Traiterous Enemies. That the Prince could eaſily forget a ſlip, ſoon "repented of; for it was his way, to overcome himſelf, as well as others, and to for-"get Injuries, that were acknowledged, preſently; but to remember Services for ever. By theſe and the like Arguments Sr. *Perdiccas* was wholly recover'd, and embraced Sr. *Robert*, and ſware unto him Faith and Loyalty to the Prince and the King of *England*, his Father, for ever: And ſo immediately he came over with his own 300 Men, and alſo others of the Companions, who choſe to follow his Fortune, to the Number of 200 more, moſt of them *Gaſcogners*. The Duke of *Anjou* was very much diſpleas'd at this News, and reflected ſeverely upon Sr. *Perdiccas* his Faith, which he ſaid, he had broken unto him; not at all conſidering, that he, whoſe Faith himſelf had once corrupted, might as readily be debauched by another, to take part againſt him. News hereof flew preſently to the other Troops of Companions, who lay in and about the City of *Cahors*; as *Edmund Ortingo*, the little *Mechlin*, *Ralph Braye*, *Perot* of *Savoye*, *Arnold* of *Pons*, and others, who kept Garriſon there; but hearing of this Defection of Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, they were much caſt down, and ſeeing plainly, that they were now too weak to maintain the place againſt the Power of the *Engliſh*, they deliver'd up the Town to the Care of the Biſhop and Burgeſſes of the ſame, and departed, and went to a ſtrong wall'd Priory not far off, called [h] *Durmel*, which they had hugely fortify'd before, and this Place they determin'd to defend againſt their Enemies.

[g] A kind of plyable Armor for Footmen, like Mail.

[h] *Credo eſſet* Douvelle.

When Sr. *Robert* heard thus much, he went thither and beſieged them, and made many vigorous Aſſaults; but the place was ſo well defended, that little hurt was done; however the Siege continued. When News was brought to *Montauban*, to the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *Thomas Felton*, the Captal of *Buſche*, Sr. *John Combe*, Sr. *Thomas Piercy*, Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, and the other *Engliſh* Knights there, how Sr. *Robert Knolles* lay before *Durmel*, then they all determin'd to go unto him, for there they thought to find ſome employment for their Swords. So they marched forth of *Montauban* with 300 Spears, leaving 200 more behind them to maintain the Place upon occaſion, whoſe Captains were Sr. *Emery* of *Chartres*, the *Soldiche* of *Eſtarrac*, Sr. *Bernard de la Bret*, and the Lord of *Garonne*. As thus theſe *Engliſh* Lords rode towards *Durmel*, they paſſed by a ſtrong Town, which held for the Enemy, called *Moiſſac*, which yet was only defended at that time by the Townſmen; but that the *Engliſh* knew not of, not being able to imagine, that ſo conſiderable a place ſhould be left without a ſufficient Garriſon. However they ſent forth their Currours to go and take a view of the Fortreſs more nearly; and they brought back word, that the Place was conſiderably ſtrong, and could not be won either by Siege or Aſſault without much time and difficulty. Wherefore having debated upon the Matter, they concluded to let it alone, and proceed forward to *Durmel*, as at firſt they had deſigned. Accordingly the next Morning early they paſſed by *Moiſſac*; but before they had gone a little League of their way, they met with certain Country Men with Four Sumpters laden with Victuals, all whom they preſently ſeiſed, roughly demanding of them, whence they came, and whither they deſign'd. They reply'd, they came from *Tholouſe*, taking a way about, for fear of the Garriſon at *Montauban*, and that they intended to have gone for *Moiſſac* to

ſell

sell their Provision. Then they were more strictly examin'd about the state of the Town, and what Souldiers were therein; and these People, who were afraid to be found in a lie for fear of their Lives, told them, how there was never a Gentleman of Name, nor a Man of War within the Town; but only the Inhabitants of the Place, and that they were so short of Victuals, that they had not enough to serve them Four Days, if they should be besieged. Then they fell to Council again, and resolved not to go forward, till they had attempted *Moissac*: So they took the Provision for themselves; but deliver'd the Horses with the Panniers again to the Victuallers, bidding them go and seek for more. And thereupon they marched back to *Moissac*, and lay down before it, and began to set up their Tents, and made a shew, as if they were not minded to stir thence of a Month, and set up their Engines against the Walls, and seem'd to design a General Assault the next day.

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The Townsmen were hugely terrify'd with all this; for they saw plainly, there was no holding out long, if it were only for want of Victuals. Then they began to enter a Treaty with the *English* Lords, and so acknowledged the Prince of *Wales* for their Sovereign, and sware to keep the Town at his Devotion for ever after without fraud or collusion, so that they might be permitted to be quiet, and to have a full Enjoyment of their Rights and Properties. Hereupon the Lord *Chandos* received them in the Prince's Name, and at their request set over them for their Captain a Valiant Knight of his, named Sr. *Robert Mutton*, who [i] bare in a Field *Argent* a Cinquefoile *Azure*, and with him were 20 Men of Arms and 40 Archers, all to be maintained at the Cost of the Town.

[i] True Use of Armory in the Life of the Lord *John Chandos* p. 88.

After this Success the Lord *Chandos* went on in his journey, till he came before *Durmel*, where Sr. *Robert Knolles* held his Siege: By him he was received with much joy, and all the Lords and Captains made their mutual Salutations, and so they sat down together before the Fortress in good Order. During [k] this Siege there were many notable Exploits performed on both sides. For without were many Gallant and Hardy Knights and Esquires, such as thirsted to adventure their Lives in Courting of Honour; and within also were many Valiant and Chosen Men, Expert and enured to the Wars; or else thô the Place was exceeding strong, they could never have held out half so long: For they were continually alarum'd with Assaults in several places together. But indeed the *English* had here no great Advantage; being in a far worse Condition, than the Besieged; for it rain'd continually almost Day and Night, to the exceeding Vexation of Men and Horses; and besides, they were in much want of Victuals, and could hardly tell where to get any thing to eat; so that a Penny Loaf was sold in the Camp for Three Old Groats, and which was yet worse, sometimes they could get nothing for their Money. Thô indeed they had often good Plenty of Wines, which prov'd no small Refreshment unto them.

[k] *Froiss. c.* 257. *&c.*

IX. In this case they lay well-nigh Five Weeks, at which time seeing they could not prevail, and that they rather endanger'd themselves than their Enemies, by general Consent they brake up the Siege, and went and sat down before the Castle and Town of *Domme*, which stood on the *Dordonne*, in a more plentifull Country. There was present in the place at that time the Lord and Governour thereof, Sr. *Robert* of *Domme*, with a Valiant Cousin of his Sr. *Peter de Sanglette*, and these had already fetch'd in all the Victuals, that could be found in those parts. When the *English*, who were in all to the Number of 1500 Men of Arms, besides 2000 Archers on Horse-back, and Footmen arm'd with Brigandines to the Number of 6000 more, had begun their Siege, they gave a brisk Assault to the Place, and reared up divers small Engines, such as they had with them: So that every day the Enemy was alarum'd, and several Assaults and Skirmishes happen'd, and many Brave Exploits were done on both sides. By that time they had layn thus about 15 days without any great Advantage, but in much want and difficulty, they agreed to send word to the Prince at *Angoulesme* of the State of the Siege, and to know his pleasure, how they should proceed. So the Herald *Chandos* was dispatched away on this Errand, and shortly after he came to the Prince, who as then had but a small Company of Men of War about him; for most of his Valiant Captains were abroad either in some Army, or in some Garrison; this War was carried on in so many different places at a time. When the Herald came before the Prince, he kneeled down, and humbly recommended unto him all the Knights and Esquires, whom he had left at the Siege before *Domme*, and there wisely and succinctly declared unto him the State and Condition of the Besiegers, and deliver'd to the Prince Letters of Credence from his Master, the Lord *Chandos*, and the other Lords and Captains. When the Prince had understood the whole, he said he would consider

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sider on the Matter, and caused the Herald to tarry there in Town Five days: But on the Sixth he gave him his Letters sealed with his own Seal, and said, "*Chandos*, "recommend us heartily to all our Friends there, and deliver them this from me. So the Herald took his leave and rode back again thrô *Perigort*, and part of *Quercy*; but he found not his Masters there, where he had left them. For soon after he had been dispatch'd away, the *English* Lords being in Council, agreed to break up their Siege immediately (for they saw nothing was to be done there) and so to pierce further into the Country, and to attempt other Towns and Castles, such as had lately revolted by perswasion of the Duke of *Berry*.

[1] *Froiss. c.* 253. *fol.* 156.

Accordingly [1] they decamped, and went from *Domme*, and soon after appear'd before *Gavaches*, which immediately yielded up, and became *English*. Here they tarried three days to refresh themselves, and to advise what further course to take, and so they came before a Fortress, which the *French* Companions had newly taken, called *Foïnes*: But these Men upon first sight yielded up, and sware Faith to the Prince for ever; thô they were quickly forsworn, as we shall see hereafter. From thence the *English* Lords went to *Roquemadour*, a Town of *Quercy*, near the River of *Dordonne*: The Garrison was not at that time very strong, and yet they resolv'd to try it out however. So for one day they endured a terrible Assault, which held them tack for that whole day; the next Morning, as the *English* were preparing to renew the Assault, they perceived certain from the Wall, who made motion for a Parley. For the Chief of the Garrison had consulted among themselves the Night before, and found, how they were not likely to endure such another Assault, and that if they should be taken by Force, they were all but Dead Men, and that their Town would be utterly rased: Wherefore they had agreed to propound a Treaty, and so at last they yielded to become *English*; which they gladly sware to in most Solemn Manner, and moreover, undertook to send fifty Sumpters, well laden with Victuals, at their own Costs and Charges, to follow the Army for fifteen days together for their supply: They to buy the Victuals at a certain Rate agreed upon: And on these Conditions *Roquemadour* obtain'd to be left at Liberty.

Thence the Army turn'd off towards *Ville-Franche de Perigort*, about Eight Leagues from *Cahors*, wasting and ravaging the Country all along as they Marched, putting the poor People to great loss and trouble, and winning of Towns and Castles, which had lately turn'd *French*, some by Force, and some by Composition. At last they came before *Ville-Franche*, which was well provided with all manner of Victuals and Necessaries for Defence: For all the plain Country was drawn thither with their Goods, as to a Sanctuary. After Four Days spent in Assaulting, the Besieged, who saw no likelihood to hold out much longer, and that no other Succours were to be expected, agreed to admit of the *English* Yoke, on Condition they might be free. Here the Lord *Chandos* left a Valiant Commander, named Sr. *John Roos*, and so proceeded together with the other Lords and Knights of *England* and *Gascogne* in Hostile Manner, the whole Country trembling before him. The Loss of *Ville-Franche* was very much resented by the Duke of *Anjou*, who seeing he could not Remedy it, studied daily to Revenge it.

X. While this Army raged thus in and about *Quercy*, and on the Borders of *Perigort*, *Agenois*, *Auvergne*, and *Rovergue*, the Siege [m] was still carried on before *Bourdeilles*, by the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, even for the space of Eleven Weeks in all. During which time there were many notable Exploits performed, and Assaults, Skirmishes, and other Feats of Arms done almost every day. For most commonly the Besieged would adventure with the Flower of their Garrison to the very Barriers of their Town without the Gate, and there skirmish with all that came against them; and indeed they bare themselves with such Bravery and Resolution, that they justly obtain'd Praise of their very Enemies. And in this Manner for Eleven Weeks they behav'd themselves well, and might have done much longer, had not Presumption, which is usually begotten by Success, but most commonly it self begets Loss and Misfortune, betray'd them to their own Ruine. They made up Hands enough to Defend the Place, and they were all Valiant Gentlemen, and of approved Courage, and sufficiently provided with Victuals and Artillery: Wherefore the Besiegers began now to grow weary, seeing they had layn there so long without any considerable Success. Hereupon they held a Council of War, wherein there was a long Debate, whether they should rise or no; and how they should proceed, if they staid. The Result of all was this, "To go away; but however to make one Tryal, before they went, which should be "after this Manner. Early the next Morning they should be all ready armed; but "how-

[m] *Froiss. c.* 259.

"however keep close a while in the Camp, and only send certain Select Men to skirmish "at the Barriers, as before: For they nothing doubted, but their Enemies would come "thither after their Custom. These Skirmishers, when they should have fought a while, "were order'd to retire in some seeming Confusion, as if they were beaten, and so to "pretend a flight, thereby to tempt the Enemy to a Pursuit. Which if they should "offer to do, there were appointed in a secret place on one side, a certain Choice Num- "ber of Horsemen to fall in between them and the Town, so to cut off their Retreat. This was their Device, and they all concluded, that if they succeeded not this way, they could not expect to do it any other.

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The next Morning the whole Host was armed, and 200 Men sent to skirmish at the Barriers, and all the rest of the Plot laid, as it had been resolved in Council. When the Captains of *Bourdeilles*, *Arnold*, and *Bernard* of *Batefoile* saw them coming, they were exceeding glad thereat, and armed themselves and all their Men; even sevenscore Young and Lusty Men, and so set open their Gate, and came freshly to the Barriers, and there began fiercely to encounter the *English* Men. At last the *English* retired disorderly for the nonce, and began to scatter, and to fly not altogether, but faintly and confusedly, like Men that were really in fear: Which when these Young Warriers saw, they Issued forth at the Barriers with their Standards before them, saying, "Let Us advance after them; For surely they are Ours every Man of them. So they follow'd furiously; while the *English* fled so faintly, that they were presently overtaken, and some fell off their Horses, and so came into the Hands of their Enemies, others yielded voluntarily, to nourish more Presumption in them. And now had they gone back, all had been well, but because they would have all, they lost what they had, and themselves too: So true is that Proverb, *All Covet, Nothing have.* Thus these Companions in hopes of getting more Prisoners, pursued so far, that when they would, they could not return again: For now Sr *John Montagne*, who, being [n] Nephew to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and afterwards his Heir and Successor, govern'd the Ambush with 500 Fighting Men, and was that very day Knighted by the Earl of *Cambridge*, came in suddenly at their Backs between the Town and them, and so utterly intercepted them, and began to fall upon them in the Reer. When the Men of *Bourdeilles* saw, how the Game was plaid, they perceived too late, to what their Folly had betray'd them: But however, like Valiant Men, they drew together in a close square Battail, and so held themselves undiscomfited for the space of near two Hours, still Fighting with their Enemies, and performing such Gallant Exploits, as extorted much Commendation from the *English*, who took delight to behold their Bravery and Resolution. On the *English* side Sr. *John Montague* proved that Day a most hopefull Young Warrier, being always in the Hottest Medley, and doing Wonders in Arms, as did all his Company: So that at last all the Men of *Bourdeilles* were entirely discomfited, every Man of them being slain, or taken, and the *English* Prisoners released again. The two Captains *Arnold* and *Bernard* of *Batefoile* were taken alive, and carried away toward the Camp; the mean while, the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke* were advanced to the Barriers, which they easily wan, the former Defendants being absent, and the Gate also open; the Earl of *Cambridge* first entring the Town with his Banner before him. Thus the strong Town of *Bourdeilles* was at last won, rather by the Rashness of its Friends, than the Force of its Enemies: And so all the Townsmen sware to keep the Place ever after at the Prince's Devotion; the Lord of *Mucidan*, a Loyal *Gascogner*, being made their Captain with his own Troops, and Fourty *English* Archers, to make good the Garrison. After this the two Earls brake up, and return'd to *Angoulesme* to the Prince, to know his further pleasure.

[n] *Mills Catal. Hon. p.* 1042. & *p.* 1045.

XI. The mean [o] while the Herald *Chandos*, when he found not the *English* Lords where he had left them before *Domme*, rode after them so long, till at last he lighted on them as they lay before a certain Fortress in *Quercy*. When these Lords saw the Herald, they received him with Honour because of his Office, and demanded of him what News from *Angoulesme*. He said, how the Prince saluted them all heartily, and desired much to see them, and therewithall produced the Princes Letters, which the Lord *Chandos* took and read in full Council, and there 'twas found, "How the Prince "would have the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *Thomas Felton*, and the Captal of *Busche* to "come speedily unto him to the City of *Angoulesme*. But that Sr. *Robert Knolles* and "his Men with all the Companions might tarry still where they were, and make War "as they had done. When these Lords who were the Principal of all, understood thus much, they began to look one on another, and demanded what Course they had best to take. Then they said with one Voice to Sr. *Robert Knolles*, "Sir, you see and un- "derstand,

[o] *Froiss. c.* 260.

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"derſtand, how our Lord the Prince hath ſent for us, and hath order'd you to tarry "here in this Country, as Chief General of all the Army. "Sirs (anſwer'd he) my Lord "the Prince puts me to more Honour than I would deſire: But Gentlemen, be ſure of this, "that without your Company I will not ſtay: For if You go, I'll go along with You. So in ſhort they all agreed to return to the Prince together, to know his further Pleaſure; and then they brake up for that time, to the abundant ſatisfaction of the People of thoſe Parts, who had felt much, but dreaded far more from them. Only upon their Departure they ſent Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret* to the Town of *Roquemadour*, to defend the Frontiers there againſt the Enemy: And as for the other Captains of the Companions they ſpake unto them ſuch Words as theſe; "Gentlemen, You have heard how "the Prince hath ſent for Us, with what Deſign we know not: But however we ſhall "direct you what to do the mean time. You ſhall all keep cloſe together with your "Companies, and enter the Marches of *Limoſin* and *Auvergne*, and there make War; "for without War you cannot live. And Sirs, this we promiſe you upon our Faith, "that if you win Caſtle, Town or Fortreſs whatſoever it be, and it chance, that you or "any of you be therein beſieged, We will by no means deſert You; but will aſſuredly take "Care to bring you ſuch Aſſiſtance, as ſhall raiſe the Siege and ſet you free. When "the Captains of the Companions heard this Promiſe, they ſaid, "Well then Gen-"tlemen, we will do to the beſt of our Power, in Confidence of this your Promiſe: For "perhaps we ſhall ſome time or other ſtand in need of ſuch an Aſſiſtance. Thus they parted, and the Lords that were ſent for, went to *Angouleſme* to the Prince, who received them with great joy: A little before which time the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, and the Lord *John Montague* were alſo return'd from the Siege of *Bourdeilles*, which they wan by ſtratagem, as we have ſhewn.

XII. Of thoſe Companions, whom the Lord *Chandos* had ſent toward the Marches of *Limoſin*, there were three Notable Captains above the reſt, who were Valiant Eſquires, Hardy and of vaſt Experience in the Wars; eſpecially for Aſſaulting and Scaling Towns and Fortreſſes, namely *Edmund Ortingo*, *Bernard Wiske*, and *Bernard de la Salle*. Theſe Three reſolved not to lie ſtill all the Winter, but to do ſomething, whereby to get Advantage and Honour too if they might: With this Reſolution they went toward *Limoſin*, the Seneſchal and Governour whereof under the *Black-Prince* was Sr. *John Devereux*; and there they ſtudied day and night to get ſome Caſtle belonging to their Enemies. At laſt they heard of a ſtrong Caſtle in *Bourbonnois* called *Bellepeche*, wherein the Lady *Iſabella*, Mother to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and to the *French* Queen, was in a manner all alone, without any good Watch or Guard; for the Conſtable of the Caſtle, as they heard, would often ride abroad at his Pleaſure, taking little or no heed to the Safeguard of the Place. Whereupon theſe Captains, having ſelected a competent Number of their Aſſiſtants, ſlept not long after they had been informed of theſe Matters; but rode hard for a Day and a Night, till in the Morning early coming to the Caſtle of *Bellepeche*, they ſuddenly took it by *Scalado*, and the Good Lady *Iſabella de Valois* therein. And then finding the Fortreſs to be both fair and ſtrong, and to ſtand in a fertil Country, they fixed themſelves there, ſaying, they truſted to keep it againſt all the World. The Night of that ſame Day they took another Caſtle, called St. *Sever* upon the Marches of *Limoſin*, which they committed to the Care of Sr. *John Devereux*. When it was noiſed about in *France*, that *Bellepeche* was taken, and the Queen's Mother therein, by the *Engliſh*, the King of *France* was extreamly vexed, and ſo alſo was the Queen her Daughter, and the Duke of *Bourbon* her Son; but as yet they knew not how to mend the matter.

In theſe Days the Lord *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, a Knight of notable Courage and Conduct, was made one of the Mareſchals of *France*, inſtead of the Lord *Arnold D' Endreghan*, who was yet alive: But ſo old, and batter'd by the frequent Uſe of Arms for many Years paſt, that he could not well perform his Office, thô upon occaſion he would after that bear Arms and go into the Field.

XIII. All that Summer had King *Charles* of *France* ſpent in equipping a Royal Fleet in the Port of *Harfleur*; for he deſign'd to ſend a mighty Army into *England*, being encreaſed with a ſufficient Number of Choice Men of Arms, Knights and Eſquires, under the Conduct of his Brother *Philip* the *Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*. And this great Deſign took him up ſo wholly, that he lay all along in the City of *Roüen*, thereby to be nearer at hand to inſpect and haſten the Work; and every Week he would go two or three times to view his Navy, he had ſuch an Affection for the Buſineſs. And his Command was ſo general thrô all the Realm, that there came in Men of War in ſuch Numbers that 'twas admirable; and dayly huge Quantities of Proviſion was brought

brought in for the Fleet, as if they were going to *Caſtille* or *Portugal*, or ſome other Far Country. And yet the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, who was now one of the Chief of the *French* King's Council, was always againſt this Expedition, and dehorted the King and all the Nobles of the Realm againſt Enterpriſing any Voyage for *England*, telling them how the *Frenchmen* were not accuſtomed to make War abroad, as the *Engliſh* had been; and alledged the eto divers Reaſons, as one who was better acquainted with the Nature and Conditions of that Nation, and with the State of *England* at that time. Notwithſtanding he could by no means diſſuade the King from this Undertaking, but ſtill He and the Chief of his Council were of *Scipio's* Opinion, to carry away the War from their own Doors into their Enemies Country. King *Edward*, and his Son *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all his Council, were fully informed of this Deſign of the *French* Kings, to come and fight with them in their own Land, whereat they were all extream glad, and 'twas fully determin'd, that they ſhould have Battle as ſoon as ever they came. And King *Edward* in order to receive them, had well furniſh'd all the Ports and Havens of the Sea, reſpecting *Ponthieu* and *Normandy*, to welcome them at their Landing. And he had in readineſs an Army of an 100000 Choſen Men, which he himſelf deſign'd to lead againſt the *French*, which though it was now diſpoſed about in ſeveral Places, could at a Days warning be brought together.

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XIV. And beſides all this he ſent over his Son *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* to *Calais*, to keep the *French* in play on that Side, there being appointed to go with him *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, *William Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Walter Manny*, *Thomas* Lord *Roos*, the Lord *Henry Percy*, *Ralph* Lord *Baſſet* of *Drayton*, the Lord *Michael de la Pole*, the Lord *John Willoughby* of *Eresby*, the Lord *Roger de la Warre*, Sr. *Thomas Grandiſon*, Sr. *Alan Boxhull*, Sr. *Richard Sterry*, and divers others to the Number of 500 Men of Arms, and 500 Archers on Horſeback, beſides Footmen. Theſe Lords and Captains when all things were ready, went on board at *Dover*, and croſſing the Seas arrived ſafely at the ſtrong Town of *Calais*, where they landed, and took up their Lodging within the Town. A little before King *Edward* had ſent his Special Letters to the Lord *Robert* of *Namur*, who [p] entred into his Service and Pay at the Siege of *Calais*, and had ever ſince continued Faithfull to the Intereſt of *England*, deſiring him to come now and ſerve him in his Wars with a certain Number of Men of Arms. Sr. *Robert* then anſwer'd, that he would be ready in whatever it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty to command, as ſoon as he ſhould underſtand, that either the King Himſelf, or any of his Sons ſhould either arrive at *Calais*, or appear in the Field to War againſt *France*. And accordingly now, that he heard of the Duke of *Lancaſters* Arrival at *Calais*, he made his Summons among his Friends and Dependants, and others whoſe Service he expected, and ſhortly after came and joyned the Duke with 300 Men of Arms, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

[p] *Vid. l. 2. c. 6. §. 10 p. §. 399.*

XV. It may be remembred, [q] how after that the Herald *Chandos* had declared the Prince's Pleaſure to the Lord *Chandos*, and the other Lords of *England* and *Gaſcogne*, they all returned to *Angouleſme* to the Prince, and that a little before their Coming the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke* were returned thither alſo, after they had won the Fortreſs of *Bourdeilles*. The Prince highly careſſed and feaſted them, but this was not the Deſign he had called them back for. He remembred that in the lower *Poictou* toward the Parts of *Anjou*, beyond *Luſſon* and *Marevil*, there was a fair and ſtrong Caſtle, belonging at that time to the Duke of *Anjou*, called *la Roche ſur Yon*, and ſo he ſent theſe Lords and Captains forth to take in that. They were all ready immediately, and being rendezvous'd in the Field, amounted to more than 3000 Spears; among whom were the Principal Lords and Knights of *England* and *Poictou*, as the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, the Lord *John Chandos*, the Lord *James Audley* Seneſchal of *Poictou*, the Lord *Thomas Percy* Seneſchal of *Rochelle*, the Lord *John Greilly* Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord *John Montagu*, the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, Sr. *Maubrion* of *Linieres*, the Lord of *Taniboton*, the Lord of *Pinant* and divers Others; all who rode forth, and came ſuddenly and ſat down before the Caſtle of *Roche ſur Yon*, which was not only naturally very ſtrong, but alſo well provided at that time with all things neceſſary for a long Defence; as Valiant Men, Victuals and Artillery. The Captain of the Place was one Sr. *John Blondeau*, ſet there by the Duke of *Anjou*, who allowed him a ſufficient Number of Men of War at his own Coſts and Charges. The *Engliſh* Forces planted themſelves in very good Order round about the Caſtle, and cauſed to be brought from the City of *Thoüars* and *Poictiers* ſeveral great Engines of Battery, and other Guns and

[q] *Froiſ. c. 262. f. 158.*

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Springals, wherewith they began to play againſt the Caſtle. And as for Proviſion, their Camp was abundantly ſupplied from *Poictou* and the Marches adjoyning. When Sr. *John Blondeau* ſaw how cloſely he was beſieged by an Army of expert Men of War, and that there was no Succour like to come to him from any Part, he began to be afraid: For he knew the Lords of *England* intended not to riſe, till either by Force or otherwiſe they ſhould be Maſters of the Place. And beſides there were in the Retinue of the Earl of *Cambridge*, and of the Lord *John Chandos* ſeveral Knights of the Captains Acquaintance, who had been heretofore in ſome Exploits with him; ſome of theſe by Order of Council went to the Barriers, and upon mutual Security obtained to ſpeak with him: At which time they handled him ſo cunningly (for he was not Subtle, thô Valiant and True enough) that he agreed "to render up the Caſtle, if he ſhould not be "relieved within the ſpace of one Month, he to have 6000 Franks paid him in con-"ſideration of the Proviſions and Amunition within the Caſtle; the Beſiegers not to offer them any Violence during the ſaid Term. After this Treaty the Captain ſent to the Duke of *Anjou* to inform him of the Matter, and to require his ſpeedy Aid; alſo he ſent to the *French* King and the Duke of *Berry*, and to all others from whom he expected any Succour, that either ſo he might ſave the Caſtle, or at leaſt be able to excuſe himſelf, if he ſhould perchance incur any Blame afterward. But for all this warning that he gave, and that the Caſtle was fair and ſtrong, and well worth contending for, it ſtanding very conveniently (if in the *Frenchmens* hands) for the Defence of the Marches of *Anjou* and *Tourain*; yet there was not the leaſt appearance of any Succour; ſo that at laſt, the Month being elapſed, the *Engliſh* Lords put the Captain in mind of his Promiſe; for the performance whereof he had alſo delivered ſufficient Hoſtages. Then the Captain told his Men, that ſince the *French* King and the Duke of *Anjou* would thus willingly loſe their Fortreſs, it could not be expected that they ſhould keep it alone any longer. And ſo by the Conſent of the Garriſon he yielded up the Place to the Earl of *Cambridge*, who preſently took Poſſeſſion for the Prince his Brother, and very gladly paid to the Captain the 6000 Franks for ſuch Proviſion and Goods as were left in the Caſtle. So Sr. *John Blondeau* marched away with his Men to *Angiers*, where as ſoon as he came thither, he was arreſted by the Governor of the City, and clapt up cloſe Priſoner in the Caſtle; And 'tis ſaid, that ſoon after he was one Night ſow'd up in a Sack, and flung into the River by the ſtrict Command of the Duke of *Anjou*, becauſe he took Gold and Silver for his Caſtle, "*which* (ſaid he) *was able of it ſelf to have held out an* "*whole Year, if need had been.*

XVI. However when the *Engliſh* Lords had thus received the ſtrong Caſtle of *Roche ſur Yon* toward the Limits of *Anjou*, they ſet there a good Garriſon, and repaired what was out of Order, and then went back to *Angouleſme* to the Prince, and ſome took their leave of him for a while and retired to their own Houſes. Among others 'tis ſaid, [r] that the moſt Valiant Lord *James Audley* Seneſchal of *Poictou*, going into freſh Quarters at *Fontenay le Comte* fell there ſick, and ſhortly after died, to the great Regret of the Prince and Princeſs, and all the Loyal Barons of *Poictou*: And that his Obſequies were performed in the City of *Poictiers*, the Prince Himſelf being preſent. But this was a Miſtake of *Froiſard's*, which yet he might eaſily fall into, becauſe indeed his Son Sr. *James Audley* died in *Gaſcogne* at this time; upon which the Lord *James Audley* the Father, with the Prince's leave retired into *England*, where he lived many Years after, and departed this Life not till the 73 Year of his Age, namely on the firſt Day of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1386. which was the Ninth of *Richard* the Second, having a little before made his Will at *Heligh* Caſtle, wherein he appointed his Body to buried, in the Choir of his Abbey at *Hilton* before the High Altar, in caſe he ſhould die in the Marches, but if in *Devonſhire* or *Somerſetſhire*, then in the Choir of the Fryers-Preachers at *Exceſter*, before the High Altar.

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 260. &c.

[s] *Aſhmole p.* 706. & *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 750. *ex Lib. in Offic. Principal. Cantuar. vocat* Courtney *f.* 121. *b.*

However *Poictou*, being thus by his Abſence, thô not by his Death, deprived of her Grand Seneſchal, at the Requeſt of all the Barons and Knights of that Country, the no leſs Valiant Lord *John Chandos*, at that time Conſtable of *Aquitaine*, [t] was now by the *Black-Prince* made Seneſchal of *Poictou*, and ſo he went forthwith and reſided in the City of *Poictiers*, and made many journeys againſt the *Frenchmen*, and held them ſo ſhort, that they durſt not ride near thoſe parts, but in great Bodies together.

[t] *Froiſ. c.* 262. *f.* 169. *b.*

XVII. About this time the Vicount of *Rochechoüart*, whom the Prince had for ſome Weeks held in Priſon, at the Requeſt of his Friends in *Poictou*, and others of the Prince's Council, was ſet at liberty again, and reſtored to all his Lands. But whether he was all along falſe at bottom, or whether the Prince's ſuſpecting of him had exaſperated

rated him to that; which elſe he had not thought on, ſo it was, that immediately upon his Delivery, he went ſecretly to *Paris* to the *French* King, and became his Liegeman, and ſo returned into his own Country, without the leaſt notice taken, that he had been at *Paris*. But now having ſet all things in Order, and placed Sr. *Tibald du Pont*, a Valiant *Breton*, in his Fortreſs, he preſently ſent and defy'd the Prince of *Wales*, and began to make War upon him.

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XVIII. This while, *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Prince's Brother, having [u] well refreſhed himſelf and his Men at *Calais*, thought not to lie idle there any longer; but rather to ride abroad and ſeek for ſome adventures in *France*. So one day he left *Calais*, with 300 Spears, and as many Archers in his Company, and paſſed by the Caſtle of *Guiſnes*, and rode beyond *Ardres*, till he came to the Abbey of *Liques*, where he found much prey, and brought it away to *Calais*. Another day he took the way towards *Boulogne*, and deſtroy'd all the Plain Country; thô at the ſame time *Guy* Earl of St. *Paul*, and his Son the Lord *Valeran*, lay within 8 Leagues of *Boulogne*, in the City of *Teroüenne*, with a competent Number of Men of War: But he ſtirred not althô he heard the *Engliſh* were abroad; for he thought himſelf unable to deal with them at that time.

[u] *Froiſ.* 263, &c.

The News ſoon flew to the *French* King, who was then at *Rouën*, taking Care of the *Armada*, which he was in all haſte fitting forth to ſend againſt *England* (as We ſaid before) how the Duke of *Lancaſter* was come to *Calais* with a Mighty Power, and how he made incurſions daily into the *French* Pale. At this ſudden Alarum all his former Meaſures were broken; and thô it had been Decreed by him and his Council, that the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould as that very Week ſet ſail for *England*, now after ſome debate upon the Matter, it was concluded, how that Expedition ſhould be laid aſide for the Preſent, and all the Men of War, deſign'd for the Fleet, ſhould be led by the Duke of *Burgundy* toward *Calais*, to reſiſt the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was then on that ſide the Sea. Wherefore ſoon after the Duke of *Burgundy* marched thence with all his Army, taking his way toward the River *Somme*, which he paſſed at *Abbeville*, and ſo by ſeveral journeys he went to *Montrevil*, and there, and about *Heſdin* and St. *Paul*, he ſtaid for thoſe that were behind.

XIX. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, when he heard, how the Duke of *Burgundy* was coming towards him, was exceeding glad, and began to march out of *Calais* with all his own Forces, with deſign to meet him, and encamped on the Mountain of *Tournehan*, between *Ardres* and St. *Omers*: Where he had been not paſſing a day; but thither came [x] to him the Noble and Valiant Knight, Sr. *Robert* of *Namur*, to joyn him with 300 Spears. The Duke of *Lancaſter* was very glad to ſee him, and ſaid unto him among other things, "My Dear Uncle, You are heartily Welcome; and Sir, rejoyce with us; "for I hear for certain, that the Duke of *Burgundy* comes on apace to fight us; ſo that "We ſhall not miſs of Deeds of Arms. Sr. *Robert* reply'd, "Be it ſo, Sir, in the "Name of God, We would gladly look him in the Face. Thus the *Engliſh* Army lay encamped on the Mountain, and about the Vale of *Tournehan*, having entrenched themſelves ſtrongly, and fortify'd their Camp with Hedges and Ditches; ſo that their Poſt was very advantageous, and their Currours overran the County of *Guiſnes*, and the Sovereignty of *Ardres* for forage, and what elſe they could get, but they found little; for all the plain Country had been deſtroy'd before, and all things profitable convey'd into Places of ſtrength: Wherefore daily there came unto them Victuals and other Proviſion from *Calais*. Soon after the Duke of *Burgundy* came thither with his great Army, and ſat down over againſt the *Engliſh*, between St. *Omers* and *Tournehan*, in very good Order: But he took up a large extent of ground; for it was ſaid, how he had in his Army more than [y] 4000 Knights, whereby the Number of the reſt may be conjectur'd. And in this manner the two Armies lay facing each other without any offer to come to a deciſive Battle. For thô the Duke of *Burgundy* did ſo far outnumber the *Engliſh*, that he was [z] Seven to their One; yet he durſt not come to a pitch'd Battle, becauſe the King, his Brother, had commanded expreſly to the contrary. And no doubt, that Circumſpect Prince, conſidering, that in ſpite of ſuch diſadvantages, the *Engliſh* had oftentimes conquer'd in the Days of his Predeceſſors, particularly, when they took his Father Priſoner in the Battle of *Poictiers*, thought it beſt now, like *Fabius* the *Cunctator*, to oppoſe delay to their Fury; which indeed, as Matters then went, prov'd the beſt Council. As for the *Engliſh*, thô being ſo inferior in Number, they thought not good to attaque the Enemy in his Trenches, [a] yet they would not have refus'd him, had he come forward; for every day they ranged themſelves in good Order of Battle to receive him; all Men being appointed what to do in

[x] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[y] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[z] *Froiſ. ibid. fol.* 169.

[a] *Froiſ. ibid.*

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their ſeveral Offices and Stations. However moſt of the time was entertain'd with Skirmiſhes between the two Armies; now this ſide gaining the better, and now that, as the chance of War is. And *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, who very much ſtudied the Welfare of his Son-in-Law, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and now lay at a fair Palace of his, which he had newly built near *Gaunt*, hearing an account of the State of both Armies, by Meſſengers going too and fro between the Duke and Him, would always adviſe him by his Letters, that he ſhould not by any means break the Command of his Brother, the *French* King, to preſent the *Engliſh* with Battle.

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 264. *fol.* 169.

XX. While [b] theſe two Armies of *France* and *England* lay thus idly confronting one another, there fell many memorable adventures in *Poictou*; of which we ſhall now ſay ſomewhat: For it is not agreeable, that any of the Exploits of that Gallant Hero, Sr. *John Chandos*, ſhould be forgotten. We remembred before, how upon the Lord *James Audley's*, not Death, but only Retirement into *England*, he was by the Prince of *Wales* made Grand Seneſchal of *Poictou*; and as he yielded in Conduct or Courage to no man living, ſo now eſpecially he deſired to adorn his Province, and to do ſome memorable Act upon the *Frenchmen*. Wherefore he ſoon aſſembled a conſiderable Body of Men of Arms in the City of *Poictiers*, ſaying, he deſign'd to make an Inroad into *Anjou*, and to come back again by *Touraine*, and look upon the *Frenchmen* in the Marches and Frontiers there. Notice of this his Deſign, he ſent forthwith to the Earl of *Pembroke*, who lay then in Garriſon at *Mortagne* (a Fortreſs of *Poictou*, lying on the River *la Sevre*, and confining on the Borders of *Anjou*) and had at leaſt two Hundred Spears in his Company. The Young Earl was huge glad of this News, and very much deſired to go along with the Lord *Chandos*; but ſome Green Heads among his Followers diverted him, by ſaying, "Sir, You are but as yet in the Flower of your "Youth: Your Honour is yet to come, whereof from thoſe early Seeds of Vertue "within You, We may expect a plentifull harveſt. But if You put your ſelf in Com-"pany of the Lord *Chandos*, his Ripe and High-grown Reputation will choak yours "in its very growth: So that whatſoever Noble Exploit You ſhall now perform, the "Glory thereof will be only his, becauſe He is the Sovereign and moſt noted Captain "in theſe parts. Wherefore ſince You are ſo great a Lord, and nothing Inferior to him "either in Birth, Alliance, or Courage, 'tis fitter, that what You do, You build on "your own Foundation. And e'en let the Lord *Chandos* do what he pleaſes, upon his

[c] *Froiſ. ibid.*

"own account; [c] ſince in compariſon to You he is but a Knight Batchelour. A Lecture of Ambition is eaſily received by moſt Men, but eſpecially by Young Perſons, who apparently hazard their Lives for Honour. So that the Earls Eagerneſs to accompany the Lord *Chandos* was upon this occaſion very much abated; whereupon he made his Excuſe for that time, and declin'd to joyn Iſſue in the Enterpriſe. Envy is ſurely the Stepmother of all Brave Undertakings; and the Laudable Courſe of Vertue is never ſtopt, but by the Rubs ſhe flings in her way: However the Juſt God has made her a Plague to her ſelf, and in the End all the Miſchief, ſhe deſign'd, falls redoubled upon her own Head. The Earl of *Pembroke* will find a time to repent this folly of his, and we ſhall ſhortly ſee him to owe his Life to the Aſſiſtance of this General, under whom He now deſpis'd to learn the Rudiments of War.

Notwithſtanding, the Lord *Chandos* would not break his Purpoſe; but made his Rendezvous at *Poictiers*, and then began his March with 300 Men of Arms, Knights, and Eſquires, and 1100 Archers in his Company. The Chief Noblemen and Captains under him were the Lord *Thomas Piercy*, the Lord *Thomas Spencer*, Sr. *Neal Loring*, Sr. *Dangouſes*, Sr. *Thomas Baniſter*, Sr. *John Trivet*, Sr. *Geoffry Argentine*, Sr. *William Montendre*, Sr. *Moubron Linieres*, Sr. *Richard Taunton*, and many more, all who rode forth with their ſeveral Retinues, and the Archers in good Array, and paſſed thrô *Poictou*, into the parts of *Anjou*, their Van-Currours, who rode before them, ravaging all the Country, as they went. At this rate they proceeded, and did what they pleas'd in the fruitfull Land of *Anjou*, none offering to oppoſe them; thô they tarried in thoſe parts for 15 days, eſpecially in *Loudunois*. After which they return'd again with much Booty, taking the way between *Anjou* and *Touraine*, along by the River *Creuſe*; whence they deſcended into the Lands of the Vicount of *Rochechoüart*, and put all to fire and ſword, leaving nothing untouch'd, except perhaps what was ſecur'd in ſtrong Fortreſſes. So at laſt they paſſed the *Vienne* at St. *Junien*, and ſhew'd themſelves before the ſtrong Town of *Rochechoüart*, which they attempted, but in vain: For the Vicount had beforehand well fortify'd the Place, and ſet therein two good Captains, Sr. *Tibault du Pont*, and Sr. *Helion de Talay*; whereupon the Lord *Chandos* would ſpend no more time there. Juſt then he had notice, how the Lord *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, Marſhal

shal of *France*, was at *la Haye en Touraine* with a considerable Body of Men; where- AN. DOM. 1369. AN. Regni *Angliæ* XLIII. *Franciæ* XXX.
fore being desirous to go thither, and yet thinking himself not strong enough, he sent once more to the Earl of *Pembroke*, kindly entreating him, now that an Advantage was offer'd against the Enemy, to come and joyn him with all his Power at *Chastelleraut*, in order to march together toward *la Haye en Touraine*. *Chandos* the Herald went on this Message, and found the Young Earl at *Mortaigne*, who had indeed already made his Musters, but with intent to undertake, as he was before advised, an Expedition by himself, so to win the more Honour. Wherefore again he excus'd himself to the Herald, saying, how as then he could not by any means wait upon the Lord *Chandos*, because he had engag'd himself another way. The Herald return'd with this Answer to *Chastelleraut*, where he found his Lord Sr. *John Chandos*, and related to him the Earls excuse from point to point. Sr. *John* was exceedingly displeased in his Mind, when he heard, what News his Herald had brought him: For he concluded, that it was an effect of ill Consequence to the Affairs of the Prince, his Master, and that it proceeded from Envy or Presumption, both which are Enemies to the Publique Good in Matters relating to the Concern of a Common-Weal. So he only said, "*Well then* "*in Gods Name be it so! If a Man of Honour can be byass'd from his Countries Good* "*by private Designs.* And therewithall he dismist the Greater part of his Troops, and went with the rest to the City of *Poictiers*. The Effects of this trespass upon Discipline We shall see immediately.

XXI. Now [d] when the Lord *John Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, heard, how the Lord *Chandos* had discharged the Major part of his Forces, and was returned to the City of *Poictiers*, then he thought it high time for him to go abroad in quest of Honour; and so he marched forth of *Mortagne* with 300 Spears, *English* and *Poictevins*, and some other Knights of *England*, *Poictou*, and *Saintogne*, who had lately been with the Lord *Chandos*. With these Troops he passed thrô *Poictou*, taking the same way, which the Lord *Chandos* had done before, and burnt, and ravaged about in the Country of *Anjou*, taking for Prize all that was left, and so he also tarried a while in the Land of *Loudunois*; and from thence he went into the Lands of the Vicount of *Rochechoüart*, where he did many severe Acts of Hostility. Now the *French* Captains, who lay in Garrison on the Marches of *Touraine*, *Anjou*, and *Poictou*, were well informed both of the Lord *Chandos* his Expedition, and also of this of the Earl of *Pembroke*; and moreover they understood, how the Earl, who was but a very Young Man, not exceeding one and twenty Years of Age, had thrô meer Presumption and Folly disdain'd to go forth in the Company of the Lord *John Chandos*. Wherefore they endeavour'd to snap him, if they might, and determin'd, whatever should happen to encounter with him; for at best they reckon'd him much more easie to deal with, than the Lord *Chandos*. Accordingly having privately made their Musters, consisting of a certain *Quota* from every Garrison, they went secretly one Night from *La Roche Pozay* in *Touraine*, just on the limits of *Poictou*, under the Command of *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, Marshal of *France*, with whom were Sr. *Robert* of *Sancerre*, his Brother, Sr. *John de Vienne*, Sr. *John Bull*, Sr. *William Bourde*, Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, and *Carlonet* the *Breton*; to the Number of 700 Fighting Men. The Earl of *Pembroke* had by this time ended his Expedition, and was returning home again, having already entred *Poictou*, after he had ravaged without Controll in the Lands of the Vicount of *Rochechoüart*. He had in his Company the Lord *Baldwin Frevile*, Seneschal of *Saintogne*, Sr. *Neale Loring*, Sr. *Thomas Spencer*, Sr. *Thomas Piercy*, Sr. *Dangouses*, Sr. *John Harpedon*, Sr. *James* of *Surgieres*, Sr. *John Cousins*, Sr. *Thomas* of St. *Alban*, Sr. *Robert Twiford*, Sr. *John Montagu*, Sr. *Simon Ausagne*, Sr. *John Touchet*, and many more Gentlemen of *England* and *Poictou*. The Earl and his Men rode homeward without any suspicion, having not had the least Intelligence of any Men of War stirring abroad at that time; and in this Security, with great Prey and Booty they enter'd the Bounds of *Poictou*. On a [e] day the Earl and his Men rode into a certain Village, called *Puirenon*, about High-Noon, where they intended to Dine, and began to mark out their Quarters, and their Valets set up their Horses; and others were busie in providing their Dinner, when suddenly the *Frenchmen*, who knew well enough what to do, came galloping into the Town with their Spears in their Rests and crying out, "*Our Lady of* Sancerre *for the Marshal of* France. And therewith they beat down the *Englishmen* on all hands in the streets, and in the Houses; wherefore there arose a great noise, whereat the Earl of *Pembroke* and his Men were all amazed, for they were suddenly taken. When the Earl, Sr. *Baldwin Frevile*, and Sr. *Thomas Piercy*, with the other Knights heard, how the *French* were come and assailed their Men, they drew forth of their Lodgings, blew their Trumpets, and unfolded their Banners, hoping

[d] *Froiss. c. 265. fol. 159.*

[e] *Froiss. c. 265. Du Chesne p. 702.*

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hoping to bring their Troops together into Order: But it was too late; the *French* had intercepted many, and ſlain more, and diſturbed all the reſt; ſo that at the firſt brunt there were taken and ſlain more than ſixſcore. Wherefore the Earl's laſt ſhift was to withdraw, as ſoon as he might with thoſe Men he had left, which were not above 200 beſide all the Chief Officers, into a place belonging to the Temple, encloſed with High Stone Walls. Hither they convey'd themſelves and their Horſes, as many as they could recover, and immediately prepared to defend the place with all their Power; and barr'd up the Gates, and gather'd together huge Stones, and ſo ſet themſelves in the beſt poſture they might deviſe. The mean while all thoſe, who were found in the Town, were either taken or ſlain, and moſt part of their Horſes and Armour, and all the Earl of *Pembroke's* Jewels, Riches, and Baggage were won. Word was brought to the *Frenchmen*, that the Earl himſelf and the reſidue of his Men were got together in a kind of a Church-yard, at which News they were well pleas'd; for they knew the place was not impregnable. Some of them ſaid in jeſt, "Let Us give "them a little time to chooſe out their own Graves, and after Dinner we'll come "and ſee, how they fit them. But the Chief Captains ſaid, "Let Us go to 'um pre-"ſently, they are all our own, they can no ways eſcape our Hands: Now they ſhall "pay dearly for all the Damages they have done Us in *Touraine* and *Anjou*. And ſo they came in good Array to the Place, and began to Aſſault it with great Vigour every where round about; being all Men, that wanted neither Skill nor Courage. The Earl of *Pembroke* and his Men did their utmoſt to defend themſelves; ſo that no Men living could do better. The *Frenchmen* had certain ſcaling Ladders by Chance with them, upon which ſome of them adventur'd to mount the Wall with their Shields over their Heads for fear of ſhot, and caſting of ſtones: But when they were up they were ſo hotly received by good Knights and Eſquires with Swords, Spears, and Axes in their hands, who ſtood ready to fight them hand to hand, and menaged them ſo fiercely, that they deſcended much faſter, than they had come up; and others were ſo roughly handled by the Archers, and ſo bruiſed with ſtones, that flew about their Ears, that happy was he, who could make haſte back again. In this Manner the Aſſault endured, till it began to be dark; at which time the *Frenchmen* ſounded a Retreat, being very weary with that days ſervice; but reſolving the next Morning betimes to give them another Viſit. But all things duly conſider'd, they nothing doubted of Succeſs; but ſaid, "Surely they are all ours every Man of them: They cannot long hold "out againſt Us; or if they do, We ſhall famiſh them. Theſe Walls are not ſtrong e-"nough to keep out Hunger. You may eaſily Gueſs, that the Young Earl of *Pembroke* and his Company were in no good Condition; they all now ſaw their Danger, and no doubt, repented of their Folly in Diſdaining to ride along with the Lord *Chandos*: For they knew thoſe thin Walls were not able to defend them long, and beſides they wanted Victuals, and their Artillery was far ſpent. Yet they made not the leaſt ſhow of Fear, but reſolv'd upon occaſion to faſt a Day and a Night, or ſo. The Earl of *Pembroke* had little or no ſleep all that Night; for He and his Men employ'd themſelves in fortifying their Poſt, by gathering together Stones and ſharp Flints to offend the Enemy; for they knew well they ſhould have an early Serenade the next Morning. But when it was Dark Night, the Earl ſpake to an Eſquire of his, on whoſe Fidelity he greatly relyed, deſiring him to go out at a back Poſtern, and ſo ride to *Poictiers*, and tell the Lord *John Chandos*, into what an imminent Danger he and his Men were plunged, ſhewing alſo, that if he pleas'd, he might come ſoon enough to their Aid: For he hop'd to defend the Place, till the next day paſt Noon. The Eſquire, who dearly lov'd the Earl of *Pembroke* (for he was a moſt Gallant and Couragious young Gentleman, however a too-eager Deſire of Glory had deceived him at this time) and ſaw his Dangerous Condition, promiſed to do his Meſſage punctually and ſpeedily, adding, that He knew the way, no Man better. So about Midnight he mounted a Good Horſe, and iſſued out at the Poſtern, and took (as he thought) the next way to *Poictiers:* But for all his Skill he rode all Night out of the way; ſo that it was fair Day, before he could recover it again. At the ſame time the *Frenchmen* arm'd themſelves, and ſounded to the Aſſault, ſaying, "how the Cool of the Morning was fitter for that "Work, than the Heat of the Day. So they drew to the Place in good Order, and began the Aſſault afreſh; and ſome ventur'd again to mount the Walls, with their Shields over their Heads; for they thought it an Honour worth contending for, to mount up firſt. But the *Engliſhmen* were not idle; they ſtood ready in all Places to defend themſelves; the leaſt miſtake or remiſsneſs at that time, had been no leſs than Fatal. Wherefore they defended themſelves to a Miracle, and caſt Stones of ſix, eight,

eight, ten or twelve pound Weight, which batter'd Shields and Helmets, and slew, and hurt and tumbled down many of their Enemies. You never perhaps did hear of so weak a Place so well defended by so few Hands, against so many Valiant Knights and Esquires as the *Frenchmen* were. This second Assault endured thus without any Advantage to the *French*, till it was Noon: But before that [f] about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, when the Assault was at the highest, the Enemy being vext at the Heart to see the *English* hold out so long, sent about the neighbouring Villages for Pickaxes and Mattocks to break down and undermine the Wall, of which Matter the *English* were all along most afraid. At that instant the Earl of *Pembroke* called unto him an Esquire of his, and said, "Here Friend, take my best Courser and ride forth at the "Postern-Gate (we shall make you a Free passage) and hie straight to *Poictiers*, and "shew my Good Lord *John Chandos* the dangerous Condition we are in, and recom-"mend me unto him by this Token. And therewithall he drew off a Rich Ring from his Finger, and deliver'd it unto him saying, "Give Sr. *John Chandos* this Ring: He "knows it well. The Esquire gladly undertook the Errand, for he thought it would be much to his Honour, if he could obtain to escape the Enemy, and to come to the speech of the Lord *Chandos*. So he took the Ring, mounted the Earls Courser, and got off by a Back way, while the Assault was hot on another Part, and rode upon the Spur directly for *Poictiers*. And still the Assault was carried on with extream Obstinacy; and the *Englishmen* defended themselves to Admiration; it was their Wisdom to do their utmost now, or else they had been slain every Man.

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[f] *Froiss. c.* 266. *f.* 160.

XXII. But now 'tis time to see what became of the First Esquire, who as we shew'd, rode all night out of the Way, and when it was fair Morning, then at last he found his Errour, and got into the Right Road which leads to *Poictiers*, at which time his Horse began to tire. However he came thither by Nine of the Clock, and alighted before the Lord *John Chandos* his Lodgings, and entred and found him at Mass; but for all that he went directly to him, and kneeled down and did his Message, as he was commanded. Now Sr. *John Chandos* was not well pleased in mind with the Earl of *Pembroke*, because a few Days before he had Twice refused to ride forth with him against the Enemy, as we have related. Wherefore being not enclin'd to make any great haste, he only said, "It will be hard for us to come thither time enough, and hear out this Mass too. Soon after Mass the Tables were spread for Dinner, and the Servants asked him if he would please to eat. Yes, said he, if you are ready, and so he went into the Hall, and Knights and Esquires served him with Water. While he was yet washing, there came into the Hall the Second Esquire from the Earl of *Pembroke*, who kneeling down took the Ring out of his Purse and said, "Right Dear Sir, the Earl of *Pem-*"*broke* recommends himself to you by this Token, desiring you of all Love to come to "his Aid, and to deliver him from the Danger in which he and all his Men are now in "at *Puirenon*. Then Sr. *John Chandos*, who was still but cold in the Matter, took the Ring which he knew well enough, having given it formerly to the Earl as a Pledge of his Good-will; but at this time he seem'd to take little notice of that, and only said, "To come thither time enough is almost impossible, if you left him in that "Condition as you tell me. Let us go to Dinner, the Meat will be cold else. So he sat down with his Chief Captains about him, and had done with the First Course; but as the Second was served up and he had hardly tasted thereof, having all this while deeply weighed the Matter with himself, he suddenly lifted up his Head, and said to the Knights and Esquires about him, "Hark ye Gentlemen, the Earl of *Pembroke* is a No-"ble Person, and of High Lineage, he is Son also to my Natural Lord the King of "*England*, for he hath married a Daughter of his, and in all things he is a Companion "with the Earl of *Cambridge*. He has requested me to come and succour him, and I "ought not to see such a Man lost if I may help it: Wherefore I'll go to his Assistance "by the Grace of God. And with that Word he thrust away the Table from him, saying, "Gentlemen, make ready for *Puirenon*. His Men were all overjoy'd when they heard these Words, and immediatly flew to their Arms, and the Trumpets sounded, and every Man made haste to mount his Horse, as soon as it was known, that the Lord *Chandos* would ride to *Puirenon*, to help the Earl of *Pembroke* and his Men that were besieged there. So they drew out into the Field more than 200 Spears, and presently the Lord *Chandos* was in the Head of them compleatly armed, and so they set forward, their Numbers still encreasing as they went. The *Frenchmen* that held the Earl of *Pembroke* so close, had their Spies abroad, who brought them Word at High noon (to which time they had continued the Assault) that Sr. *John Chandos* had left *Poictiers* with more than 200 Men of Arms, and was coming thitherward in great haste, having

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having as it seem'd, an huge desire to find them there. When Sr. *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, Sr. *John de Vienne*, and the other Captains heard this News, the Wisest of them said, "Gentlemen, our Men are now extream weary, and spent with Assaulting these *English-* "*men* both yesterday and to day; surely therefore it would be better for us to return "now fair and softly while we are well, with such Prisoners and Booty as we have, than "to expect the arrival of the Lord *Chandos* and his Men, who are fresh and lusty, and "what Number they make we know not: For otherwise we may not only lose what "we have with so much Labour won, but fling away our selves too in the Bargain. This Advice was presently taken, for they had but a short time to advise in: So they sounded a Retreat, and put themselves in Order, and trussed up all their Baggage, and presently took the way to *la Roche Pozay*. The Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lords with him knew by this their hasty Retreat, that the *Frenchmen* were inform'd of the Lord *Chandos* his Coming; then he said, "Come on now Gentlemen, let us leave this "unhappy Place, where we have been thus long Prisoners against our Wills, "and ride forth toward *Poictiers* to meet my Dear Friend Sr. *John Chandos*. Then those that had Horses still leapt upon them, and some went two and two on an Horse, the rest going on foot, and so they all went out of their Hold with great joy, taking the way toward *Poictiers*. They had scarce gone thus the space of a League, but they met with the Lord *Chandos* and his Men, to the great satisfaction of both Parties, who shook each other by the Hands, the one side congratulating the others Safety, and they returning thanks for so seasonable Deliverance. But Sr. *John Chandos* said, how he was extreamly dissatisfied with himself, that he came too late to find the *Frenchmen*. Thus they rode all together the space of three Leagues, and then took leave of each other, Sr. *John* returning to *Poictiers*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* to *Mortagne* from whence he went at first. But the Marshal of *France* with his Troops went without the least impeachment to *la Roche Pozay*, where the Booty was divided; and then every Man return'd to his own Garrison, leading along with him his Prisoners, whom shortly after they ransom'd with much Courtesie and at easie Rates, as was the Custom in those Days between the *English* and *French* Men.

[g] *Froiss. c.* 267. *f.* 161.

XXIII. All this [g] while the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Duke of *Burgundy* faced each other at *Tournehan*, at which time another great Loss happen'd to King *Edward* of *England*, which indeed fell not out but by the usual Course of the World, and yet was heavy to the King, his Children, and all the Realm. For now the Incomparable Queen *Philippa*, who had done so many Acts of Piety and Charity in her Days, and had protected so many oppressed Persons, and had brought forth such Renowned Sons, and was always a [h] constant Lover of the *English* Nation; this Excellent Lady fell mortally sick in the Castle of *Windsor*, and was brought so low, that she was given over in the Opinion of the Wisest. But when the Good Lady [i] perceived her Dissolution approaching, she desired to speak with the King her Husband, who coming into her Chamber, she put forth her Right Hand out of the Bed, and took the King by his Right Hand, whose great Heart was now almost conquer'd with Grief, and then she said, "*Sir, blessed be God, We have lived in good Love together this two and fourty* "*Years, crown'd all the while with Peace, Joy and great Prosperity: But now Sir, since* "*it pleaseth Almighty God to call me from You, I pray that You will grant unto me* "*three Requests at this our Parting.* Then the King not able to refrain from Tears said, "*Dearest Madam, ask what You will, I grant it.*" "*Sir* (said she) First *of all I* "*desire You, that as for all manner of People, whom I have had occasion to deal with all* "*in Merchandise, either on this side or beyond the Sea, You would please to pay them what-* "*ever it shall appear I owe unto them, or to any other Person.* Secondly, *whatsoever* "*Donations or Promises I have made to any Churches, Religious Houses or Colleges,* "*either in this or other Countries, as my Devotion perswaded me, that You would please* "*to confirm and fulfill the same. And* Lastly *Sir, I heartily desire You, that whensoe-* "*ver it shall please God to call You out of this transitory Life, it would please You to* "*choose no other Sepulchre but near unto me in* Westminster. The King not without many Tears answer'd, "*Sweet Madam, all this I firmly promise and grant You with all* "*my Heart.* Then the Good Queen signed her self with the sign of the Cross, in token of her Faith in *Jesus Christ*, and so recommended the King her Husband, and her Youngest Son *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, who being about 14 Years old stood crying at her Bedside, and all her other Children to God Almighty, she quietly yielded up the Ghost on the [k] 15 of *August*, being the Festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, to the great Grief of the King, and of all that knew her Rare Vertues and Endowments. She was buried according to her dying Request, in the Abbey of St.

[h] *Walsing. hist. p.* 179. *n.* 10.

[i] *Froiss. ibid.*

[k] *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 233. *Walsing. hist. p.* 179. *&c.*

Peter

Peter at *Weſtminſter*, in the Chappel of the Kings, where ſoon after the King her Husband began a Sumptuous and Noble Monument, which ſtands entire to this Day, [l] being a Fair Tomb of Black Touchſtone with the Garniſhing, and her Pourtraiture thereon of Alabaſter, about which Monument were placed the Figures, and now the Shields of Arms remain, carved and painted, of theſe Perſons following: At the Head, *Edward* Prince of *Wales* her Eldeſt Son, *Lewis* the Emperour her Brother-in-Law, King *Edward* the III her Husband, *John* King of *France* her Couſin, and *William* Earl of *Hainalt* her Father. On the South-ſide, *Joan* Counteſs of *Hainalt* her Mother, *William* Earl of *Hainalt* her Brother, *Margaret* Empreſs of *Germany* her Siſter, [m] *Reginald* Duke of *Gueldre*, *Eleanor* Dutcheſs of *Gueldre*, *John* of *Hainalt* the Queens Uncle, *Mary* Dutcheſs of *Bretagne* her Daughter, *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria* her Nephew, *Margaret* Counteſs of *Pembroke* her Daughter, *Charles* of *Valois* Son to King *John* of *France*, and *John* Duke of *Brabant*. On the North-ſide, *Joan* Queen of *Scots*, *John* of *Eltham* Earl of *Cornwall*, *Joan* Princeſs of *Wales*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *Iſabel* Counteſs of *Bedford*, *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Elizabeth* Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, and *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*. And laſtly at the Foot of this Glorious Monument ſtood the Images of the King of *Navarre*, of the King of *Bohemia*, of the King of *Scotland*, of the King of *Sicily*, and of the King of *Spain*. We ſhall only take leave to record her [n] Epitaph, which was then made upon Her, and is ſtill to be ſeen both in *Engliſh* and *Latine*; the *Latine* running round the Verge of her Monument, and the *Engliſh* on a Tablet hanging by her Tomb.

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[l] *Vid. Keep's Monumenta* Weſtmonaſt. *Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p.* 172. *& Lib. Latinè conſcriptum de Mon.* Weſtm. [m] *Lat.* Marcus.

[n] *Extat etiam apud Du Cheſne p.* 703. *Weevers Fun. Mon. p.* 469 *Sandford p.* 172 *Stows Survey of* London *p.* 505. *Libel. Latin. de Mon.* Weſtmon. *& Keep's Mon.* Weſtmon.

Gulielmi Hannonis *Soboles poſtrema* Philippa,
Hic roſeo quondam Pulchra decore jacet.
Tertius Edvardus *Rex iſtâ Conjuge lætus*
Materno ſuaſu Nobiliúmque fuit.
Frater Johannes [o] *Comitis Mavortius Heros*
Huic illam voluit conſociare Viro:
Hæc junxit Flandros *Conjunctio Sanguinis* Anglis,
In Francos *venit hinc* Gallica *dira lues.*
Dotibus hæc raris viguit Regina Philippa,
Formâ præſtanti, Relligione, Fide.
Fœcundæ nata eſt Proles numeroſa Parenti;
Inſignes peperit Magnanimóſque Duces.
Oxonii *poſuit ſtudioſis Optima Nutrix*
Regineas [p] *Ædes, Palladiámque Scholam.*

Conjux Edvardi *jacet hìc Regina* Philippa

[o] *Ità reſtitui contrà ipſius tumuli & omnium Authorum fidem; non ob quantitatem ſolam, ſed etiam ſenſu ità poſtulante. Nam* Johannes *hic Comes nunquam erat, ſed Frater Comitis, &c.*

[p] *In* Regineas *quantitas deſideratur.*

DISCE VIVERE.

The News of the Queen of *England's* Death was brought into the *Engliſh* Camp at *Turnehan*, whereat the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all others were extreamly troubled; for indeed ſhe had the Reputation of being the moſt Sweet-Natur'd, Liberal and Courteous Queen that ever reigned. But for all this the *Engliſhmen* brake not their Order; but ſtill continued to face the *Frenchmen* as before.

XXIV. Now it happen'd, that certain Knights and Eſquires of *France* who were in the Army, and ſaw daily their Enemies before them, without any likelihood of a Battle, were much diſpleaſed in themſelves, and ſo concluded together to go as on ſuch a Morning to the *Engliſh* Camp, and beat up their Quarters. Of this mind there were above 300 Knights and Eſquires of *Vermandois*, *Artois* and *Corbois* in *Picardy*, who made their Appointment private, without ſo much as giving any knowledge of their Deſign to either of their Marſhals. On the appointed Morning at Peep of Day they were ready altogether armed and mounted, and ſo they rode forth without making the leaſt Noiſe, coaſting about the Hill of *Turnehan* to ſeek their Advantage, and if poſſible to come in at one of the Corners of the *Engliſh* Camp. At that Corner to which they came was quarter'd the Lord *Robert* of *Namur* and his Troops, and that Night he had kept the Watch, and was but juſt now in the Morning retired to his Tent, having almoſt at that inſtant ſeated himſelf at Table to take ſome Refreſhment after his long Service. He was armed at all Points except his Helmet, and ſo was the Lord of *Ponthieu*, who had been that Night his Companion, and now ſat down with him. At which time the *Frenchmen* daſhed in at that Part where they were, but as good hap

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was, thoſe who had aſſiſted in keeping the Watch, were not yet unarmed nor unprovided, which proved well for them; for otherwiſe they had all been ſlain or taken. But now being ready to repell their Enemies, they began boldly to encounter with them, and at the firſt Brunt brake their Array a little. Preſently News came to Sr. *Robert* of *Namur*, how his Men were engaged with the *French*; whereupon he thruſt away the Table from him and ſaid, "*Let us go and help our Men.*" And ſo he clapt on his Helmet, and commanded one to take his Banner and diſplay it, which was [q] *Or* a Lion Rampant *Sable*, Crown'd *Gules*. Then one ſaid unto him, "Sir, methinks it were beſt to ſend "to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and not fight without him. To which he reply'd briefly, "Send who will ſend, for I'll go the neareſt way I can to help my Men. And with that he went forth with his Naked Sword in his Hands toward his Enemies, the Lord of *Ponthieu*, Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders*, and ſeveral other Valiant Knights attending him. There he found his Men hotly engaged with the *French*, who were a great Number, and in all likelihood had done no ſmall Miſchief, had not this ſeaſonable Succour came as it did. But when they ſaw the Banner of the Lord *Robert* of *Namur*, they began to retire as well as they could; for they feared that the whole Hoſt had received the Alarm, and ſo for the moſt part it had. There the *Frenchmen* loſt under Sr. *Robert's* Banner a Gallant Knight of *Vermandois*, named Sr. *Robert* of *Colen*, which was a Conſiderable Loſs; for he was very Diſcreet, Courteous and Valiant. And with that the *French* retreated without any further Attempt, for they doubted to loſe more than lately they had hoped to win: And Sr. *Robert* was not in the mind to chace them indiſcreetly; but rallied his Men together, and when he ſaw they were quite gone off, return'd to his Pavilion, having not loſt one Man. There were few or no Adventures after this worthy the Relation.

[q] *Vid. Aſhmoles Garter*, Plate 85

XXV. It diſpleaſed [r] many of either Party, that they lay thus long confronting one another to no purpoſe; thô on both Sides they were alarum'd every Day by Reports, that they ſhould fight without fail on the Morrow, which Morrow notwithſtanding never came. For as we ſhew'd before, the Duke of *Burgundy* durſt not diſobey the Command of the King his Brother, who had moſt ſtrictly charged him by no means in the World to fight the *Engliſhmen* without an expreſs Order from Him. It is reported, [s] that *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, hearing how unworthily the *Engliſh* at this time declin'd Battle, haſted out of *England* with ſome Choice Troops, and ſailed toward *Calais*. Whereof the *Frenchmen* having notice, left their Tents with all their Victuals behind them in great Amazement and fled. That as ſoon as the Earl of *Warwick* came to the *Engliſh* Camp, he highly blamed thoſe, who occaſion'd that ſhamefull Delay, and ſaid, "*I will go on and fight the Enemy, before the* Engliſh *Bread* "*which my Men have eaten be digeſted*, and thereupon that he immediately entred the Iſle of *Caux* in *Normandy*, which he waſted. However this Account I cannot admit for ſeveral Reaſons: For thô Authorities are produced to ſhew, that he came not over together with the Army, becauſe his Will is ſaid to [t] bear Date at *Chelchench*, vulgarly *Chelſea* near *Weſtminſter*, on a *Tueſday*, being the Sixth of *September* this Year, whereby he muſt be granted to have been in *England* at that time: Yet the Truth of this Matter may be juſtly queſtion'd; for the Dominical Letter this Year being G, it is plain, that the Sixth of *September* was not then a *Tueſday* but a *Thurſday*. Wherefore I rather concurr with *Froiſard*, who ſays expreſly, how he came along with the Duke of *Lancaſter* at his firſt ſetting forth, and gives another Occaſion of the *French* Armies breaking up, which now as the more Authentick we ſhall relate: When we have alſo enforced this Argument by remembring, that without ſuch Reaſons as we have ſhewn, it was not at all probable, that the Lord *Walter Manny* (of whoſe undaunted Courage this Hiſtory affords many notable Teſtimonies) and *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, and many other Great and Gallant Men, who were in this Expedition, being accounted little Inferior to this Earl of *Warwick* himſelf for Audacity and Preſence of Spirit, I ſay, it is no ways probable, that theſe Men and the like (even thô the Duke of *Lancaſter* ſhould have been of another Opinion) would ever have conſented to lie thus, like Daſtards, had there not been apparent Raſhneſs in offering Battle.

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 268.

[s] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 178. *n.* 30. & 40. & *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 233. *&c.*

[t] *Dugd.* Warwickſhire *p.* 317. *ex Libro* Wittleſey *dicto f.* 110.

XXVI. To proceed therefore with *Froiſard*, The Duke of *Burgundy*, as that Author, who flouriſhed at that time, was credibly informed, conſider'd with himſelf, how he had layn thus idle a long while at great Expence, and that he could no longer continue ſo without a foul blemiſh upon his Honour: Becauſe he ſo far outnumbred his Enemies, that they ſeem'd but an Handfull in Compariſon to him: And yet he neither had offer'd them Battle, nor durſt do it, becauſe of the King, his Brothers Charge

to

to the contrary. Wherefore he ſent certain Knights to the King, his Brother, to declare unto him, that either he deſired leave to put all things to the Iſſue of a Battle, or that he might have Licence to depart. The King knew well his Brothers demand was but reaſonable, and therefore commanded him now at laſt on ſight of his Letters, forthwith to break up his Camp, and to diſlodge with all poſſible Circumſpection; and ſo having diſcharged his Men of War, to come unto him to *Paris*, adding, that He himſelf would go in Perſon againſt the *Engliſh*. When the Duke of *Burgundy* had read theſe Letters, he gave private Notice thereof to the Chief Officers of the Army; telling them how the King had commanded him to riſe and march off. And at Midnight accordingly they truſſed up all their Carriage without making any noiſe, and mounted their Horſes, and ſo ſetting fire to their Tents, began to march away in ſilence. Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders* kept the Watch that Night with the Lord *Robert* of *Namur's* Men; and he firſt chanced to eſpy the Fire, and then two or three more, and after that others. Sr. *Henry* ſaid, when he ſaw the light, "Ah! I doubt theſe *French-men* intend to awake Us this Night; as it ſhould ſeem by their Dealing: Let Us "go and awake the Lord *Robert* of *Namur*; that if they do come, they may not find "Us ſleeping. And with that, he rode himſelf to the Lodgings of the Lord *Robert*, and called to his Chamberlains, telling them how it was fit, they ſhould awaken their Lord, for he believed the Enemy was coming upon them. They went preſently to his Bedſide and awoke him, telling him what Sr. *Henry* had ſaid. "Well, ſaid He, "I perceive ſhortly We ſhall have ſome News; call up our Men and bid them all make "haſte to Arms. This was done, and he himſelf was dreſſed and arm'd, as ſoon as might be, and when he had ſeen his Men in good Order, his Banner being raiſed, he went to the Duke of *Lancaſter's* Pavilion, who by that time was almoſt armed too; for he had notice of the Matter before. So in ſhort the whole Army was ready, and drew together about the Duke in good Order of Battle, ſtill taking their Places, as they were brought up by their Leaders, fair and ſoftly; without any Noiſe or Light: And all the Archers were ranged before them in ſuch a Place, where it was concluded, the *French* would attaque them. When they had ſtood thus without hearing any News for nigh the ſpace of two Hours, the Duke demanded of the Lords about him, what they thought beſt for him to do? Some ſaid one thing and ſome another. Then the Duke ſpake to the Lord *Walter Manny*, who ſtood next him, *what ſay You Sir? Why truly Sir* (ſaid he) *I can hardly tell what to ſay: But if You were to follow my Opinion, You ſhould ordain your Men of Arms and Archers in manner of Battle, and advance forward by Degrees: For Sir, it will be day anon, and then You will ſee perfectly before You.* The Duke approv'd of his Advice; but others contradicted it, ſaying, *how they would not by any means have the Duke as yet leave that place of Advantage.* After ſome Altercation about this Matter, it was concluded to ſend forth certain of Sr. *Robert* of *Namur's*, and of Sr. *Valeran van Bormio's* Company, on Horſeback; becauſe they were the fitteſt for ſuch an Enterpriſe; and ſo Thirty of the beſt light Horſe were ſent forth to view the *French* Hoſt. Immediately upon their Departure, Sr. *Walter Manny* ſaid to the Duke, "*Sir, never believe me, if the* Frenchmen *are* "*not fairly fled. Therefore mount your Horſe, and follow with all your Forces preſently, and no doubt, You'll obtain an Honourable Day. Sir* (ſaid the Duke) *hitherto I* "*have always follow'd the Advice of my Council, and ever will do: But I can never* "*believe, that ſo many Valiant Knights and Men of Arms, as are here on the* French "*party, would offer to fly away thus ſhamefully. Perhaps rather they have made theſe* "*Fires to entice Us toward them; and ſo to deceive Us: But however our Scouts will* "*be here preſently, and they'll bring Us a true account, how Matters ſtand.* While they were debating thus, their Scouts came in, and ſaid in effect as Sr. *Walter Manny* had conjectur'd, and ſhew'd all what they had ſeen and found, ſaying, how there was no Body in the Camp; but certain poor Victuallers, who us'd to follow the Hoſt, and they all affirmed, that the Duke of *Burgundy* was fled: Then Sr. *Walter* was highly applauded for his true Judgement. Upon this the Duke of *Lancaſter* return'd to his Lodgings and unarm'd himſelf, intending to go and Dine that Day in the *French* Camp, which he had done, but for the Fire and Smoak; however at Night he went and Supp'd, and lodged there, and his Men refreſhed themſelves with what they had. The next Morning he diſlodged, and went back to *Calais*, for two or three Days, ſo to eaſe his Men; the mean while the Duke of *Burgundy* marched to St. *Omers*; where he diſmiſs'd the greater part of his Army for that time: But he could not gather together ſuch an Army again, without great trouble.

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XXVII. That ſame Week the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was in *Poicton*, very deſirous

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to Revenge that Loſs, which he had received at *Puirenon* from Sr. *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, went from *Mortagne* with 200 Spears in his Company, and came to *Angouleſme* to the Prince of *Wales*, who received them with large Demonſtrations of Princely Kindneſs. The Earl deſired him to ſupply him with a certain Number of Men, and to give him leave to undertake another Expedition, ſaying, that he had a great Deſire to repay ſome of the Injuries lately done unto him by the *French*; and the Prince, who loved him entirely, condeſcended to his Requeſt. Now it ſeems Sr. *Hugh Calverley* was lately return'd with more than 500 Men of War of the Companions, out of the Lands of the Earl of *Armagnac*; where he had left many Bloody Characters of his Reſentment. Him the Prince commanded to accompany the Earl of *Pembroke* in that his Expedition; and beſides, the Earl himſelf deſired the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, Sr. *Percival Collins*, Sr. *Richard* of *Pontchardon*. Sr. *Thomas Piercy*, the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Pinant*, the Lord of *Partenay*, and ſeveral other Knights of the Prince's, who were content to go along with him: And ſo in all, his Forces amounted to 500 Men of Arms, 300 Archers on Horſeback, and 1500 ſtout Brigandines with Launces, and Shields on foot. With this Small, but Choſen Army, the Earl of *Pembroke* rode forth, till he came into *Anjou*, where he began to ravage about, and to put all to Fire and Sword, and in that Manner he paſſed thrô on one ſide the *Loire*, burning and winning of Towns and ſmall Fortreſſes, and Ranſoming Priſoners all over the plain Country, as far as *Saumur* on the *Loire*, where he lodged in the Suburbs, and attempted the Town; but could not take it, becauſe it was ſo well defended by Sr. *Robert* of *Sancerre*, who was there in Perſon; however he deſtroy'd all the Country about. While the Earl was here, Sr. *Hugh Calverley* and his Troops went to a Town on the *Loire*, called *Pont de Cé*, about a League from *Angiers*; the Defendants were ſoon diſcomfited, and the Town and Bridge won, and ſtraight fortified to the uſe of the *Engliſh* ſo well, that they held Garriſon there a great while after. In this Expedition they alſo wan an Abbey called St. *Maure*, which they fortified for their own uſe ſo ſtrongly, that it prov'd a conſiderable Garriſon, and did much harm to the Country adjoyning all that Winter, and the Summer following.

XXVIII. The Armies of *England* and *France* being broke up at *Tournehan* in that Manner, as We have related, " after that the Duke of *Lancaſter* had refreſhed himſelf and his Men for three days at *Calais*, then the ſaid Duke thought to take another Progreſs into *France*, and ſo his two Marſhals *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Roger Beauchamp* of *Bletſho*, gave Command for all Men to be ready to take the Field, whereat the whole Army was glad, deſiring nothing more than to make an Inroad into the Enemies Country. So they began their March from *Calais* in good Order, all Men being well acquainted with what they were to do. The firſt day they went five Leagues, and the next Morning early came to St. *Omers*, where they had a Skirmiſh at the Gates; but here they made no ſtay, but paſſed on, and went and lodged on the *Moraſs* of *Helfaut*, and on the Third Day they came before *Teroüenne*, wherein was *Guy*, Earl of St. *Paul* with a ſtrong Garriſon of Men of War. This place they paſſed by too, taking the way toward *Heſdin*; but for the remainder of that Day, and the Night following, they encamped by the little River of *Lys*. Now when the Earl of St. *Paul* ſaw the *Engliſh* make toward his Lands, he eaſily believed, they went not thither for his Good; for he knew, they hated him extreamly, and that he had given them no ſmall occaſion ſo to do. Wherefore having left *Teroüenne* to the Cuſtody of the Lord of *le Puy*, and Sr. *John Roye*, he rode thence in the Dark Night, taking with him ſome Choſen Men of Arms, till he came to the Town of St. *Pol* in *Artois*. The next Morning the *Engliſh* came thither, and Aſſaulted the Place, and had certainly been Maſters of it, had it not been for this opportune Prevention of the Earls, in coming to the Towns Relief. However the Duke did what he pleas'd in the Earldom of St. *Pol*, burning and ravaging all the plain Country: He ſhew'd himſelf before *Pas*, where the Lady of *Dourlens* was at that time, and offer'd, as if he intended to beſiege the Place; for he gaged the Depth of the Ditch with his Spear, but he paſſed on without medling, and ſo came to a Fair Town and Caſtle, called *Luchen*, the Town they burnt, but the Caſtle they could not force. Thence they Marched to St. *Riquier*, for ordinarily they rode not above three or four Leagues a Day; but they always burnt up the Country, as they went; and ſo they paſſed the River of *Soame* at *Blanchetteaque* beneath *Abbeville*; for that City was now turned *French*; and entred the Country of *Vimeux*, with intent to go to *Harfleur* on the *Seyne*, there to burn the *French* Kings Navy. But the Earl of St. *Paul*, and the Lord *Moreau de Fiennes*, Conſtable of *France*, followed them at

" *Froiſ. c.* 269.

ſome

ſome diſtance, with a conſiderable Body of Men of Arms, coaſting them all along, to obſerve their Motions, and to wait for ſome Advantage. But the *Engliſh*, who were not ignorant thereof, took care of all their Traps, neither venturing to ride looſely, nor to leave the High-ways; for fear of Ambuſhes; they conſtantly Marched in Battle Array, as ready for Fight. And in this Manner they rode thrô *Vimeux* and the Earldom of *Eu*, and entred into the Archbiſhoprick of *Roüen*, and paſſed by *Dieppe*; till they came in ſight of *Harfleur*; where they began to pitch their camp; but the Earl of St. *Paul* had gotten into the Town beforehand with 200 Spears. Three Days the *Engliſh* lay before the Place, but gave no Aſſault, for they ſaw this Succour rendred their Deſign fruitleſs; ſo on the Fourth Day they began to Decamp, and returned thrô the Lands of the Lord *Stouteville*, where they burnt and deſtroy'd moſt part of his Country, and waſted the Region called *le Pais de Caulx*, whence they took their way thrô *le Vexin Normand*, and having left ſevere Marks of their Diſpleaſure, whereever they came, at laſt they approached toward *Oiſemont* to repaſs the River of *Soame* at *Blanchetteaque*.

XXIX. At this time the Captain of *Abbeville* for the *French* King was Sr. *Hugh de Chaſtillon*, Maſter of the Croſsbows of *France*; who perceiving, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* Deſigned to paſs the *Soame*, Armed himſelf, and only Ten or Twelve more of his Men; with whom he took Horſe, ſaying, How he would go and viſit *Rouvray*, and ſee, how the Gate there was Defended; becauſe if the *Engliſh* paſſed that way, they ſhould not ſay; but that it was carefully provided for. This was done early in a Morning, and it was a great Miſt; for it was now the bleaky Month of *November*. At the ſame time there was in the Army with the Duke of *Lancaſter*, a Valiant *Engliſh* Gentleman, named Sr. *Nicolas Lovaine*, who had been Seneſchal of *Ponthieu* for the King of *England*, but was taken Priſoner, as We ſhew'd, the Year before by Sr. *Hugh de Chaſtillon*, who Ranſomed him at 10000 Franks: This Ranſom ſtuck grievouſly in his ſtomach, and he ſought all Opportunities to make a Repriſal. It chanced ſo well for him; that this very Morning, whereon Sr. *Hugh de Chaſtillon* went abroad ſo ſlightly attended, this St. *Nicolas Lovaine* had left the Army with Twenty Men of Arms in his Company, as One, that knew all the Paſſages, Streights, and Avenues of the Country; for he had been acquainted thereabout for the ſpace of three or four Years, even during all the time of his Government. For once therefore he reſolv'd to venture himſelf between *Abbeville* and the Caſtle of *Rouvray*. And ſo he rode by a little ſtreight Paſſage thrô a Mariſh, and planted himſelf and his Men among certain old, waſte, and broken Houſes; but they ſtood ſo near to *Abbeville*, that a Man would never have ſuſpected, that any *Engliſh* Men durſt have laid an Ambuſh in that Place. However here Sr. *Nicolas* and his Men lay cloſe, obſerving as well as they could with their Eyes and Ears, who ever ſhould paſs that way backward or forward. At laſt came Sr. *Hugh* of *Chaſtillon*, thrô the ſame narrow way with Ten or Twelve Men in his Company; himſelf all Armed, except his Helmet, which his Page bare after him, riding on his Maſters great Courſer; and ſo he paſſed over a little River that was there, thinking to go and ſpeak with the Croſsbow Men, that kept the Gate, to know what they heard of the *Engliſh*. By that time the Miſt was pretty well clear'd up, and Sr. *Nicolas Lovaine* ſaw and knew him perfectly, and could not have been better pleas'd, if One had given him 20000 Franks. Then he came out of his Ambuſh, and ſaid to his Men, "*Come on now Sirs, luſtily; yonder's the Man, I look for: 'Tis the Ma-*
"*ſter of the Croſsbows, whom I deſire to have above all Men living.* And with that he couched his Spear in his Reſt, ſet ſpurs to his Horſe, and came upon Sr. *Hugh de Chaſtillon* all of a ſudden, and ſaid aloud, *Yield your ſelf*, Chaſtillon; *or You are but a Dead Man.* Sr. *Hugh* much wonder'd, whence theſe Men of Arms ſhould come ſo ſuddenly upon him; for he had not time to clap on his Helmet, nor to mount his Courſer, which his Page rode on, while he us'd a light Gelding. So that being ſenſible of his Diſadvantage, he asked, who he ſhould yield to? Sr. *Nicolas* anſwer'd, to your old Acquaintance *Lovaine*. There Sr. *Hugh* was fain to yield himſelf; but in taking of him and his Men, there was ſlain a Valiant Citizen of *Abbeville*, called *Laurence Denſon*, which was a trouble to Sr. *Hugh*; but 'twas his own fault; for he made Reſiſtance. When Sr. *Nicolas* had taken Sr. *Hugh de Chaſtillon*, he ſaid unto him, "*Come on Sr.* Hugh! *See, yonder there Marches the Duke of* Lancaſter *and his Men; who intend to paſs the* Soame *hard by.*

And

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And thus Sr. *Nicolas Lovaine* by good Fortune took Sr. *Hugh de Chastillon*, Master of the Crossbows of *France*, and Captain of *Abbeville*; for whose Loss the said City was much troubled; but the Duke of *Lancaster* and the *English* were well pleased: And afterward Sr. *Nicolas* made him pay a Ransom of Twenty Thousand Franks, which was Double the Sum Sr. *Hugh* had before extorted from him.

XXX. That Day the Duke of *Lancaster* passed the River of *Soame* at *Blanchetteaque*, after which he Marched toward the strong Town of *Rue* on the *Maye*, and so to *Montrevil*; till at last by several Journeys he return'd again in safety to *Calais*. But the Renowned [x] *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, died in the way of the Plague, as some say; thô I am not enclin'd to Credit that any more, than what the same Author says of his frighting away the *French* Army, and of his going up as far as *Normandy*, and wasting the Land of *Caulx*; whereas we find the Duke of *Lancaster* the Head of this Expedition, and the Earl, one of his Marshals. But *Walsingham* flourish'd in a time, when the House of *John* of *Gaunt* was commonly hated and slander'd, as it was in the Days of *Richard* the Second; so that no doubt, common Report did more readily attribute all Successfull Matters to any other, than to the said Duke of *Lancaster*. However that part of this Great Earls Character deserves our Credit, where tis said, *that he hardly left his Equal behind him for Courage and Loyalty*. His Death happen'd [y] on the 13 of *November* in the 62[d] Year of his Age, and his Body was afterwards brought over into *England*, and Solemnly interred in the Midst of the Choire of the Collegiate Church of *Warwick*, according to the Direction of his last Will and Testament: Where his Tomb is still to be seen, with the Statues of him and his Countess in White Marble, excellently Cut; the Sculp of which Monument is to be seen in Sr. *William Dugdale's* [z] Antiquities of *Warwickshire*. He left many Children behind him; but the Eldest was of his own Name, and the Heir as well of his Vertues, as Titles.

[x] *Walsing. hist. p.178. n.40. & M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c.233.*

[y] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p.234.*

[z] *P. 318.*

XXXI. When now the Duke of *Lancaster* had been a few Days at *Calais*, he gave leave to Sr. *Robert* of *Namur*, Sr. *Henry* of *Flanders*, Sr. *Valeran van Bormio*, and all the *Germans* and other Strangers to go home, having first promised them, by the Grace of God to return the next Year more strong, than he was as then; and by them, desiring the Duke of *Gueldre* and the Duke of *Juliers* to joyn him also at that time, and to March with him into *France*. And soon after he himself return'd for *England*, thinking it unseasonable to attempt any thing more, till next Summer: For it was now the 19 of *November*, and a *Monday*, when he went on Board for *England*, and thus ended this Expedition, and all Warlike Attempts for this Year. The Duke of *Lancaster* upon his Return into *England* found himself a Widdower; for the Lady [a] *Blanch*, his Wife, was newly Deceased, having left behind her One Son, *Henry*, sirnamed of *Bolingbroke*, afterwards King of *England*, by the Name of *Henry* IV, and two Daughters, *Philippa* and *Elisabeth*. The said Lady *Blanch* was buried in the Famous Cathedral of St. *Paul's* Church in *London*. There died also this Year [b] on the 4 of *November*, being the *Sunday* after *All-Saints*, the Good Old Warrier, *Robert Hufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, leaving behind him *William*, his Second Son and Heir (for *Robert le Fitz*, his Eldest, was Dead) at that time 30 Years of Age. Dr. *John Grandesson* Bishop of *Excester*, Departed this Life on the 15 of *July*, after he had held that Seat almost 42 Years; and was succeeded by Dr. *Thomas Brentingham*; of both whom, the Curious Reader may inform himself by Bishop *Godwin's* Catalogue.

G. Lit. Dom.

[a] *Vid. Sandford p.244. &c. & Catal. Hon. p.327 & Walsing. Hypod. p. 131.*

[b] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 48.*

XXXII. King *Charles* of *France* [c] on the 7 of *December*, held an Assembly of the Estates, where there was granted unto the King an Imposition of one Sol *per* Liver upon Salt, of Four Livers upon every Chimney in the City, and of 30 Sols in the Country. As likewise upon the Sale of Wine in the Country, the 13th in Gross, and the 14th upon Retail; and upon entry at *Paris* 15 Sols for every Pipe of *French* Wine, and 24 *per* Pipe for *Burgundy* Wine. To which the Cities joyfully consented, as knowing these Levies would be well menaged, and cease again with the War.

[c] *Mezeray ad hunc ann.*

CHAP.

CHAPTER the SEVENTH.

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I. TOward the Declining of the laſt Year there was given an Occaſion of a very unhappy Accident which befell *England* this Year, whereof thô unwilling We ſhall now diſcourſe. The Town [a] of St. *Salvin* on the River *Gartempe* in *Poictou*, about ſeven leagues from the City of *Poictiers* was before this an *Engliſh* Garriſon; and all the Inhabitants and the Monks belonging to the Abbey there, had ſworn Allegiance to the King of *England*. But there was in this Abby a certain Monk, who ſo extreamly hated his Superior the Abbot, that thrô very Rancour of heart, and out of pure ſpight to him, he at laſt found an opportunity to betray the Abbot and all his Covent, and Abbey and Town alſo into the Hands of Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, and *Carlonet* the *Breton*, who took Poſſeſſion of the Place in the *French* King's Name, and repaired and fortified it, and put a good Garriſon therein. Of this loſs of St. *Salvin* when the Lord *John Chandos* heard, he was vext beyond meaſure, becauſe he was Seneſchal of *Poictou*, and that Place among others pertained to his Province: And he thought with himſelf, that if he liv'd a little longer, he would endeavour to recover it at any Rate, and make thoſe pay dearly for their Boldneſs, who had preſum'd to take it without his leave.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 268. & 270. & *Du Cheſne p.* 704.

He thought [b] on nothing in the World, but how to recover this Place, either by Force or Surpriſe, he cared not much whether; but to have it he was reſolv'd, or to loſe

[b] *Froiſ. c.* 270. *&c.*

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loſe Himſelf in the Attempt. For this purpoſe he laid ſeveral Nights here an Ambuſh and there an Ambuſh, and now one Stratagem was deviſed and then another; but all his Care and Policy ſignified nothing; Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian* who kept it, had ever ſuch a ſtrict eye over it, that he fruſtrated all his Deſigns intended againſt it. For he knew that the Loſs of that Place vext the Lord *Chandos* at the Heart, and he deſired by keeping it carefully to vex him, if poſſible, yet more. It happen'd at laſt, that Sr. *John Chandos* ſent ſecretly his Summons to ſeveral Barons, Knights and Eſquires of *England* and *Poictou*, to come as cloſely as they might to the City of *Poictiers* unto him, as on the laſt Day of *December*, or the Night before the Firſt of *January*; enjoyning them by no means to fail, but to come ready provided at the time appointed, with all the ſecreſie imaginable, for he deſigned to ride out ſome whither. None of thoſe to whom he ſent fail'd him in the leaſt; for beſides the Service they ow'd unto him as Seneſchal, they all lov'd him entirely, and ſo came in ſecret manner to the City of *Poictiers*, that they were there all ready at the limited time. The Chief of theſe Lords were Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, Sr. *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Pinant*, the Lord of *Taniboton*, Sr. *Moubron de Linieres*, Sr. *Baldwin Frevile*, Sr. *Thomas Percy*, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon* and others, who made up in all 300 Spears. With theſe the Lord *Chandos* began, when it was dark to march from *Poictiers*, whither no Man living knew, except certain of his Council, who had provided ſcaling Ladders. Being come to St. *Salvin* about Midnight, they alighted, gave their Horſes to their Valets, and ſo entred the Dike which was then hard frozen: But at that inſtant they heard the Watch-Horn blow, the Occaſion whereof was, that *Carlonet* the *Breton* being come from his Garriſon at *la Roche Pozay*, with 40 Spears in his Company, called juſt then at St. *Salvin* to ſpeak with the Captain Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, with Deſign to get him to ride out along with him into *Poictou* to ſeek ſome Adventure: And therefore he now raiſed the Watchman, which made him ſound the Horn. But the *Engliſhmen*, who were on the other ſide of the Fortreſs ready to ſcale the Walls, hearing the Watch blow, and a great Noiſe in the Place, preſently concluded they were diſcover'd: For not knowing the true Reaſon, they believed the Horn blew upon their Account. Thus by a ſmall Miſtake the Lord *Chandos* loſt the fitteſt Opportunity in the World of accompliſhing his Deſign, and ſhortly after Himſelf too, as we ſhall ſee by and by. Hereupon the *Engliſh* drew back again out of the Dike, ſaying, "Let us go hence for this Night, for our Deſign is diſcover'd; and therewithall they remounted their Horſes, and returned altogether to *Chauvigny* on the River *Vienne*, about three leagues from St. *Salvin*. Here the *Poictevins* demanded of the Lord *John Chandos*, whether he had any further Service to command them or no? He anſwer'd, "Gentlemen, ſince the Deſign I came about is daſh'd, You may e'n go home "again in the Name of God, when you pleaſe: But as for the Remainder of this Day, "here I think to tarry in this Town. Upon this there left him what with Knights of *Poictou* and of *England* about 200 Men of Arms; but the Lord *Chandos* went into an Houſe, and called for a Good fire, having Sr. *Thomas Percy* in his Company. When Sr. *Thomas* ſaw my Lords Humour, he ſaid unto him, "*Sir, are you reſolv'd to tarry* "*here all this Day? Yes truly* (ſaid he) *why do you ask? Becauſe Sir* (ſaid he) *my de-* "*ſire is, if you think not to ſtir abroad your Self, that you would give me leave, and I* "*will ride ſome way or other with my Company, to ſee if I can find any Adventure.* "*Go your way Sir, in the Name of God* (ſaid the Lord *Chandos*) *here I intend to tarry.* So Sr. *Thomas* went away with 30 Spears more in his Company, and refuſing to paſs the Bridge at *Chauvigny*, took the great Road that lead to *Luſſac*, in order to leave a larger ſcope for Adventures. But the Lord *John Chandos* tarried ſtill behind full of Diſpleaſure, that he had fail'd of his Deſign, and all the while he ſtood in a Kitchen with his Hands behind him, warming himſelf at the Fire; his Servants jeſting and rallying upon one another in his Preſence, thereby to bring him out of that fit of Melancholy. Preſently ſome of his Servants, who had made ready a Pallat for him to lie upon, came unto him asking, if he would pleaſe to lie down a little. He demanded of them if it was Day yet? At which inſtant there came in One who told him, he had brought News. *What is that, ſaid Sr.* John, *let us know. Sir* (ſaid he) *for certain the* Frenchmen *are now abroad.* How know you that? *Sir, I came from St.* Salvin *with them.* Which way are they ridden? *Sir, they took the way down toward* Luſſac. What *Frenchmen* are they, can you tell me? *Sir, their Captains are Sr.* Lewis *of St. Julian, and* Carlonet *the* Breton. *Well* (ſaid Sr. *John*) *I care not: I am not minded to ſtir this Morning, they may perhaps be encountred; althô I am not there.* Hitherto he ſeem'd to contend with, and to have the upper hand too of his Deſtiny, which was

now

now hasting on apace, and laid all these Temptations in his way to draw him out against the Fatal Hour. Thus for a while he tarried still in the Kitchen, deeply musing with himself; at last his Evil *Genius* prevailing, when he thought he had well advised, he pitched upon the most pernicious Resolution, and said, "*Gentlemen, whatever I told* "*you before, I now think it best to ride abroad: For I must return to* Poictiers, *and a-* "*non it will be day.* The Knights about him said, that was true, and then he commanded them all to make ready; for he was now resolved to ride abroad. So they mounted their Horses, and left *Chauvigny* coasting the River, so to return to *Poictiers* by the Bridge of *Lussac*. At that same time the *Frenchmen* were not past a league before them in the same way, designing to pass the River of *Vienne* at the same Bridge, and so to march further into *Poictou*. The Lord *Chandos* knew he was in the Track of the *Frenchmen*, for the *French* Horses neighed because of the *English* Horses, which went before them with Sr. *Thomas Percy*: And in the open Fields so early in a Morning by help of the Wind the Noise of Horses may well be heard a League. It was presently fair Day light, for in the beginning of *January* the Mornings soon break; wherefore the *Frenchmen*, who knew nothing of the Lord *Chandos* his being in their Reer, when they were now within less than a league of the Bridge, espied Sr. *Thomas Percy* and his Men on the other side the Bridge, and he also perceived how they came after him apace. With that he rode back again as fast as he could to get the advantage of the Bridge, because he saw the *Frenchmen* outnumbred him. When Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, and *Carlonet* the *Breton*, saw the *English* make such haste to recover the Bridge, they did so too; but the *English* came thither first, and alighted and ranged themselves in good Order to defend the Bridge. The *Frenchmen* also left their Horses and deliver'd them to their Pages, commanding them to draw back out of harms way. And so they ranged themselves in good Order to go and assault the *English*, who kept close together, not at all afraid, thô they were but an Handfull in regard of the Enemy. While thus the *English* stood ready to defend, and the *French* consider'd which way best to attack them; there came upon the latter at their Backs the Lord *John Chandos* with his Banner displayed, being [c] *Or* a Sharp Pile *Gules*, which *William Alleyn* a Valiant Man of Arms did bear, and he had about Fourty or Fifty Spears in his Company. He approached the *Frenchmen* fiercely, but when he was within three Furlongs of the Bridge, the *French* Pages, who saw him coming, were so affrighted, that they ran away with the Horses, and left their Masters there on Foot. When the Lord *Chandos* was come near the Bridge, he lifted up the Visor of his Helmet to speak unto the *Frenchmen*, for he was full of Anger, and said, "*Hark ye you* French- "men, *You are uncivil Men of War: You ride about at your ease and pleasure Day and* "*Night all armed; you take and win Towns and Castles in* Poictou, *whereof I am Se-* "*neschal; and you ransom poor Folks without my leave; It should seem the Country is* "*all yours: But I assure you it is not so. You Sr.* Lewis, *and you* Carlonet, *You take* "*too much upon you. It is more than a Year and an half, since I have made it my chief* "*Business to find you, and encounter with You; and now I thank God I see you and speak* "*to You: Now shall it be seen who are the better Men, You or I. It hath been fre-* "*quently told me, that you have much desired to meet with me: Now you may see me* "*here: I am* John Chandos; *look well on me: Your great Feats of Arms, wherewith* "*you are so renowned, by Gods leave we shall now make a Tryal of.* Thus much the Lord *Chandos* said without any Interruption; for the *Frenchmen* were all on Foot, and so stood still in the best Order they might, pretending themselves desirous of Battle; but indeed they were afraid of Sr. *Thomas Percy* and his Men, lest they should come over the Bridge and fall upon their Backs. But of all this Matter he knew nothing, for the Bridge was high in the Middle; so that none who were near it could see over it.

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[c] *Vid. L. 3. c. 11. §. 7. p. 656. & Esquire Ashmole* Plate 21. *Licet aliis Campus sit ex* Argento.

While the Lord *Chandos* was arguing thus with the *French*, a certain *Breton* could no longer forbear, but took his Sword, and came to an *English* Esquire called *Simkin Dodenhale*, whom with a Blow on the Breast he reversed to the Earth. Sr. *John* hearing a noise hard by him, turn'd that way and saw his Esquire on the Ground, and the *Frenchman* laying on like Mad. Then he grew more chafed than before, and said to his Men, "*Sirs, how is it that you suffer this Esquire thus to be slain? A Foot, A* "*Foot!* And so He and all his Company leap'd on Foot, and *Simkin* was rescued, and the Battle begun. The Lord *John Chandos*, like a Valiant and Couragious Knight as he was, with his Banner before him, and his Men in good Order about him, stept forth against his Enemies, with a massie Battle-Ax in his hand, and a rich Surcoat of Arms over his Harness, fair and large, being a Field *Or*, charged with two sharp Piles *Gules*,

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One before and the other behind, all richly embroider'd on white Sarcenet, and on [d] his Helmet was for the Creſt a large Head of an Armed Man, envelop'd with a White Wreath, all in proper Colours. So that he ſeem'd ſufficiently provided to do notably that Day, being thus among the Foremoſt. But all humane Force, Wit and Precaution are contemptible, when our Stars fight againſt us; and the moſt unſuſpected Occaſion can undermine our ſtrongeſt Supports.

That Morning there was a great Hoar Froſt, which had made the Graſs ſo moiſt, that as the Lord *Chandos* went forward, he ſlid and fell down in the very joyning with his Enemies. And as he was riſing again, there ran to him an Eſquire named *Jaques de St. Martin*, who gave him a thruſt with his Rapier, which entred into the Fleſh under his left Eye, between the Noſe and the Forehead. For Sr. *John* was blind on that ſide, having loſt the ſight of his Eye five Years before, as he was hunting an Hart in the Country of *Bourdelois*; wherefore he ſaw not the ſtroke to avoid it; and (which wholly perfected the Misfortune) by reaſon of his Anger againſt the *Frenchmen*, he had forgot to pull down his Viſor again. The thruſt was rude, and entred 'tis thought into his very Brain; for it grieved him ſo ſore, that he fell again upon the Earth, and twice floundred upſide down for Pain, as one that was mortally wounded: And indeed, thô he died not then, he never ſpake one Word after. His Men at the ſight of this Misfortune were extreamly afflicted, but his Uncle Sr. *Edward Clifford* ſtept over him, and beſtrode him and defended his Body ſo valiantly (for the *Frenchmen* would fain have had him) and gave ſuch ſtroaks round about, that none durſt come near him. Sr. *John Chambo*, and Sr. *Bertram Caſe* fought like Men diſtraught of their Wits, when they beheld their Maſter lay groveling on the Earth in the Pangs of Death. But the *Bretons* and *Frenchmen* were ſo encouraged, when they ſaw the Captain of their Enemies in ſuch a Condition, verily believing he had his Deaths Wound, that they advanced themſelves, as if they had already got the Victory, ſaying, "You *Engliſhmen*, yield your ſelves, for you are all ours. There the *Engliſh* did Marvels in Arms, as well to defend themſelves, as to revenge their Maſter, whom they ſaw in ſo Deſperate a condition, and particularly an Eſquire of the Lord *Chandos* his, having eſpy'd *Jaques* of St. *Martin*, who had given his Maſter that unhappy Wound, ran to him fiercely with his Sword in both Hands like a Madman, and ſtrack him ſo violently, that he pierced both his Thighs, thô the Eſquire fought ſtill, untill the Wounds began with loſs of Blood to cool and ſmart. If Sr. *Thomas Percy* with his Men on the other ſide the Bridge, had but gain'd the leaſt Inkling of this Adventure, he could have given a ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance, and have offer'd a greater Sacrifice to the Ghoſt of his Departing Friend: But not imagining the leaſt of any ſuch Matter, when he heard no more of their Aſſaulting the Bridge, he thought they were returned back again, and ſo took Horſe and rode toward *Poictiers*, as one wholly ignorant of the Buſineſs. Thus therefore theſe few *Engliſh* fought at the Bridge of *Luſſac*, doing Marvels in Arms; but in ſhort being overpowred they could hold out no longer, but began to be diſcomfited and taken; only Sr. *Edward Clifford* would never ſtir from the Body of his Nephew, where he lay, and a Knot of *Engliſh* ſtood ready to back him; thô the Fortune of the Day was loſt. Now if the *Frenchmen* had had their Horſes near, they might have quitted the Field with Honour and much Profit from their Priſoners; but we ſhewed upon the firſt approach of the Lord *Chandos*, the *French* Pages ran all away with their Maſters Horſes; ſo that for want of them they loſt all. Then they began to ſay one to another, *Ah! this is an Unfortunate Fortune: For the Day is ours, and yet thrô the fault of our Pages, we cannot ſecure it to our ſelves.* And indeed they were all heavy armed, and very much wearied, ſo that 'twas morally impoſſible for them to foot it thrô a Country full of their Enemies, being at leaſt ſix Leagues from any Fortreſs that held for them; and beſides many of their Men were grievouſly wounded, whom they could not by any means leave behind them. Being in this Condition, without knowing what to do, thô they had ſent two freſh *Bretons* unarmed into the Fields, to ſee if they might find their Pages with their Horſes, they found a new Storm ready to fall upon them, which quite dampt their Courages. For there came up ſuddenly againſt them the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Taniboton*, the Lord of *Pinant*, Sr. *James* of *Surgieres*, Sr. *Geoffry Argentine*, and other *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners* to the Number of 200 Spears, who having parted from the Lord *Chandos* early that Morning, rode about to ſeek for the *Frenchmen*, whom they had heard to be abroad. And ſo at laſt they alſo fell into the Track of their Horſes, and came forward a good round Trot, with Banners and Streamers waving in the Wind. When the *Bretons* and *Frenchmen* ſaw their Approach, knowing them to be Enemies, they ſaid

[d] True Uſe of Armory in the Life of the Lord *Chandos* p. 101.

said to those *Englishmen* whom before they had taken Prisoners, "*Sirs, see there comes* AN. DOM.
"*yonder a strong Brigade of your Party to your Assistance, and we are Conscious that we* 1370.
"*are not able to stand against them, and you are as yet our Prisoners. Now we will acquit* An. Regni
"*You of all Obligations whatsoever, and further will become your Prisoners, on condition* *Angliæ*
"*You will undertake to bear us harmless: For we had rather do so, than lie at the Mercy of* XLIV.
"*these New-Comers.* The *Englishmen* were content to do thus, and so became Masters *Franciæ*
to whom lately they were Servants. At which instant the *Poictevins*, *Gascogners* and XXXI.
English came up to the *Frenchmen* with great Fury, crying out *St. George! Guienne!* But the *Frenchmen* and *Bretons* drew aside, desiring them aloud to make no Outrage against them, for they were Prisoners already. The same affirmed the *Englishmen*, saying, how they were their Prisoners: *Carlonet* was Prisoner to Sr. *Bertram Case*, and Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian* to Sr. *John Chambo*, and so every one of them found a Master; some of the *English* having two or three Servants.

But when upon conference had, the case of the Lord *Chandos* was known, all the Barons and Knights of *England* and *Poicton*, were mightily cast down, especially when they saw their Valiant Seneschal lying on the ground, and that for all they could do or say, he was not able to speak one word. Then they complain'd lamentably, "Alas! Alas! Sr. *John Chandos*, thou Flower of all Chevalry, unhappily was that "Weapon forged, which hath thus reduced so Gallant a Soul to Death's Door. All, that were about him, wept pitifully, and he saw, and heard, and understood them well; but he could not speak one word; he did all by Signs. Then they wrung their Hands and tore their Hair, especially his Domesticks, and made Complaints beneath the Character of Men: For he was extreamly Dear to all that knew him. His Uncle, Sr. *Edward Clifford*, caused him to be carefully unarmed, and so being laid easily on Shields, his servants bare him softly to the next Fortress, called *Mortimer*; the rest of the Knights and Barons returning with their Prisoners to *Poictiers*; but among them that *Jaques* of St. *Martin*, who thus hurt the Lord *Chandos*, was so neglected, as to his Wounds, no body caring to look to him, that he died at *Poictiers*. And this Noble and Valiant, Discreet, and Courteous Knight, the Lord *John Chandos*, lived not above a Day and a Night, or two Days after, being not able to speak a word all the while, thô he was in perfect sense; of which no doubt he made the best use in preparing for his Dissolution by Pious Meditations. The Prince of *Wales* and the Princess, the Earls of *Cambridge* and of *Pembroke*, and all the Lords and Knights of *English* Birth or Interest, that were then in those Parts, and heard of his Death, were mightily cast down, and said, *how now they had lost all on that side the Sea.* The King of *France* himself, when he heard of this Mischance happening to so Noble a Knight, is [e] reported to have wept, because of his Exceeding Modesty, Nobility, and Great Prudence; besides, that he was a most Generous Enemy. And further, he was so apprehensive of his Loss; [f] that he passionately said, "*There was not any* "*Knight then living, so likely to have renew'd the Peace between the two Crowns, as* "*He: He was so Dear unto King* Edward, *and so Reverenced, Esteem'd and Lov'd by* "*all Men.* In [g] general the *English* lov'd him, because he abounded with all good Qualities: The *French* hated him, because they feared him; and yet the best and wisest Knights of *France* were sorry for his Death; saying, they had much rather he had been taken alive: For if so, he was so Discreet and Politick, and withall so Gracious with the King and the Prince of *Wales*; that he would have devised some way to settle a Peace between the two Realms; to which for his sake King *Edward* would have condescended. Thus both *French* and *English* were affected at his Death; but especially the *English*: For by him *Guienne* was kept and recover'd. He was one of the Founders of the most Glorious Order of the Garter; to which he added no less Honour, than he took therefrom: For he had such Candor [h] of Mind, and such an unbyass'd Judgement; that he never deny'd his Enemies their due Praise; such Moderation and Prudence, that before Fight he never slighted them, and when they were beaten, never insulted over them. In his Familiar Converse, none more Affable and Sweet-natur'd, than Him: And as he was Expert in War; so he was a most rigid Exactor of Discipline, and preserved the Wretched Husbandmen free from Military Licence: From whence he obtain'd Obedience from the Souldiery, Good-will from the Country People, and Love from his Prince, by whom he was Honour'd with the Seneschalsy of *Poicton*. While he bare that Office, the Commons were not oppress't with unjust exactions, nor vexed with the Rapines, or frequent Incursions of the Enemy; to all which they were abundantly exposed after his Death. In the Battles of *Sluce*, of *Cressy*, of *Poictiers*, of *Auray*, of *Najara*, and others, he gain'd much Renown

[e] *Walsingh. Hypod. p.* 132. *n.* 10

[f] *Id. hist. p.* 181. *n.* 10.

[g] *Froiss. c.* 270, *&c.*

[h] *Vid.* Rich. Dinothi *Adversaria Historica, De Viris Illustribus p.* 95. §. 66.

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nown, as will appear by ſeveral Paſſages of this Hiſtory; however at laſt by Miſchance he received his Fatal Wound at *Luſſac*. He was Honourably interred in the Fortreſs of *Mortimer*; where he died, leaving no Iſſue of his Body behind him for he was never Married: Whereupon [i] *Elizabeth* and *Eleanor*, two of his Siſters (the Latter being then the Wife of Sr. *Roger Collings*) and *Iſabell* Daughter to *Margaret*, the Third Siſter, at that time Married to Sr. *John Anneſley*, were found to be his next Heirs.

[i] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*503. *ex Rot. Fin.*50. *Ed.*3. *m.*21. *& Aſhmole p.*704. *ex Commun. Term. Mich. an.*3. *H.*5.

Thus Reſt, Immortal Heroe, for thy Name
Shall laſt; till Heaven and Earth's devour'd by Flame.
And thô Baſe Envy at theſe Works repine;
Yet even they ſhall (if Mortals can Divine)
Live for the Great Black-Prince's *Sake and Thine.*

II. Upon the Death [k] of the Renowned Lord *John Chandos*, who left his Dear Lord, the Prince of *Wales*, Heir to all that he had in *Normandy*, which amounted to the Yearly Revenue of 40000 Franks, or 4000 *l.* Sterling; the Lands of St. *Saviour* the *Vicount*, fell into the King of *England's* Hands, to beſtow, as he ſhould think fit: Wherefore he gave the Charge and Government thereof to a Knight of his Houſe, a Valiant and Expert Leader, called Sr. *Alan Boxhull*, who [l] bare for his Arms in a Shield *Or* a Lion Rampant *Azure*, cover'd with a Fret *Argent*, he to defend the Place, and to menage the Revenues thereof for the Profit of the King and of the Prince. To him ſhortly after ſucceeded *William* Lord *Latimer*, who bare * *Gules* a Croſs Paté *Or*, and being Steward of the King's Houſhold, was before the end of this Year [m] made Lieutenant, Captain, and Governour of the Caſtle, Town, and Vicountie of St. *Saviour*. And the Office of High Seneſchal of *Poicton*, being void alſo by the Death of the Lord *Chandos*, the Prince of *Wales* gave it to Sr. *Thomas Piercy*, a Gentleman of Great Valour and Experience, [n] who was Younger Brother to *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, and afterwards was created Earl of *Worceſter*.

[k] *Froiſ. c.* 271. *fol.* 166.

[l] True Uſe of Armory in the Life of the Lord *Chandos p.*108. *& Aſhmole* Plate 52.

* *Aſhmole* Plate 42.

[m] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 32.

[n] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 285.

Soon after the *Frenchmen*, who were taken Priſoners at the Bridge of *Luſſac*, having by the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King, in whoſe Service they were taken, paid the ſeveral Ranſoms, which were ſet upon them, returned all back again to their ſeveral Garriſons; as Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, *Carlonet* the *Breton*, Sr. *William Bourde*, and others, of whom we ſhall ſay more anon. At this ſame time there were ſeveral Barons, and good Knights of *France*, who became very much concerned, when they ſaw the War of the two Crowns grow hotter and hotter every day; eſpecially the Lord *Ingelram Coucy*, whom it affected deeply, for he had a Fair Inheritance in *England*, as well upon his own account (for his Fathers had been Barons of that Realm ever ſince the days of King *John* of *England*) as by the Lady *Iſabell*, his Wife, who was Daughter to King *Edward*: Which Lands he muſt not only Renounce, but prove ungratefull to his Friend and Father-in-Law, if he ſhould ſerve the King of *France*; and yet on the other hand he would ſeem no better than unnatural and a Traytor, if he ſhould bear Arms for *England* againſt the King of *France*, to whom he was both an Ally and Subject: And yet he thought to ſtand Neuter, would be to befriend neither, but rather to diſoblige both. Wherefore he took a Fourth Courſe, reſolving for a time to bid Farewell to *France*, and to go and Travel abroad to inform his mind, and to ſeek Adventures. So having diſcreetly taken his leave of the *French* King, he ſet forth with a ſmall Retinue, and went into *Savoy*, where he was Honourably received by the Earl, and by the Barons and Knights of his Court. Having ſpent ſome time there, he rode forward into *Lombardy*, and went to the Lords of *Milain*, *Galeas*, and *Bernabo*, to whom he was welcome. In the ſame Manner, thô upon another occaſion, the Lord *Edmund* of *Pamiers*, one of the moſt Loyal Knights in the World, went away from the Prince's Service; the reaſon was this: In thoſe days, when there were ſo many Lords of *Gaſcogne*, and others, who daily revolted from the Prince to the *French* King's ſide, it could be no otherwiſe; but that the Prince and his Officers ſhould be very jealous of the Faith of thoſe, who gave but the leaſt umbrage of Diſcontent. But however it was in this caſe, whether only Suſpicion, or ſomething more ſolid, the Lord *Thomas Felton*, [o] who was Seneſchal of *Bourdeaux* for the Prince of *Wales*, and ſo conſequently Lieutenant for the King of *England*, cauſed the Lord *William* of *Pamiers* and a Lawyer his Secretary, and one of his Council, named *John Coulon*, a Native of *Bourdeaux*, to be apprehended and flung into Priſon. Being brought to their Tryal, it was proved home upon them (as was then affirmed) that the ſaid Lord of *Pamiers* had covenanted to yield himſelf, and all his Caſtles to the Protection of the *French* King, and had

[o] *Froiſ. Vol.*2. *c.*1. Gallicè & *c.*318. *fol.*199. *B.* Angl.

had actually deliver'd his Caſtle of *Fronſac* into the *French* Hands; of all which the ſaid Lawyer and Counſellour were conſcious and acceſſary thereto; wherefore neither the Lord of *Pamiers*, nor his Clerk, nor the other, having any thing to ſay, why ſentence of Death ſhould not proceed againſt them, they were all three condemned by the Judgement of the Lord of *L' Eſparre*, and other Loyal *Gaſcogners*, and openly beheaded in the City of *Bourdeaux*; before an infinite concourſe of People; to the aſtoniſhment of many. But eſpecially thoſe of the Lord of *Pamiers* his Kindred took this Execution hainouſly, and upon this occaſion it was, that the moſt Gallant and Noble Knight in the World, Sr. *Edmund* of *Pamiers*, Uncle to the foreſaid Lord *William* of *Pamiers*, left *Bourdeaux* and *Bourdelois*, reſolving however in his Mind, neither for that, nor any other Provocation on Earth, to turn Traytor to his Lord, the Prince of *Aquitaine*; but with all, he took the Death of his Nephew ſo ill, that he ſware never from that time to bear Arms for the King of *England*, or his Son, the Prince, while he lived. And ſo he went on divers Pilgrimages to *Cyprus*, to the Holy ſepulchre and elſewhere, to fight againſt the Pagans, in which employment he ſpent ſeveral Years. At the ſame time, that the foreſaid Lord of *Pamiers* was apprehended, there were ſeveral others taken up on Suſpicion of being concerned in the ſame Matter, as Sr. *John du Pleſſac*, S. *Peter* of *Landuras*, and Sr. *Bertram de la France*, who lay in Priſon at *Bourdeaux* in great Danger; thô at laſt by endeavours of their Friends, and becauſe nothing could be clearly made out againſt them, they were deliver'd. There ran about alſo a Report, as if Sr. *Galiard de Vignier* was not free from this Treaſon; which made People wonder much; becauſe the ſaid Knight was then in *Lombardy* with the Lord of *Coucy* in the Service of the Church: Wherefore the Pope himſelf afterwards excuſed him, and ſo he had his Lands and Poſſeſſions continued unto him. And thus jealouſies and heart-burnings aroſe between the Prince and his Subjects, and there were not wanting Evil Men to enflame Matters further: Thô ſtill there remain'd a few Genuine Sons of Honour, who could not by any Arts be prevail'd upon to relinquiſh their old Friends the *Engliſh*. Particularly the Lord *John* [p] *de Bourbon*, who held part of his Lands of the Prince, and had rendred him Homage therefore, came upon ſome occaſion to *Paris* about this time, where the ſubtle Kin ply'd him with all the Arguments imaginable, to make him renounce his Fealty to the Prince; but this generous young Earl of *Marche* abſolutely rejected the motion, telling him; that if there was no Religion, a Gentleman ought to keep his Faith and Promiſe. Of a like ſteady temper was another great Baron of *Limoſin*, namely, the Lord of *Pierre Buffierre*, who being then alſo at *Paris*, was urged by the King to fall off from the Prince, but he would by no means agree thereto. But there were two other conſiderable Barons of *Limoſin*, who knew not how to imitate the Fidelity and Honour of thoſe Men; for they with a little tampering quitted the Prince, and embraced the *French* King's intereſt; their Names were, *Lewis* Lord of *Maleval*, and the Lord *Raymund* of *Marvejols*, his Nephew, who ſoon after began to make Bloody War upon the *Engliſh* from their Garriſons: Whereat the King of *England* and his Council were extreamly diſpleaſed; eſpecially, becauſe now many Barons began to fall off, only out of Wantonneſs and Deſire of Change, without the leaſt provocation given, either by his Son, the Prince, or Him. Whereupon King *Edward* was adviſed to write Covert Letters, ſealed with his Seal, to be convey'd by two or three of his Knights into *Poicton* and *Aquitaine*, and there to be made publick in the Cities, Caſtles, and Good Towns thereabouts. The mean while the Prince of *Wales* deliver'd out of the Priſon in *Agen*, Sr. *John Champoneau*, the Knight, who brought him the Letters of Summons from King *Charles*, in exchange for a Knight of his, called Sr. *Thomas Banſter*, who [q] bare in a Field *Argent* a Croſs Pateé *Sable*, and had been taken a little before in a Skirmiſh in *Perigort*. But the Doctor, that came with him remained ſtill in Priſon, at *Agen*, till Sr. *John*, his fellow-ſufferer, had upon his return into *France* collected his Ranſom. But ſince We ſpake of King *Edward's* Letters, we ſhall here ſet down the Copy of them, wherein we ſhall ſee, that He prudently forbears the Title of *France*, leſt he might ſeem, while he went about to compoſe Matters, to give occaſion of widening the Breach, and alſo thereby to leſſen King *Charles* his jealouſie, who already had too faſt hold of thoſe *Gaſcogne* Lords, and be ſure would never let them go, while he deſpair'd of an accommodation himſelf. The Tenor of his Letters ran thus, *viz.* [r]

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[p] *Froiſ. c.* 271.

[q] *Aſmole's* Garter, Plate 55.

III. "*EDWARD*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland* and of "*Aquitain*, to all thoſe who ſhall ſee or hear theſe preſent Letters. Know you, that "conſidering and regarding the Buſineſs of the Bounds, Marches and Limitations of our "Seignory of *Aquitain*, ſtretching from end to end, We have been enformed of cer-

[r] *Extat in Originali* Froiſ. Gall. *fol.* 226. *Du Cheſne p.* 704. & Anglicè, *Froiſ. c.* 272.

"tain

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"tain Troubles, Grievances and Moleſtations, done or ſuppoſed to be done, by our "Right Dear Son the Prince of *Wales*, in the ſaid Countries: Wherefore being obli- "ged, and deſirous to withſtand and remedy all things relating to evil Surmiſes, Hates "or Contentions between Us and our Loyal Friends and Subjects; We do by theſe "Preſents announce and pronounce, certifie and ratifie, that of our meer Good Will, "and by great Deliberation of our Council for that purpoſe called, We will (and com- "mand) that our Right Dear Son the Prince of *Wales*, forbear and remit all manner of "Actions done or to be done, and do reſtore again to all ſuch, as have been grieved "or moleſted by Him, or by any of his Subjects or Officers in *Aquitain*, all their Coſts, "Expences and Dammages leavied, or to be leavied in the name of the ſaid Exactions, "Aids or Foüages. And if any of our true Subjects and Friends, as well Prelates, as "other Men of Holy Church, Univerſities, Colleges, Biſhops, Earls, Vicounts, Ba- "rons, Knights, Commonalties, and Inhabitants of Cities and Good Towns, be turned "to keep and uphold by evil Information and raſh Advice, the Opinion of our Ad- "verſary the *French* King, We pardon them that their Treſpaſs on Condition, that "theſe Letters once ſeen, they return to Us, or within a Month after. And We de- "ſire all our Loyal and True Friends to continue ſtill in the ſtate they now are; "that as concerning their Faith and Homage they incurr no Reproach; the which "thing would greatly diſpleaſe Us, and we ſhould ſee it very unwillingly. And if a- "gainſt our Dear Son the Prince, or againſt any of his Men they make any lawfull Com- "plaint, that in any thing they are grieved and oppreſſed, or have been in time paſt, "We ſhall cauſe them to have amends, ſo as of reaſon it may ſuffice, to the intent to "nouriſh Peace, Love, Concord and Unity, between Us and thoſe of the Marches "and Limitations aforeſaid. And to the end that all Men ſhould be ſatisfied of the "Truth of the Premiſes, We will, that every Man take and have a Copy of theſe "Preſents, the which We have ſolemnly ſworn to keep and maintain upon the Body "of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*, there being preſent our Right Dear Son *John* Duke "of *Lancaſter*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Here- "ford*, *Walter* of *Manny*, the Lord *Percy*, the Lord *Neville*, the Lord *Bourchier*, the "Lord *Stafford*, *Richard* of *Pemburge*, *Roger Beauchamp*, *Guy Brian*, the Lord *Mo- "hun*, the Lord *de la Warre*, *Allan Boxhull* and *Richard Sterry* Knights. Given at "our Palace of *Weſtminſter*, in the Fourty Fourth Year of our Reign, the fifth Day of "*November*.

Theſe Letters were ſent from the King of *England* into the Principality and Dutchy of *Aquitain*, and notified and publiſhed all about: And Copies thereof were ſecretly convey'd to *Paris*, to the Vicount of *Rochechoüart*, the Lord of *Maleval*, the Lord of *Marvejols* and Others, ſuch as had revolted to the *French*. But for all that neither do we hear of any, that they reduced to their Duty again, nor that they hindred others from falling off dayly, which they did now as much as ever, when they ſaw a fair opportunity of doing it ſafely: Eſpecially when they heard, [f] that King *Charles* had in the Chamber of Peers confiſcated the whole Principality, and whatever elſe either the Prince, or King *Edward* held beyond Sea, ſummoning in all the Vaſſals to come, and render unto him their Fealty and Homage: So that many Towns, Fortreſſes, Lands and Countries, as well in *Guienne* as in *Picardy*, return'd to the Obedience of the *French* King, as will appear hereafter.

[f] *Du Cheſne p. 705. & Mezeray, &c.*

IV. We ſpake before, how the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, *Carlonet* the *Breton*, and Sr. *William* of *Bourde* to go free again; when by the help of the *French* King they had paid their Ranſoms: Which Uſage by the bie, thô it ſavour'd much of a generous Confidence, and of a Freedom from Malice, yet can it not eſcape without a mark of Imprudence at leaſt. For thoſe, who had been once taken, would be ſure to endeavour to revenge the Affront, and alſo to pay themſelves double the coſt of their Ranſom, as Sr. *Nicholas Lovaine* did to Sr. *Hugh de Chaſtillon*. Nor was there any likelihood of ending the War, while theſe Grand *Bouteſeus* of *Mars* were perpetually let looſe again to ſet the World on fire. Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* alone ſhall ſtand an Inſtance of the Truth of what I ſay; for he being more than once a Priſoner to the *Engliſh*, and by them as often acquitted for Ranſom, became not only a means to deſtroy their Friend and Confederate *Don Pedro*, as we have ſeen, but alſo at laſt in a manner turn'd all the *Engliſh* out of *France*; ſo that he was ſtiled the Reſtorer of that Realm. However this was the Cuſtom of thoſe Days among the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Scots*, courteouſly to put their Priſoners of War to Ranſom; whereas the *Spaniard* and *German* uſed to bind them in Chains, and handle them roughly in Priſon, thereby to extort the greater Summ of Money from them: Which thô not ſo Generous, was perhaps

haps more safe in one respect. But to return whence we have made this Digression. Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian* being thus upon Ransom got home again to his Garrison of *la Roche de Pozay*, Sr. *William Bourde* into that of *la Haye en Touraine*, and *Carlonet* the *Breton* into St. *Salvin*, which had lost us the Lord *Chandos*; these Three made privately an Assembly of Men of War, all hardy Companions and well armed; with whom one Morning early they went to *Chastellerault*, and scaled the Town, and had like to have taken the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt* in his Bed. For at the winning of the Place he was asleep in his Quarters in the Town, till being awaked he was fain to fly in his Shirt, bare-footed and bare-legg'd from House to House, and from Garden to Garden in great fear of the *French*, who had enter'd the Town by Scalado, and by that time had won the Fortress. However at last with much ado he made shift to put himself under the Bridge of *Chastellerault* on the River of *Vienne*, where his Men had made a good Fortress, and here he was safe, and held himself so for a good while. But thus the *Frenchmen* were Masters of the Town, where they made a strong Garrison, and left *Carlonet* the *Breton* Captain of the Place, and every Day almost the *Frenchmen* went to the Bridge, and skirmished with Sr. *Lewis* of *Harcourt* and his Men that kept it. An. Dom. 1370. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLIV. *Franciæ* XXXI.

V. The mean while [t] *Lewis* Duke of *Bourbon* was informed, how the *English* Companions were in his Country of *Bourbonnois*, and that *Ortingo*, *Bernard de Wisk*, and *Bernard de la Salle* had taken his Castle of *Bellepeche*, and therein the good Lady his Mother; whereat he was horribly incensed, and resolved to go and lay siege unto *Bellepeche*, and not to stir thence till he should have won the Place. Upon his request the *French* King gave him leave to undertake the Enterprise, promising also not to be wanting in his Assistance towards the Work. So the Duke of *Bourbon* left *Paris* in the beginning of the Year, and made his Rendezvous at *Moulins* on the River *Allier* in *Bourbonnois*, and at St. *Poursain* on the Marches of *Auvergne*, in which places he raised a great number of Valiant Men. [t] *Froiss. c.* 272.

There was the Lord of *Beaujeu* with 300 Spears, the Lord of *Villers* and the Lord of *Roussillon* with an 100 Spears apiece, and several other Lords and Knights of *Auvergne* and *Forestes*, whereof he was Lord in Right of his Lady, who was Daughter to the Noble Lord *Beroald* late Earl *Dauphin*. Being thus enforced, the Duke of *Bourbon* went to *Bellepeche*, before which he built a great Bastion encompassed with a Ditch, and defended with Towers both for the ease of his Men, it being now but *February*; and for their safety in case of a Counter-siege or sudden Appearance of an Enemy: And so every Day he skirmished with the Companions, and at Night retired with the best part of his Troops into this Bastion. Besides this the Duke had with him four Terrible Great Engines, which cast huge massie Stones and Timber against the Castle, insomuch that the Tops of their Towers and Houses were beaten down, and a considerable part of their Turrets overthrown. Whereat the Duke's Mother who was Prisoner there, being extreamly affrighted, sent forth Messengers to the Duke her Son, desiring him to forbear using those fearfull Engines, which did so terrifie her and her Women that they knew not what to do. But the Duke of *Bourbon*, who knew, that she was put upon this by his and her Enemies, or however, that to obey her at this time was more for the Advantage of the *English* than of Her, return'd answer, that he was resolved by no means to forbear whatever came of it; and so continued playing with his Engines. When therefore these Companions saw how they were streightned, and that the *Frenchmens* Forces encreased (for the Lord *Lewis* of *Sancerre* Marshal of *France*, was newly come thither with a great Power) then they resolved to acquaint Sr. *John Devereux* Seneschal of *Limosin*, who lay then at *la Sousterraine* two little days-Journey from them, of this their Desperate Condition, and how the Lords of *Poictou* and *Gascogne*, when they left them in the Expedition of *Quercy*, had promised them on their Faiths, how that if they should take any Fortress in *France* and be besieged thereupon, they should have Relief upon Demand. Having wrote Letters to this Effect, they sent them away one night secretly by a Valet, who undertook to carry them, and got safe to *la Sousterraine*. When the Lord *John Devereux* had read the Letters, he remembred very well, how the Lord *John Chandos* had given them such a Promise, by the Consent of all the *English* Lords there present, and so he said he would most certainly bring them speedy Succour, and that he might succeed the better, he promised forthwith to go to *Angoulesme* to the Prince and the *English* Lords there, nothing doubting but to perswade them so, as that *Bellepeche* should have timely Assistance. With this News the Valet return'd, and Sr. *John* having left his Fortress in sure Keeping, rode to *Angoulesme*, where he found the Prince, the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the

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the Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord *Thomas Percy*, the Lord *Thomas Felton*, the Lord *John Montagu*, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, Sr. *Robert Knolles* and many more: Before all whom he ſuccinctly declared, "How the Companions were beſieged in the Caſtle of *Bellepeche* by the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of St. *Paul* and others: How it was for "their ſakes thoſe Men had reduced themſelves ſo far, and in confidence of their Aſ-"ſiſtance that they refuſed now to yield. The Lords of *England* gave good Attention to theſe words and ſaid, how they would ſurely endeavour to relieve them as they had promiſed; and the Prince himſelf ſent forth his Summons to all his Subjects within ſuch and ſuch Precincts, that upon ſight of his Letters they ſhould with all ſpeed haſten to the general Rendezvous at *Limoges*.

The Earl of *Cambridge* and the Earl of *Pembroke* were Captains of this Enterpriſe, and ſo when they had aſſembled their Forces, amounting to 1500 Spears and 3000 others, they lead them forth and came to *Bellepeche*, and began to encamp on the other ſide the Fortreſs, oppoſite to the *Frenchmen*, who lay ſtill within their Fortifications, which were environ'd with a deep Ditch, and as Defenſible as a conſiderable Town. The *Engliſh* Foragers had much ado to get any Victuals, but that want was ſupply'd from *Poictou* and other Parts behind them; for the Enemy commanded the reſt of the Country. Upon this Arrival of the *Engliſh* Army, the Lord *Lewis* of *Sancerre* Marſhal of *France* ſent News thereof to the *French* King, and to the Knights of his Court, and cauſed Writings and Bills to be ſet up upon Poſts and Gates, importing to this effect, "*All you that are Knights and Eſquires, and deſire to purſue Honour in the Field, We "certifie you for a truth, that the Earl of* Cambridge, *and the Earl of* Pembroke *are "come with an Army before* Bellepeche, *with deſign to raiſe the Siege laid there by the "Duke of* Bourbon *and our Men; who have endured much Trouble for a long while; "till at laſt we have brought them to that ſtreight, that of neceſſity they muſt either "yield up the Place, or venture all upon a Battle with us. You are therefore deſir'd to "come hither with all ſpeed; for here you ſhall be ſure to find Noble Deeds of Arms, and "you may be certain of this, that the* Engliſh *do not lie in any good Order, and beſides "are in ſuch a place, where they may eaſily be incommoded by us. Given from the Camp "before* Bellepeche, *&c.*

VI. Upon theſe and the like Invitations of the Marſhals ſeveral Valiant Knights of *France* came to the Siege; particulatly Sr. *Allart* of *Coutances*, Governour of *Blois* came thither with 50 Spears, ſo did the Earl of *Porcien* and Sr. *Hugh de Porcien* his Brother. Now [u] when the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, had thus faced the *Frenchmen* for the ſpace of 15 Days, and ſaw that they would by no means come forth out of their Baſtion to give them Battle, as they had expected; they reſolv'd to ſend the Herald *Chandos* unto them, which they did; and he being fully inſtructed ſaid thus, "*Meſſieurs, my Lords and Maſters have ſent me to you, and they give you to underſtand "by me, how they all wonder extreamly, that ſince you cannot but know of their being "here now theſe 15 days before you; yet you will not come forth of your Fortreſs to "fight them. Now therefore they ſend you Word by me, that if you will come forth a-"gainſt them, they will permit you freely to chooſe a plat of Ground to fight; and "then let them have the Victory, to whom God ſhall pleaſe to ſend it.* To this the Duke of *Bourbon* anſwer'd, "*Chandos*, you may tell your Maſters, that we do not de-"ſign to fight with them at their Diſcretion or Appointment: 'Tis true, I know very "well they are there: But for all that I will not ſtir hence, nor break up my Siege, till "I ſhall have the Caſtle of *Bellepeche* in my Power. "Sir (reply'd the Herald) *I "ſhall tell them what you ſay*; and ſo he left them and return'd to the *Engliſh* Lords, to whom he ſhew'd the Duke of *Bourbons* Anſwer; and they thought it moſt ſhamefull and diſhonourable. Then having taken Counſel, they call'd in *Chandos* the Herald ſaying, "*Go once more to yonder* French *Lords, and tell them thus and thus*; and ſo they declared unto him what he ſhould ſay. The Herald being admitted into the Duke of *Bourbons* Tent ſpake thus before Him and his Council, "*Meſſieurs, my Lords "and Maſters once more ſend you Word by me, that ſince you will not afford them Bat-"tle, they have now reſolved the Third Day from hence, at nine a Clock in the Morn-"ing, or elſe at Noon in the open Day, to ſet the Lady of* Bourbon *on Horſeback, and "ſo to convey her away before your Faces, and in ſight of You, my Lord of* Bourbon, *who "are her Son. And then Sir, they bid you reſcue her if you can.* "*Well* (reply'd the "Duke) *to ſee the Lady my Mother carried away will be to me no great Pleaſure; but "for all that we hope to recover her again when we may. And yet Mr. Herald, ſince "you have ſaid thus much unto us, tell your Maſters again from me, that if they will "ſend into the Field fifty of their Men, We ſhall ſend againſt them as many of ours,*

[u] *Froiſ.c.* 273.

"*and*

"*and then let that ſide win the Day that can.* *Sir* (ſaid the Herald) *I ſhall ſhew them* AN. DOM.
"*your Challenge with all my Heart.* And ſo *Chandos* left them, and returned to his Ma- 1370.
ſters, to whom he declared what the Duke had ſaid, and the Subſtance of his Chal- An. Regni
lenge; but of that they would not admit, becauſe they ſaid 'twas but a Vapour, and *Angliæ*
a pretence for gaining of Time, till mutual Security might be given, and the Laws of XLIV.
the Combat ſettled: Wherefore they ſtuck to their firſt Reſolution of Marching away *Franciæ*
the Third Day after with the Lady of *Bourbon*, aud all the Companions in the Caſtle, XXXI.
who had ſuffer'd much by the Enemies Engines of Battery.

On the day appointed, early in the Morning, [x] they ſounded all their Trumpets, and arm'd themſelves and all their Men, and ſo drew out into the Field in Battle Array, on Foot and on Horſeback, ready to Fight the *Frenchmen*, with their Banners and Penons waving before them. But at Nine of the Clock their Inſtruments beat up on high; at which time the Companions marched out of the Fortreſs of *Bellepeche*, with all the Goods, or what ever was valuable therein, and the Lady of *Bourbon* was brought forth, and mounted on a Rich Palfrey, and her Ladies and Maids of Honour about her; the Lord *John Devereux*, and the Lord *Euſtace Dambreticourt* being appointed to wait upon her. And thus about noon the *Engliſh* marched quite away in ſight of the Duke of *Bourbon* and the *French* Army (who made not the leaſt offer to ſtop them) having quite ſpoil'd the Caſtle, and return'd all together into the Principality. The Lady of *Bourbon* remain'd a Priſoner with the Companions at *la Roche Vauclaire* in *Limoſin*. But at her confinement the Prince of *Wales* was not pleaſed; for when ever there was any talk of her; he would ſay, "*he made not War* "*againſt Women; and that if any one had taken her, but the Companions, he would* "*have given order for her ſpeedy Deliverance.*" But when the Companions heard of that, they ſaid, whatever Bargain ſhould be made in order to her Liberty, they would have in conſideration thereof, that Valiant Knight of the Prince's Sr. *Simon Burley*, who was at that time Priſoner with the *Frenchmen*.

[x] *Froiſ. c. 274. fol. 167. Gallicè fol. 228.*

No doubt, the Duke of *Bourbon* was ſufficiently nettled to ſee his Mother after that Manner led away by the *Engliſh*: But when ſhe was gone and paſt Recovery, he went preſently and took Poſſeſſion of *Bellepeche*, which the *Engliſh* had left quite naked, as his own. Then he repaired and new-fortify'd the Caſtle, making it much ſtronger, than before; after which he brake up his Army, all his Men returning to their former Quarters. But the Duke himſelf went back with the Knights and Eſquires of his Retinue to the *French* King, who made him welcome, and was glad to ſee him.

VII. The mean while the Earl of *Pembroke* return'd with his Men to his Fortreſs of *Mortagne* in *Poictou*; and the reſt of the Men of Arms, and Archers went and quarter'd about in *Poictou* and *Sainctogne*: But the Companions thô among their Friends, could not for their hearts abſtain from doing Miſchief. Soon after this Sr. *Robert Knolles* took leave of the Prince, and return'd into *Bretagne* to his own Caſtle of *Derual*; where he had ſcarce been a Month; but that he received an Expreſs from King *Edward*, that all excuſes laid aſide, he ſhould haſte over to Him into *England*. Wherefore Sr. *Robert* ſet himſelf to prepare for that Voyage, and went on Board, and arrived ſafely at St. *Michaels* Mount in *Cornwall*; from whence he rode, till he came to *Windſor*; where the King then held his Court. He was extream Welcome to the King, and to all the Barons of the Realm; becauſe they thought, they ſhould make good uſe of him, and knew him to be a Valiant Man of his Hands, and a moſt accompliſh'd Leader: Wherefore the King intended to ſend him over with a compleat Army into *France* about *May*, or *June*. For the late Expedition about *Bellepeche* was finiſh'd in the Month of *March* at the beginning of this Year. Nor was the King ſlack in ſtrengthning himſelf by Allies from abroad, and therefore [y] Sr. *John Attewood*, and Mr. *Robert de Wykford*, Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, and Doctor of Laws, were ſent beyond Sea, being empower'd to treat with *Wenceſlaus*, Duke of *Brabant* and *Lorraine*, Marqueſs of the Empire, about furniſhing the King with Men and Arms, to ſerve him in his Wars. He alſo [z] confirmed the Treaty with the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Good Towns of *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, and *Ipers*. And laſtly, as We ſhall ſee by and by, he ſecured the Back-Door, *Scotland*, by a Treaty of Peace for Nine Years; that he might have more leiſure to be intent on the *French* War.

[y] 18 May *Pat.* 44. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 8. *Vid. Mr. Aſhmole p.* 666.

[z] 4. *Aug. Pat.* 44. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 3. *m.* 1.

VIII. [a] In the depth of the Preceding Winter, the Duke of *Anjou* had left *Thoulouſe*, with a large Retinue of Knights and Gentlemen in his Company, and riding thrô *France*, went to *Paris*; where he found the King, his Brother, with the Duke of *Berry* and the Duke of *Burgundy*; who were extream glad to ſee him. Theſe Four Illuſtrious Brethren being thus together, conſulted frequently on the Publique Affairs, after what

[a] *Froiſ. f.* 229. Gallicè; & c. 275. Anglicè. *Du Cheſne p.* 705. & *Mezeray p.* 84. &c.

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manner they ſhould deal with the *Black-Prince*, and how they ſhould beſt menage the next Campaigne. In the end, it was reſolv'd among them to raiſe two Mighty Armies, which by two ſeveral ways ſhould enter the Principality of *Aquitaine*, the Duke of *Anjou* to lead the One thrô *Agenois*, by *la Reole* and *Bergerac*, and the Duke of *Berry* to march with the other thrô *la Marche* and *Limoſin*, and ſo both Armies to meet before the ſtrong City of *Angouleſme*, and there to beſiege the Prince of *Wales* with all their Power. And that this Enterpriſe might ſucceed the better, they determin'd prudently enough to ſend for Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who was then in *Spain*, being [b] made by King *Henry*, Earl of *Molina* and *Soria*. But for all thoſe tyes, that Gallant Man left the Court of *Don Henry* at the firſt Command of his Natural Lord, the King of *France*, and ſhortly after joyn'd the Duke of *Anjou*, who then doubted no Miſchance; ſince he had ſo Valiant, Diſcreet, and Fortunate a Leader in his Company.

[b] *Mezeray p. 84.*

Thus the Four Royal Brethren tarried together at *Paris*, mixing many Princely Entertainments and pleaſant Diverſions, with their more ſerious and weighty deliberations, till the beginning of *May*: At which time the Duke of *Anjou* took his leave firſt, becauſe he had the furtheſt way to take, being waited on by many of the Chief Barons and Knights of *France*; for they loved him particularly, becauſe of his high Courage and Zeal for the Honour of the *French* Nation. At *Mompellier* he tarried about a Month in giving neceſſary Orders, and then went to *Tholouſe*, where he held his General Rendezvous.

In like manner the Duke of *Berry*, having taken his leave of the King, went to *Bourges*, the Chief City of that Region, where he made his Aſſembly of Knights and Eſquires of *France* and *Burgundy*. Beſides all this, the Duke of *Bourbon* went again into his Country, where he ſoon gather'd a great Body, conſiſting of the ſeveral Retinues of many Knights and Eſquires of the Earldom of *Foreſtes* and *Bourbonnois*, Sr. *Peter* of *Alenſon*, his Brother, making great Proviſion alſo for the War. At that very time there came the young Lord *Guy* of *Blois* into *France*, being newly return'd out of *Pruſſia*, where he had been made a Knight in the Field, and reared his Banner in a Skirmiſh againſt the Infidels. When he heard of this Expedition, which his two Couſins were then undertaking againſt the Prince of *Wales*, he went ſtrait to *Paris*, where he preſented himſelf, his Life and Fortunes to the King's Service, and was by him order'd to go and joyn the Duke of *Berry* with all his Retinue of Men of Arms, Knights, and Eſquires. Whereupon he took the firſt opportunity of leaving *Paris*, and took the way toward *Orleans*, to go into *Berry* to the Duke.

And yet all this while the Companions on the *French* ſide kept the Field, holding Frontier War againſt the *Engliſh* in *Rouvergne* and *Quercy*, and did much Miſchief daily in the Country thereabout; as on the other hand, Sr. *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, and *Carlonet* the *Breton* were ready on the Marches of *Poictou* to take all Advantages, they could think on.

IX. Againſt all theſe Preparations of *France*, we ſhall ſee by and by what Proviſion the *Black-Prince* made; but over and above all that, King *Edward*, who ſaw his own Honour and Right concern'd in this War made againſt his Son; was as vigilant on the other hand, and reſolved to ſet forth two conſiderable Armies alſo on his part. Firſt he order'd his Son *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, with 400 Men of Arms, and 4000 Archers, to go into the Principality of *Aquitaine*, to his Brothers Aſſiſtance: For he verily believed, that the *French* King would turn the greateſt ſtreſs of his Arms that way. But yet by Advice of his Council, he ſent another Army into *Picardy*, under the Command of Sr. *Robert Knolles*, in this bearing teſtimony to the former Choice of the Prince, his Son; who had made that Great Captain one of his Generals. And He for his part, nothing puff'd up with the Approbation of two ſuch Illuſtrious Perſonages, went roundly and wiſely about his buſineſs, making haſte to go as ſtrong, as he might, for *Calais*, thence to make an Impreſſion into *France*, in ſuch a manner, as to gain a Confirmation of the Eſteem, his Sovereign had for him, by a pitch'd Battle with the *French*, which he thought they would not refuſe. And that he might have the greater Authority, the King gave him Commiſſion to pardon Rebells, and to treat with ſuch, as were willing to ſubmit, or to accept of Conditions, or come to the Peace of the King; as likewiſe the [c] Duke of *Lancaſter* on his part had another Commiſſion, to receive into Favour, and wholly to pardon, ſuch of his Cities, Caſtles, Towns, and Inhabitants, as well in *Aquitaine*, as other parts of *France*, as ſhould return to his Obedience, and to do and exerciſe all Power given in his ſaid Commiſſion, with the Conſent of the Prince, if Preſent, and in his abſence, as the King's Lieutenant, to do what the King himſelf could do, if perſonally there. And that Care might be

[c] *Aſhmole p. 675. ex Rot. Vaſc. 44. Ed. 3. m. 5.*

taken

taken in Civil Affairs, the King (reſerving ſtill to Himſelf the Sovereignty and Reſort in thoſe Territories) ſent a Blank [d] Commiſſion for the Prince to inſert the Names of ſuch, as he ſhould think fit to appoint for Judges, or Delegates, to hear all Cauſes, as well Criminal as Civil, upon Appeals from the Prince's Court: But of the Succeſs of theſe Armies We ſhall ſpeak hereafter. AN. DOM. 1370. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLIV. *Franciæ* XXXI.

About this time the Lady *Iſabella* of *Valois*, Mother to the Duke of *Bourbon*, was deliver'd out of Priſon in Exchange for Sr. *Simon Burley*, by the menagement of Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt*, who, as he had [e] obtain'd the good Fortune of Marrying the Young Widow of *John*, late Earl of *Kent*, became a perpetual ſervant to that Charming Sex, which had ſo highly grac'd him: So that by his obliging Deportment to this Lady of *Bourbon*, he not only obtain'd her Good Word ever after, but alſo thereby extreamly gratify'd the Duke her Son (who in time found an opportunity to repay this his Kindneſs) and moreover he gain'd no ſmall Favour thereby from the *French* Queen, her ſelf, who ſent him a moſt Rich Preſent with her particular Thanks.

[d] *Dat.* 10 Junii *Rot. Vaſc.* 44. *Ed.* 3 *ibid.*

[e] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol.* *p.* 95.

X. Now there [f] had been for ſome time a Treaty on Foot between the *French* King and the King of *Navarre*, who lay then at *Cherbourg* in *Normandy*: For the King of *France* was adviſ'd by any means to make ſure of that Inconſtant and Troubleſome Man; and to bring him off from the King of *England*; his Council telling him, "That it was no time to make War with the King of *Navarre*; for he ſhould "find his Hands full enough with the buſineſs of *England*, and that therefore on oc- "caſion, he had better recede from a part of his Right, to pleaſe that froward "Prince; than by leaving him in Diſcontent, to ſet him upon Counſels highly Pre- "judicial to the whole Realm of *France*. For if *Navarre* ſhould once permit the "*Engliſh* to enter his Fortreſſes of *Cherbourg* or *Coutances*, which was much to be "feared, they might e'n do what they pleaſed in *Normandy*. By theſe and the like Reaſons the *French* King was perſwaded to hold a good Correſpondence with the King of *Navarre*, even upon any Terms whatſoever. So that going himſelf to *Roüen*, he ſent from thence unto him the Archbiſhop of that Place, and the Biſhop of *Eureux*, the Earls of *Alenſon* and *Salebruce*, Dr. *William Dorman*, and Dr. *Robert de Lorraine*, who found him at *Vernon* a City of *Normandy*, about Eight Leagues from *Roüen*, on the other ſide the *Seyne*. Here they were well feaſted by the King of *Navarre*, and on Security given, obliged him to bear them Company back to *Roüen*, where he was expected by his Good Brother, the *French* King. And here in ſhort, Articles were drawn up, the Peace made, and all Former Alliances and Confederations with *France* renewed, engroſſed, ſworn to, Signed and Sealed: The King of *Navarre* at the ſame time renouncing all Obligations of Love and Friendſhip made at any time before, between himſelf and the King of *England*, and engaging upon his Return into *Navarre*, to ſend and defie both the Prince of *Aquitaine* and his Father. In ſign of which new Agreement the King of *Navarre* went with full Confidence along with the *French* King from *Roüen* to *Paris*; where again all former Obligations were renewed, and mutual Faith and Friendſhip ſolemnly repeated, not without many extraordinary Careſſes, Feaſts, and Entertainments. After all which the King of *Navarre* took his leave of *Paris*, having left his two Sons, *Charles* and *Peter* with the King, their Uncle, as Pledges of his Faith, and he himſelf, not daring after this to go thrô the Principality, rode to *Mompellier*, whence he went into the Earldom of *Foix*, and ſo came at laſt into his own Country; where for a while We ſhall leave him.

[f] *Froiſ. ibid.*

XI. It may be remembred, how the Duke of *Anjou* for his part had undertaken to invade *Guienne* by the way of *Agenois*; for he extreamly hated the Prince of *Wales*, and the whole *Engliſh* Name and Nation. He was now making his Rendezvous at *Tholouſe*, where he only tarried for Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who came at laſt by the King of *Spains* leave, and then *Anjou* began his March. At which very time the Duke of *Lancaſter* went on board at *Southhampton* with 400 Men of Arms and 4000 Archers, and arrived ſhortly at *Bourdeaux* with the Lord *Thomas Ros* of *Hamlake*, *William Beauchamp* Lord of *Bergavenny*, Sr. *Robert Ros*, Sr. *Michael de la Pole*, Sr. *John de St. Lô*, and many other Valiant Worthies in his Company. The mean while the Duke of *Anjou* proceeded in his March from *Tholouſe* with a very great Army, wherein were no leſs than 2000 Spears, Knights and Eſquires, with 6000 on Foot arm'd with Pikes, Swords and Shields beſides others. Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* commanded thoſe 6000 Brigantines in Chief, the other Principal Commanders being the Earl of of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*, the Earl of *Perigort*, the Earl of *Cominges*, the Vicount of *Carmaine*,

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the Earl of *Liſle*, the Vicount of *Bruniquel*, the Vicount of *Narbonne*, the Vicount of *Talart*, the Lord *de la Barde*, the Lord of *Pincornet*, the Lord *Bertram* of *Cande*, the Seneſchals of *Tholouſe*, *Carcaſſon* and *Beaucaire*, with many more. In their March towards *Agenois* they found by the way above a 1000 Companions in the Fields, who having quarter'd in and about *Quercy*, were then riding towards *Agen*, but now they fell in and joyn'd with the *French* Army. All the Country trembled before this Dreadfull Hoſt, and very few Places had the Courage to hold out againſt them. But eſpecially *Moiſac*, a ſtrong Town of *Quercy*, yielded aſſoon as ever they appear'd before it. Then they marched towards [5] *Monpeſat* and *Aiguillon*, both which yielded unto them; thô the latter held out four Days, at which time it was deliver'd up by the Captain thereof to the Admiration of all Men; eſpecially of the Lord *Thomas Felton* and the Captal of *Buſche* who lay then at *Bergerac* with an 100 Spears, *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners*. But I dare not here follow *Froiſard*, in whom I know not by what Miſtake, Sr. *Walter Manny* is ſaid to be Captain of *Aiguillon* at this time: For thô we find him in *France* the laſt Year with the Duke of *Lancaſter*, yet he was then a very Old Man, and at this time paſt Action. Nor is this Relation any thing agreeable to the Fame, that conſtantly he obtain'd in War, nor to the Courage he had formerly ſhewn, as well in a thouſand other Cafes, as particularly in maintaining the very ſame Caſtle againſt *John* Duke of *Normandy*, and an Army of an Hundred Thouſand Men, of which we ſpake in the Twentieth Year of King *Edward's* Reign. However *Aiguillon* and *Monpeſat* being now yielded to the *French*, they deſign'd to go before *Tonneins* on the River *Garonne* in *Agenois*: So they rode on by eaſie journeys following the Courſe of the River, till they came to *Port St. Mary*, which forthwith yielded alſo; as did afterwards both the Town and Caſtle of *Tonneins*, into which they put a new Garriſon, and ſet there a Captain with Twenty Knights and Eſquires in his Company.

[5] *Du Cheſne p.* 705.

Now as the Duke of *Anjou* went thus on with his Army, invading the Prince's Lands by the way of *Tholouſaine* and *Agenois*; ſo on the other Hand the Duke of *Berry* made an Incurſion into *Limoſin* with an Army of 1200 Spears on Horſeback, and 3000 on Foot, beſides others; who for a while proceeded without Oppoſition, in conquering of Towns and Caſtles, and burning and ravaging about the Country. The Names of the Chief Captains with the Duke of *Berry*, were *Lewis* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Alenſon*, and Sr. *Robert* of *Alenſon* Earl of *Perche*, the Lord *Guy* of *Blois*, the Lord *John* of *Armagnac*, Sr. *Hugh Dauphin*, Sr. *John de Villemur*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, the Lord of *Villers*, the Lord of *Senac*, Sr. *Geoffry de Montagu*, Sr. *John* of *Boulogne*, and Sr. *Godfry* of *Boulogne* his Uncle, the Lord *Lewis* of *Maleval*, the Lord *Raimond* of *Marvejols*, the Vicount of *Uzés*, the Lord of *Sully*, the Lord of *Talaſcon*, with many more Valiant Barons, Knights and Eſquires. This Army as we have ſaid, made an Impreſſion into *Limoſin*, where they did much Miſchief, and at laſt came and laid Siege to the City of *Limoges*, which had been made very ſtrong by the *Black-Prince*; thô except the *French* Garriſon, there were but a few *Engliſhmen* at that time in the City, which Sr. *Hugh Calverley* had lately ſent thither; for he was as then Seneſchal of that Country.

XII. The Prince of *Wales* being then in the City of *Angouleſme*, had News brought him of theſe Two Great Armies, who had invaded his Principality on both ſides, and as he heard deſign'd to come and beſiege him jointly in his City of *Angouleſme*. Then he ſpake aloud and ſaid, "*How his Enemies ſhould never find him immur'd up either in* "*Town or Caſtle, but that he would meet them in the plain Field, and by the Grace of* "*God give them Battle.* So he ſent forth his Letters of Summons to all his Loyal Friends and Subjects in *Poictou*, *Saintogne*, *Rochellois*, *Rouvergue*, *Quercy*, *Bigorre* and *Agenois*, deſiring and commanding them to come to him in all haſte with Horſe and Armour, and their ſeveral Retinues, and meet him at the General Rendezvous at *Cognac*. Preſently after this he took his leave of his Lady the Princeſs, and carried along with him his Youngeſt Son *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, and ſet up his Standard of War at *Cognac*, to which his Men flockt dayly from all Parts.

XIII. While thus the Prince was preparing to receive his Enemies, the Duke of *Anjou* rode on as yet uncontrolled, and ſo at laſt came to a Good Town called *la Linde*, ſtanding on the River of *Dordonne*, about a league from *Bergerac*; the Captain whereof was Sr. *Thomas Batefoile* a Knight of *Gaſcogne*, who was ſet there with a ſufficient Garriſon to defend the Place. Before this Fortreſs came the Duke of *Anjou*, and laid his Siege to it ſaying, "*That he would never ſtir from the Place, till he* "*had it at his Devotion.* The Town was ſtrong enough, and ſufficiently furniſh'd with Artillery and all things neceſſary: For Sr. *Thomas Felton* and the Captal of *Buſche* had

had been there about a Fortnight before, and so well refreshed the Town, that they verily believed it was able to hold out against all the Power of the *French*; if they wanted not either Loyalty or Resolution: Especially because they were so near to *Bergerac*, from whom they might receive Assistance upon Occasion. But the Townsmen were all *French* in their Hearts, and desired mightily to accept of the Conditions offered them by the Duke of *Anjou*: So that at last they prevailed with their Captain Sr. *Thomas Batefoile* to be of their Mind also. And he in Consideration of a present Summ of Money, and a certain Annual Pension from the Duke of *Anjou*, undertook as on such a Morning to deliver the Town unto them, and ever after to embrace the *French* Interest. But this false Device was not so secretly convey'd, but that it was known at *Bergerac* the Night before the Place was to be deliver'd, at which time the Earl of *Cambridge* was newly come thither to reinforce that Garrison with 200 Spears, and was present when the News of this Treason was brought to the Lord *Thomas Felton* and the Captal of *Busche*. These two Lords were mightily surprised at this Treachery of Sr. *Thomas Batefoile*, but they said however they would be present at the Delivery of the Town by the Grace of God. And so before it was light they rode from *Bergerac* towards *la Linde*, whither they came by break of Day, and having caused the Gate to be open on that side, rode quite thrô the Town in silence, till they came to the other Gate where the *Frenchmen* were to enter; at which very instant the Gate was opening for the *French*, and Sr. *Thomas Batefoile* stood ready to receive them. Then Sr. *John Greilly* Captal of *Busche* alighted from his Horse, and stept forward with his Sword in his Hand to the Gate and said, "*Ah! thou Perfidious Traitor* Batefoil, *thou shalt first die by my* "*hand, and never more commit Treason against thy Good Lord and Master.*" And with those Words gave him so sure a Blow, that he fell Dead to the Earth. When the *Frenchmen* perceived the Captal and his Banner, and Sr. *Thomas Felton* with him, they saw plainly how their Plot was discovered; whereupon they hastily withdrew from the Gates, like one that found a Lion in his way, and then turn'd their Backs and fled to their main Host. Then were the Gates closed again, for none pursued them, because of their great Army which lay near; and so the Town continued *English*, but was in great Danger of being plunder'd and burnt by these Captains, who were enclin'd to do so, and to put all the Inhabitants to the Sword; because they consented to this Treason: But they excus'd themselves by laying all the Fault upon Sr. *Thomas Batefoile*, who they said overaw'd them to it by Threats, and how they did nothing but for Fear, being compelled thereto; and so at last they were pardon'd: But these two Lords tarried there, till the Duke of *Anjou* had remov'd his Siege and taken another way; as we shall shew when we have cleared our Hands of other Matters, which naturally fall in at this Place.

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XIV. On the [h] Seventh Day of *May David Bruce* King of *Scotland* departed this Mortal Life at his Castle of *Edenburgh*, leaving no Lawfull Issue behind him; wherefore the Lord *Robert Stuart*, Eldest Son of the Lady *Margaret*, *alias Margery*, his Eldest Sister, by True Right of Succession came to the Crown and Kingdom of *Scotland*: Which have ever since continued in that Glorious Family, down to our Most Gracious Sovereign His Present Majesty, King *JAMES*, the *Seventh* of *Scotland*, and of *England* the *Second*. To whom may God Almighty grant a Long, Happy and Victorious Reign, and of his Race and Name to wear the United Crowns of Great *Brittain*; till all Earthly Kingdoms shall be swallowed up in the Eternal Kingdom of Heaven.

[h] *Hector Boet. l. 15. f. 327. n. 50. Buchan. l. 9. p. 306. Holinsh. Scotl. p. 244. Oder. Rainal. ad hunc ann. § 27. & Favine le Paris.* Theatre of Honour *l. 5. c. 3. p. 89.*

The Original of this Illustrious Family is thus traced by [i] *Favine* in his Theatre of Honour, *Banquho* who was *Thane*, *i. e.* President or Governor of *Loquhaber* in *Scotland*, being slain by the Tyrannical Usurper *Mackbeth*, his Son *Fleance* made shift to escape into *Wales*; where of the Daughter of Prince *Griffith* he begat a Son named *Walter*, and Sirnamed also *Banquho* as his Grandfather was. At that time the Arms of this Family are said to have been *Or* a Fess Checkie, *Argent* and Sable of Four Pieces. This *Walter* long after the Death of *Mackbeth* returning into *Scotland*, fought valiantly for his King against the Island Rebels, and the Savages of *Scotland*, and was in recompence of his extraordinary Vertue and eminent Services, made Great Provost and Treasurer of the Houshold Royal, which the Scots signifie by the Name of *Stuart* or *Steward*. And he so faithfully discharged the Trust reposed in him without the least Reproach, or Embezling of the Kings Money, that the Sirname of *Stuart* was imposed on him, and transmitted to all his Posterity. *Walter* begat *Alan Stuart*, who was in the Expedition of *Godfrey* of *Boulogne*, *Alan* begat *Alexander* I, his Son was *Walter*, who begat *Alexander* II, and *Robert Stuart*, by whom the Family ran into many Noble Branches. *Alexander* the II, Eldest Son of *Walter* the II, begat *John Stuart*, *James* and other Children; by whom *Scotland* hath been repleniſhed with a Numerous

[i] *Favine le Paris. l. 5. c. 3. p. 89. &c.*

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Encreaſe of Generous Souls. *John Stuart* Eldeſt Son of *Alexander* the Second, left one Daughter named *Jane Stuart*, who brought unto her Husband the Lord of the Iſle of *Bute*, *Walter Stuart*, Third of that Name, who taking to Wife the Lady *Margery*, Eldeſt Daughter to King *Robert* the Firſt, and Siſter to King *David Bruce*, gat of her this *Robert Stuart*, King of *Scotland* by the Name of *Robert* the *Second*.

But becauſe there is a groſs Error in all the *Scotch* Hiſtorians, concerning the immediate Succeſſor of this King *Robert*, of which many Wicked Men have in our days thought to make Advantage, for the ſake of Truth and Juſtice, and the Honour of Majeſty, We ſhall here fairly ſtate the Matter, and faithfully and truly ſettle it. It is the Aſſertion of all the *Scotch* Writers, whom I have ſeen (thô in ſome particulars they differ one from another) that this *Robert*, before he was King, had by a certain Miſtreſs, named *Elizabeth More*, Three Sons and Two Daughters, that after by his Wife *Euphemia Roſs*, who was alſo Queen, he had two Sons and a Daughter, that upon the Death of his Queen, his Former Miſtreſs, being then alſo by the Death of her Husband *Giffard*, at Liberty, was by him taken to Wife, her Children legitimated, and the Right of Succeſſion by Act of Parliament ſettled firſt upon them. This is the Effect of what the *Scotch* Writers ſay; wherein there are many abominable Falſities, as We ſhall make appear; for We ſhall moſt evidently prove; that the Lady *Elizabeth More*, was his Firſt and Lawfull Wife, and died before he Married *Euphemia*; that *John*, who ſucceeded him by the Name of [k] *Robert*, was his true and lawfully begotten Eldeſt Son, and ſo reputed both by his Father and King *David* himſelf all along, and that this Act for ſettling the Succeſſion, was only a Declaration of what was Right and Equity, and done in the Life time of Queen *Euphemia*; as is abundantly * made out in Sr. *George Mackenzies Jus Regium*, and [l] Dr. *Brady's* True and Exact Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*; to whom I ſhall refer the Reader for the Original Record, and only ſet down here an Exact Tranſlation of the ſaid Record, word for word, that all the World may ſee upon what ſolid Grounds we go.

[k] When he came to the Crown, he laid by the Name of *John*, as unfortunate to two Kings of *England* and *France* and took upon him that of *Robert*, Fortunate to his Father and Great Grandfather *Robert Bruce*.

* P. 189. *ad* p. 201.

[l] Dr. *Brady's* True, &c. p. 309. *ad* p. 311.

The Declaration, Ordinance, or Statute of the Succeſſion to the Crown of Scotland, *made at* Scone *on the* 4th *of* April, *in the Third Year of King* Robert *the* Second. *An°. Domini.* 1373.

XV. In the Name of God, *Amen.* In the Year of the [m] Incarnation One Thouſand, Three Hundred, Seventy Three, and in the Third Year of the Reign of King *Robert* the Second, the Fourth day of *April*, the ſaid King *Robert* the Second in his Parliament at *Scone*, [n] being deſirous to avoid to his Power the Uncertainty of Succeſſion, which hath formerly happened in moſt Kingdoms and Parts, and for *him* and *his* as much as may be to prevent it for the Future, of Deliberate Counſel, and with the Conſent and Aſſent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other Lords and Nobles, and of all others of the Three Eſtates, or Communities of the whole Realm, there Aſſembled, hath Declared, Ordained and [o] Eſtabliſhed, that the Sons of the ſaid King now begotten of his Firſt and Second Wives, and their Heirs, ſhall [p] in order ſucceed the ſaid King in the Kingdom, and in the Right of Reigning, in manner under-written, and under the form and conditions, under-written. *Videlicet*, that the Lord *John*, the Eldeſt Son, Earl of *Carrick*, and Steward of *Scotland*, (for whoſe Right of Succeſſion, Declaration was fully made in the [q] Parliament immediately preceding) and his Heirs after his Death, ſhall ſucceed him in the Kingdom, and in the Right of Reigning: And the ſaid Lord *John* and his Heirs failing perchance (which God forbid) the Lord *Robert* Earl of *Fife*, and *Menteith*, Second Son of the ſaid Lord the King by his *Firſt* Wife, and his Heirs, ſhall in Order, and immediately ſucceed in the Kingdom, and in the Right of Reigning: And the ſaid Lord *Robert* and his Heirs [r] alſo failing, perchance (which God forbid) the Lord *Alexander* Lord of *Badenagh*, the Third-begotten Son of the ſaid Lord, the King, by the ſame Wife, and his Heirs only ſhall in the ſame manner ſucceſſively, and immediately after their Death ſucceed in the Kingdom and Right of Reigning. But the ſaid Lord *Alexander* and his Heirs aforeſaid failing alſo, perchance (which God forbid) the Lord *David* Earl of *Strathern*, Son of the ſaid Lord, the King, begotten of his *Second* Wife, and his Heirs, they ſo failing, [s] ſhall *ex toto* ſucceed in like manner ſucceſſively, and immediately to the Kingdom and Right of Reigning. But the ſaid *David* and his Heirs aforeſaid in like manner perchance failing, *Walter*, Son of the ſaid Lord, the King, Brother German of the ſaid Lord *David* and his Heirs ſhall ſucceed in like manner to the Kingdom, and the Right of Reigning. But the foreſaid Five Brothers, and the Heirs from them deſcending, failing perchance in like manner and [t] wholly (which God forbid) the True and Lawfull Heirs of the Blood and Stock Royal ſhall from thence ſucceed to the Kingdom, and the Right of Reign-

[m] *Incarnationis ejuſdem viz. Dei*, which went before.

[n] *Ac Capiens*, &c. *ſed* τὸ ac *ſuperfluum.*

[o] *Statuit.*

[p] *Succeſſivè ſuccedent.*

[q] *Hoc Parliamentum fuit coactum* An°. 1372, &c. *Vid. Statuta* Roberti II. *c.* 17. §. 2, 3, 4.

[r] *Hîc inſeritur* hujuſmodi *otiosè, ut mihi videtur.*

[s] *Ex toto* integrum; & in jus, *lego-ex toto* in regnum, &c.

[t] *Ex toto.*

Reigning. Which things being thus Eſtabliſhed, Ordained, Declared and Done, all the Prelates, Earls, and Barons, and all of the Three Eſtates or Communities of the whole Realm, in the ſaid Parliament, for that, and other things there Aſſembled, did Ratifie and approve them, for them and their Heirs for ever. And notwithſtanding thoſe underwritten, namely Prelates, Biſhops of Churches, the Lord *William* of St. *Andrews*, *Michael* of *Dunkelden*, *Alexander* of *Aberdeen*, *Patrick* of *Brechin*, *Alexander* of *Murray*, *Andrew* of *Dumblane*, *Alexander* of *Roſse*, and *Malcome* of *Cathanes*, on the Holy Goſpels of God, being preſent and open, and the underwritten Earls, Barons, and Nobles, namely, Firſt the Elder Sons of the ſaid King, that are of Age, *viz.* the Lords *John*, *Robert*, and *Alexander*; and alſo the Lord *William* Earl of *Douglas*, *George* of *Dumbar* Earl of *Marche*, *John* of *Dumbar* Earl of *Murray*, *Thomas Hayes* Conſtable of *Scotland*, the Lord *William Keth* Marſhal of *Scotland*, *James Lindſey* Lord of *Crawford*, *Archimbald Douglas* Lord of *Galloway*, *James Douglas* Lord of *Dalkeith*, *Robert de Irskin*, *Hugh de Eglington*, *Duncan Wallais*, *David Graham*, *Walter* of *Haliburton*, *William Diſſington*, *Alan de Irskin*, *Alan*[u] *Frazer*, *James Frazer*, *Alexander Frazer*, *Robert Stuart* of *Innerneſs*, *Roger Mortimer*; *David Fitz-Walter*, *Patrick Graham*, *Andrew Vaux*, *John Wallais*, *John Maxwell*, *Andrew Campbell*, *William de Cunningham* the Son, and *John Straquhan*, Knights, *John Kennedy*, and *Alexander Cockburn*, Eſquires, and each of them, on the ſaid Holy Goſpels, by their Hands touched have corporally ſworn, that for them and their Heirs they will inviolably obſerve, and by others to their Power cauſe to be obſerved for ever, the foreſaid Declarations, Ordinations, and Statutes. Conſequently and immediately whereto, the whole Multitude of the Clergy and People, being ſpecially thereto called in the Church of *Scone* before the High Altar, and the foreſaid Declaration, Ordination, and Statute ſo ſworn-to, being read unto them openly and aloud, Every One with his Hand lifted up in manner of giving Faith, in token of the Univerſal Conſent of all the Clergy and People, did expreſs and manifeſt publiquely their Conſent and Aſſent. In witneſs of all which the foreſaid Lord, the King, commanded his Great Seal to be put to the preſent Writing or Inſtrument, and for the Greater Evidence, and Fuller Security, all the Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and Nobles aforeſaid, cauſed their Seals to be put to the ſaid Inſtrument, for the ſake of Teſtimony, and to the perpetual Memory of thoſe that are to come: *Acta fuerunt hæc apud* Sconam *in pleno Parliamento Domini Regis, Prædictis, Anno, Menſe & Die, ſuperiùs annotatis.*

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[u] *Ità lacunam hìc ſuppleo.*

Now if the pretended Defect be true, as to the Children begotten on the Body of *Elizabeth More*, it was a very palpable and undeniable One, and could not but have been unanſwerably known to the whole Nation. And how then can We imagine, that the whole Parliament would ſo unanimouſly draw upon themſelves the dreadfull ſin of Perjury, by Excluding the Lawfull Heir, againſt their National Oath taken in the Reign of King *Kenneth* the Third, whereby they ſwore for ever to own the Immediate Heir? Or that they would thus venture to entail upon themſelves a Civil War, by preferring even a Queſtionable Heir, after the Miſeries, which they had ſo lately felt in the Competition betwixt the *Bruce* and the *Bailiol?* Nay among theſe Seals, We find the Seal of *James Douglas*, Lord of *Dalkeith* is One, and how ridiculous is it to think, that he would ſit and declare a Baſtard preferable to the Brother of his own Lady, and alſo to his own Lady, who would have ſucceeded, if her Brothers had died without Iſſue? And then it is moſt evident, that when *John* was thus Deſigned Heir, the Queen *Euphemia Roſs* was not dead, as the *Scotch* Writers ſay, and the King Married to his Mother: For as there is extant a Grant given by the ſaid King to *Paul Metine*, confirming unto him a Charter Granted by the Earl of *Roſs*, Father to *Euphemia*, wherein the ſaid *John* is Witneſs by the Name of *Eldeſt-Son* and *Heir*, ſo there is a Charter granted unto Her by the King upon the very ſame day; of the Lands of *Lochleaven*; both Grants bearing Date *Junii* 1mo. *An*°. *Regni Primo.* And it is againſt all ſenſe and reaſon to think, he could have been acknowledged Heir Apparent, during her Life, if he had not been Legitimate.

Nay further, we find by our Records, that [x] 19 Years before this, he is ſtiled *John*, Eldeſt Son and Heir of *Robert Stuart*, as alſo ſeven Years after he bears the ſame Title, being ranked * Firſt among the Hoſtages, which lay for King *David.* And further to put all out of Queſtion, there is extant in *Fourdons* Hiſtory a Charter granted by King *David*, wherein the Witneſſes are *Robert Stuart*, Earl of *Strathern* our Nephew, *John Stuart* Earl of *Carric* his Eldeſt Son and Heir, *Thomas* Earl of *Mar*, *George* of *Dumbar* Earl of *March*, and *William* Earl of *Douglaſs*. So that here again *Buchanan* is found Tardy, who ſays that *John* was created Earl of *Carrick* by the King his Father,

[x] *Rot. Scotiæ 25. Ed. 3. m. 3. & Aſhmole p. 657. Vid. Hujus Hiſt. l. 2. c. 11. §. 8. p. 445.*

* *Vid. Hujus Hiſt. l. 3. c. 2. § 3. § §. 4. p. 529.*

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ther, after the Death of *Ephemia Roſs*; when here we find him ſtiled Earl of *Carrick* by his Great Uncle King *David*, who alſo atteſts, that he was Eldeſt Son and Heir to his Nephew *Robert*; and ſurely he could be no ways byaſſed in the Affair.

But if any one ſhall ſay, what need then had there been of this Act or Declaration, if the Title of *John* had not been Doubtfull? We anſwer, that King *Robert* could not forget [y] how *William* Earl of *Douglas*, by pretending a Right from the *Bailiols* and the *Cumins*, had like to have diſturbed his own Coronation; but that he was not allowed in his Deſign by his Friends. And therefore to ſtop all Controverſies for the future, he thought good to fortifie his Right, and the Right of his Children for ever by a National Declaration, as well as by Statute. And thus much for this Important Matter in this Place; we now return to the Point from whence we digreſſed.

[y] *Hector & Buchan. ibid. &c.*

XVI. This King *Robert* the Second of *Scotland*, who had been well acquainted with the Power and Force of King *Edward*, and knew what Havock of that Nation he had made in time paſt, being now in the beginning of his Reign deſirous to eſtabliſh his Kingdom in Peace, made a Motion for a Treaty with *England*, which King *Edward* moſt readily embraced, becauſe of the great War that he expected from *France*. So that at laſt a firm Truce and Peace was taken and ſettled between the two Realms, to endure for the ſpace [z] of Nine Years. All which time it might be lawfull for the *Scots* to take Arms at their Pleaſure, and to ſerve for Wages either the King of *England* or of *France*, without any Imputation of Breach of Peace. So that Sr. *Robert Knolles*, whom King *Edward* deſign'd to ſend into *France* with a Conſiderable Army, had now with him no leſs than [a] an Hundred Spears, all Choſen Men of that Warlike Nation. In relation to which Expedition [b] Proclamation was ſent forth, that all Souldiers deſign'd for *Picardy* and other Parts of *France*, under Sr. *Roberts* Command (he being [c] conſtituted the Kings Lieutenant in thoſe Parts) ſhould be at *Southhampton* by the Octaves of St. *John Baptiſt* following, ready fitted to take Shipping there with him. So that in the beginning of *July*, Sr. *Robert* finding all things ready, went on Board at *Southhampton*, and arrived ſafely and landed with all his Men at *Calais*, where he was highly welcom'd by Sr *Nicolas Stambourn* Captain of the Town. Here he tarried ſeven Days to refreſh his Men, and to conſider what Courſe to take; on the eighth Day early in the Morning he began to march out of *Calais* with an Army of [d] 30000 Men, among whom were 1500 Men of Arms and 4000 Archers on Horſeback; the Chief Captains whereof were Sr. *Alan Boxhull*, Sr. *Thomas Grandiſon*, Sr. *Walter Fitz-Walter*, Sr. *Gilbert Gifford*, Sr. *John Menſtreworth*, Sr. *John Bourchier*, Sr. *Hugh Meinill*, Sr. *Geoffry Vrſwell* and Others. The firſt Day they reached *Fiennes*, but Sr. *Moreau de Fiennes*, Conſtable of *France* was then in the Place, with a ſufficient Number of Knights and Eſquires, all well provided, and ready to receive their Enemies. The next Morning the whole Army faced the Caſtle, but when it plainly appear'd, that much might be there loſt, and little or nothing won, they paſſed by without attempting it; and marching thrô the Earldom of *Guiſnes*, enter'd the Land of *Fauquenberg* burning all before them, till they came to *Teroüenne*, which yet they attempted not, for ſeeing it well provided, they thought 'twould be but loſt Labour. Then they paſſed the River of *Lys*, and began to enter *Artois*; but they never went above four or five leagues a Day, becauſe of the Infantry and their Carriages, ſtill taking up their Lodgings early in the Afternoon, and near ſome conſiderable Village or other. At laſt they drew near to the City of *Arras*, and took up their Lodgings in the Town of Mount St. *Eloy*, near to the ſaid City, where they tarried two Days to refreſh themſelves, all the while deſtroying and burning round about, as far as the Marſhals durſt ſtretch.

[z] But for 3 years *Mezeray*, for 14 *Buchan.* and 9 *Froiſ.*

[a] *Froiſ.* Gall. *f.* 231. Angl. *c.* 278.

[b] 6 *Maii, Clauſ.* 44. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 15. *Dorſo.*

[c] *Rot. Franc.* 44. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 14.

[d] *Mezeray ità, ſed* 12000 *Holinſh. ego priorem præfero, quia dicitur* Exercitus magnus, *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 234. *& Walſing. hiſt. p.* 179.

Now the *French* King had already provided for all the Defenſible Places in thoſe Parts, as well as elſewhere, ſtrictly enjoyning his Chief Officers, not to be eaſily tempted out to a Battle, but only to ſtand on the Defenſive part: Which Order was generally obey'd, and prov'd more miſchievous to the *Engliſh* than open Oppoſition could have done; for by this means they could get very little Proviſion without Blows, but could never come to a Battle as they deſired and expected. On the third Day they left St. *Eloy* and paſſed by *Arras*, but Sr. *Hugh Meinill*, and Sr. *Geoffry Vrſewell*, who were the Marſhals of the *Engliſh* Army, reſolved however to go and look upon thoſe of *Arras*, to ſee how they were diſpoſed, and whether they might not find ſome Advantage againſt them. Therefore with 200 Spears and 400 Archers they advanced to the Suburbs of the City, and ſo came to the Barriers, which they found well furniſhed with Croſsbows and Men of Arms: And Sr. *Charles* of *Poictiers* was Chief Captain there under the Counteſs of *Artois*, but he made no Offer to come forth againſt them; for all they ſtood daring him ſo without. The Marſhals were angry

angry at this their Behaviour, reputing it no other than rank Cowardiſe; and that they might be ſure to leave a Remembrance behind them (if they could not provoke them to come forth) they ſet fire to the Suburbs in many places, whereby they did much harm, and among the reſt deſtroy'd a great Monaſtery of Preaching Fryers, Cloiſter and all: But yet the Defendants kept their Poſt without offering a Sally. So the Marſhals return'd after the Army, which took its way directly toward *Bapaume* ravaging all about. Thus they paſſed into *Vermandois*, and came to the ſtrong Town of *Ham*, whither all the People of thoſe Parts had withdrawn together with their Goods for Safety, except thoſe, who ſought Reſuge at St. *Quintin* or *Perone*. But here they did no harm, becauſe a Day or two before they had ſo obliged themſelves: For being come to *Vermand* the Chief City at that time of all the Country, the *Engliſh* Marſhals upon their ſafe Conduct got the Captain to come to them, and ſaid thus unto him, "*How ſay "you, Sir, what will you give us, on Condition that We forbear this Country, and reſpite "it from burning and Plunder?* So the Captain fell to a Compoſition, and agreed to pay them ſuch a Summ of Money, and thereupon no more Harm was done in thoſe Parts. And by this means Sr. *Robert Knolles* gain'd in this Expedition for his own Share more than an 100000 Franks, thô he had like to have repented afterwards of his Mercate: For he was by his Maligners accuſed to the King, his Maſter, that thrô Covetouſneſs he had not done his Duty in offending the Kings Enemies, as we ſhall ſee anon. From *Ham* he marched, and came to the Town of *Roye* in *Santerre*; which he took, plunder'd and deſtroy'd. In this manner the Army went on fair and ſoftly in dreadfull Order, two, three or four Leagues a Day, their cuſtome being to tarry three or four Days in a Place, where they found plenty of Proviſion, to refreſh Themſelves and their Horſes. But they ſeldom met with any thing abroad, except Barns and Granges full of Corn; for it was now toward the end of *Auguſt*. As for the Lands of the Lord of *Coucy*, King *Edward's* Son-in-Law, they remain'd in perfect Peace untouch'd and unmoleſted: And if any Man or Woman did but ſay they belong'd to the Lord of *Coucy*, Earl of *Soiſſons*, they had not the leaſt harm done unto them: Nor ſo much as a ſingle Penny taken from them. At laſt the *Engliſh* Army came before *Noyon* a City of *Picardy*, which was well ſupplied with Men of War and Good Captains: Here they tarried a while making their Approaches as near as they durſt, to try whether there was any likelihood of prevailing or no; but it plainly appear'd, that ſmall Advantage was to be got by attempting the Place. Sr. *Robert Knolles* was lodged in the Abbey of *Dorlans*, with his Men in good Order round about him, and at laſt having tarried there long enough to little purpoſe, he drew out his Army one Day before the City, to ſee if any would ſally out upon him from the Town: But there was no ſuch Matter offer'd, wherefore Sr. *Robert* diſpos'd himſelf to march away from thence. At that time there was done an extraordinary Feat of Arms by a *Scotch* Knight, named Sr. *John Aſſueton*, being one of thoſe Men of Arms of *Scotland*, who had now enter'd King *Edwards* Pay. This Man left his Rank with his Spear in his hand, his Page riding behind him, and went toward the Barriers of *Noyon*: Where he alighted ſaying, "*Here hold my Horſe, and ſtir not from hence*; and ſo he came to the Barriers. There were there at that time Sr. *John de Roye*, and Sr. *Lancelot de Lorris* with ten or twelve more, who all wonder'd what this Knight deſign'd to do. He for his part being cloſe at the Barriers ſaid unto them, "*Gentlemen, I am come hither to viſit "you, and becauſe I ſee you will not come forth of your Barriers to me, I will come in to "you, if I may, and prove my Knighthood againſt you: Win me if you can.* And with that he leap'd over the Bars, and began to lay about him like a Lion, he at them and they at him; ſo that he alone fought thus againſt them all for near the ſpace of an Hour, and hurt ſeveral of them. And all the while thoſe of the Town beheld with much Delight from the Walls and their Garret Windows his great Activity, Strength and Courage; but they offer'd not to do him any hurt, as they might very eaſily have done, if they had been minded to caſt ſtones or darts at him: But the *French* Knights charged them to the contrary, ſaying, "*how they ſhould let them alone to deal with "Him.* When matters had continued thus about an Hour, the *Scotch* Page came to the Barriers with his Maſters horſe in his hand, and ſaid in his Language, "*Sir, pray come "away, it is high time for you to leave off now: For the Army is marched off out of "ſight.* The Knight heard his Man, and then gave two or three terrible ſtrokes about him to clear the way, and ſo arm'd, as he was, he leap'd back again over the Barriers, and mounted his Horſe, having not received any hurt; and turning to the *Frenchmen*, ſaid, "*Adieu Sirs, I thank you for my Diverſion*, and with that he rode after his Man upon the ſpur towards the Army.

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Now as Sr. *Robert Knolles* marched away from before *Noyon*, and had paſſed the River of *Oyſe* at *Pont l' Eveſque*, ſome that were in the Reer lag'd behind, and ſet fire on the ſaid Town of *Pont l' Eveſque*, wherein there were many goodly Houſes. The Knights and Eſquires then at *Noyon* were mightily diſpleaſed to ſee this Fire, wherefore when they underſtood by the ſaying of the *Scotch* Page, that Sr. *Robert* was marched off with the Groſs of the Army, they ſent out of the Town 60 Spears, who rode up to *Pont l' Eveſque*, and came where the Fire was. There they found ſome of the Authors of that Miſchief, and others that tarried behind for Plunder; the moſt part of whom they ſlew outright, releaſed ſeveral *French* Priſoners, ſaved many Houſes from fire, wan fourty good Horſes, and 15 *Engliſh* Priſoners; all whoſe Heads they cauſed to be ſtruck off, when they came to *Noyon*.

The mean while the Army marched forward in good Order toward *Laonnois*, deſigning to paſs the River of *Ayſne*; but they did no harm in the Land of *Soiſſons*, becauſe it belonged to the Lord of *Coucy*, King *Edwards* Son in Law. Now all along there were certain Lords of *France*, that coaſted the *Engliſh* Army, and watched their Motions at a Diſtance, as the Vicount of *Meaux*, the Lord of *Chauny*, the Lord *Ralph de Coucy*, the Lord *William de Melun*, Son to the Earl of *Tancarville*, with their ſeveral Retinues; whereof the *Engliſh* being aware durſt not break their Order; but alway marched in Battle-Array cloſe together. Wherefore the *Frenchmen* had no opportunity to meddle with them, but ſtill they coaſted them, in hopes one time or other to get ſome Advantage againſt them, and every Night the *Frenchmen* lodged in ſome Town or ſtrong Hold, while the *Engliſh* lay in the Plain Country, where now they found plenty of Victuals and New Wines, whereof they were very free. Thus they rode thrô the Country, burning and pillaging all before them, till they paſſed the *Marne*, and after that they entred into *Champagne*, going over the River of *Aube*; then they turned toward the Marches of *Provins* in *Brie*, and having more than once paſſed the *Seyne*, they drew at laſt toward the Imperial City of *Paris*. For they underſtood, how the *French* King made there a great Aſſembly of Men of War, of whom the Earl of St. *Paul*, and the Lord *Cliſſon* were to be the Chief Leaders: Wherefore now Sr. *Robert* reſolv'd for *Paris*, being very deſirous to come to a Battle; and that was the Reaſon he had not much troubled himſelf in Aſſaulting ſtrong Places, becauſe he deſigned to ſpare his Men for a better Service. When the *French* King heard that Sr. *Robert Knolles* was coming towards him, he wrote to Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, then in *Aquitain* about the Parts of *Limoſin*, requiring and commanding him on ſight of his Letters to come unto him; for he was minded to employ him elſewhere.

XVII. But before We proceed in this Matter, We ſhall firſt take notice, what thoſe two Mighty Armies of *France*, which were led by the Dukes of *Berry* and *Anjou*, did perform worthy of their Name againſt the Invincible *Black-Prince*, who made his Rendezvous at *Cognac*, a City of *Aquitain*, in the Province of *Angouleſmois*, on the River *la Charente*; reſolving (thô now he was fain to uſe a litter) to expect the two *French* Dukes, and give them Battle. At his Summons there came unto him all the Loyal Barons, Knights, and Eſquires of *Poictou*, *Sainctogne*, and other Lands, that held of the Prince; and at the ſame time the Duke of *Lancaſter* with 400 Men of Arms, and 4000 Archers out of *England* arrived at *Bourdeaux*; where he tarried but a Day and a Night, and then marched towards *Cognac*; for he heard, how the Prince, his Brother, was reſolved to give his Enemies Battle; if they would abide him. Being within a days journey of *Cognac*, he met with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had left his Garriſon of *Mortagne*, and was going alſo to ſerve the Prince. Theſe two Great Perſonages were glad to ſee one another, and ſo they rode together to *Cognac*, where they found the Prince and Princeſs (who was newly come to ſee her Lord and Husband from *Angouleſme*) and the Earl of *Cambridge*: To all whom they were extream Welcome. And now the Prince thought himſelf already Victorious, if his Enemies Courage would ſuffer them to look on him; or his own health permit him to give them a Viſit. And daily there flocked unto his Banners many Gallant Warriers, from *Poictou*, *Sainctogne*, *Rochellois*, *Gaſcogne*, *Gaure*, *Bigorre*, and the Marches next adjoyning; which yet continued under the Obedience of the Prince.

On the other Hand the Duke of *Anjou* had conquer'd Cities, Caſtles, Towns, and Fortreſſes, more than Fourty in Number, and was now come within Five or Six Leagues of *Bourdeaux*, having waſted all the Country. But about *Bergerac* and *la Linde* he was informed, how the Prince of *Wales* was perſonally in the Field at *Cognac*, and that beſides a Great Army, which he had rais'd, the Duke of *Lancaſter* was newly come to him with a conſiderable Reinforcement of Men of War, Spears, and Archers. Here-

upon

upon his High Courage began to ſtoop, and he call'd a Council of the Lords about him, to enquire, how to perſevere, in which Council Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* was preſent. Here many things were warmly debated; and ſome were directly for giving Battle to the Prince, alledging, "how he was ſo empair'd in his Health, that he was but "the Shadow of himſelf now. Others held the contrary Opinion, affirming, that even "the Preſence of ſuch a General in the Field was of Great Importance, and carried Cou- "rage, if not Fortune, along with it. That either he was Dangerouſly Ill, or not; "if not, he was now as formidable, as ever; and if really ſo, he would waſte away of "himſelf; they need not by their Raſhneſs prepare heaps of their own Men for Him "to die upon. So in ſhort all things conſider'd, the Duke of *Anjou* was adviſ'd to break up his Army for the preſent, and to diſpoſe of his Men about in Garriſons, to make Frontier War: For (as they ſaid) they had done enough for that time. And beſides there was a neceſſity for the *Gaſcogne* Lords, as the Earl of *Armagnac*, the Lord of *Albret*, the Earl of *Perigort*, and others, who compoſed the better part of that Army, to return into their Reſpective Countries; for they knew not, which way the Prince would move with thoſe Forces, which he had raiſed. Thus the Duke of *Anjou* brake up his Army with more Reputation for Prudence, than Courage; if indeed that Courage is not the beſt, which is match'd with Prudence. He himſelf went to *Cahors*, where he diſpoſed his Men all about the Country in Garriſons; the Earl of *Armagnac*, and the other Diſaffected Lords return'd into their own Lands; but Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* with his Company, went to the City of *Limoges*, before which the Duke of *Berry*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Lords of *France*, lay at that time with the other Army, having greatly conſtrained the Place; ſo that by the Biſhops means eſpecially, they were even then upon the Point of yielding.

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At Sr. *Bertram's* [e] coming, all the Army rejoyced, and ſoon after they purſued the Treaty, which they had already begun, between the Biſhop of *Limoges*, and the Inhabitants of the City on the One part, and the Duke of *Berry* on the Other. So at laſt the Biſhop, and the City turn'd to the *French* ſide, and ſware Homage and Fealty to the Duke in the *French* King's Name; and then the Duke had Poſſeſſion of the Place, and tarried there three days to refreſh his Men, and to ſettle Affairs, as to the Garriſon; which done, he brake up his Army, as the Duke of *Anjou* had done, giving leave to all his Chief Captains to go to their ſeveral Reſpective Places to defend them: Becauſe "(ſaid he) I hear, how Sr. *Robert Knolles* is now in the Iſle of *France*; and we have "done enough for this Campaine, if only in that we have taken *Limoges*, which the "Prince of *Wales* ſo much values, and had ſo greatly fortify'd. This Reſolution was put in practice, and the Duke at the requeſt of the Biſhop, having left in Garriſon, Sr. *John Villemur*, Sr. *Hugh de la Roche*, and *Roger Beaufort*, Eſquire, with an 100 Men of Arms, and others, went himſelf into *Berry*, the Duke of *Bourbon* into *Bourbonnois*, and the other Lords of the farther Marches into their ſeveral Countries. Only Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* remain'd ſtill in the parts of *Limoſin* with two Hundred Spears, to keep the Caſtles of the Lord of *Maleval*; who had newly revolted to the *French*.

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 280. *fol.* 171.

XVIII. News came preſently to the Prince of *Wales*, that his City of *Limoges* had revolted from him, and that the Biſhop of the ſaid Place, who had been Godfather to his Eldeſt Son, *Edward*, and in whom he had repoſed much Confidence, was chiefly concern'd in the Treaſon. The Prince was horribly incenſed at this Falſhood of the Biſhop, and never after ſo entirely reſpected Men of the Clergy, as he had done all his Life before. However firſt [f] he ſent his Heralds unto the Inhabitants of *Limoges*, commanding them to yield unto him, and to return to their Duty, acknowledging their fault, before it ſhould be too late. But they, finding themſelves encompaſſed with ſtrong Walls and Fortifications, abundantly ſupply'd with Victuals, and back'd with a ſtrong Garriſon, valued not the Prince's Summons. Whoſe Obſtinacy when the Prince underſtood, he ſent once more unto them, denouncing this Judgement againſt them. "That if they did not preſently ſubmit unto him, and turn out the *French* Garriſon, "and deliver unto him the Traytors, he would ſurely come againſt them in Perſon, "raſe their City to the Ground, and put to the Sword, their Men, Women, and "Children, even all, whom he ſhould find therein. But for all this the Ignorant Vulgar, being deceived by their Captains High Words, and their own vain Confidence, did not only refuſe to take this Meſſage into Conſideration; but affronted his Meſſengers, and fortify'd their City yet more ſtrongly againſt him. Then at laſt the incenſed Prince [g] ſware by the Soul of his Father (which was the moſt Solemn Oath he ever us'd) that he would recover that City again, and take Vengeance on thoſe Inſolent

[f] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 180. *n.* 30, 40.

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 280, &c.

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Rebels, and make all the Traytors pay dearly for their Falſhood. So he went from *Cognac* haſtily with 1200 Spears, Knights, and Eſquires in his Company, One Thouſand Archers on Horſeback, and a Thouſand Archers on Foot, with his Brethren the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Lord *John Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Thomas Piercy*, the Lord *Thomas Ros* of *Hamlake*, the Lord *William Beauchamp*, the Lord *Michael de la Pole*, the Lord *Baldwin Frevile*, the Lord *John Devereux*, the Lord *Hugh Meinill*, Sr. *Simon Burley*, Sr. *Geoffry Argentine*, Sr. *Stephen Coſſington*, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon*, Sr. *Dangouſes*, Sr. *Percival Collins*, all *Engliſhmen*, beſides theſe Great Captains, *Gaſcogners*, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, Sr. *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Pinant*, the Lord of *Taniboton*, the Lord of *Monferrand*, the Lord of *Chaumont*, the Lord of *Landuras*, Sr. *Emery* of *Chartres*, the Lord of *Pamiers*, the Lord of *Mucidan*, the Lord *de l' Eſparre*, the *Soldiche de l' Eſtarrac*, the Lord of *Garonne*, all *Poictevins* and *Gaſcogners*; together with Sr. *Euſtace Dambreticourt* of *Hainalt*, and the Captains of the Companions, as Sr. *Perdiccas* of *Albret*, *Nandon* of *Bergerac*, the Bourg *de l' Eſparre*, the Bourg of *Bartuel*, *Batiller Eſpiot*, *Bernard Wisk*, and *Bernard de la Salle*. When the *Black-Prince* began to March with this Army of Expert Men, all the Country trembled before him; but He himſelf was ſo ſore in his Limbs, that he could not endure to ride on Horſeback; but was carried in an open Chariot; taking the direct way to *Limoges*. Being come before the Place, he began to inveſt it round, and ſware, he would never riſe thence, till he had it at his Mercy. The Biſhop and the Chief Burgeſſes, who had yielded the Town to the *French*, began now to Repent of their Treaſon; but 'twas too late; for they were no longer Maſters of the Town, the *French* Garriſon held them under. Sr. *John Villemur*, Sr. *Hugh de la Roche*, and *Roger Beaufort*, who were Captains of the City, and Men of Exalted Courage and Skill in Arms, did all they could to hearten their Men and the Inhabitants, who moſt of all dreaded the Anger of the Incenſed Prince. "*Sirs* (ſaid they) *be not at all daunted: We are ſtrong enough to hold* "*out againſt the Prince, and all his Power. 'Twas He himſelf that fortify'd this City;* "*So that by Aſſault He can never hurt Us; We are ſo well defended, and alſo ſufficiently furniſh'd with Artillery to offend the Aſſailants. And then We have Proviſion* "*enough to hold out all the next Winter; by which time, He will find it but cold Lodging* "*in the Field.* The Prince and his Marſhals, who knew well the ſtrength of the City, and were fully informed, what Souldiers were within, concluded, that it would be to little purpoſe to Storm the Place, and ſo they Reſolv'd on another way, namely to undermine the Walls. Accordingly the Prince ſet his Pioneers (of whom he had the beſt in the World with him) on work; about which they fell briskly. The Captains within perceived, or at leaſt gueſſed, that they were undermin'd, and ſo they began to make Ditches, and to countermine, hoping to diſappoint the Prince that way. But here we ſhall leave the Prince at his Siege for a while, and return to Sr. *Robert Knolles*, whom we left on his journey to *Paris*.

XIX. Now this mean while Sr. *Robert Knolles*, had paſs'd with his Army thrô *Artois*, *Picardy*, *Vermandois*, the Archbiſhoprick of *Laon*, the Archbiſhoprick of *Rheims* and *Champaigne*; whence he turned back into *Brie*, and ſo came before the Great City of *Paris*, to try, if thus he might engage the *Frenchmen* to a Battle. And here he lay a Day and two Nights, the *French* King himſelf being at that time within the City, who might eaſily ſee from his Palace of St. *Paul*, the Huge Fires and Smoaks which the *Engliſh* made about in *Gaſtenois*. There was then with the King in *Paris*, a conſiderable Army, conſiſting, beſides the Common Souldiers, of Knights, Eſquires, and other Valiant Gentlemen of *France*, under the Command of theſe Captains of Name, Sr. *Moreau de Fiennes* Conſtable of *France*, and the Earl of St. *Paul*, newly come thither, the Earl of *Tancarville*, the Earl of *Salebruce*, the Vicount of *Meaux*, Sr. *Ralph de Coucy*, the Seneſchal of *Hainalt*, Sr. *Edward* of *Renty*, Sr. *John de Vienne*, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, the Lord *de la Riviere*, the Lord *de Chaſteau* St. *Julian*, the Vicount of *Rohan*, the Lord of *Creſpy*, the Lord of *Chauny*, Sr. *Angerant Dourdan*, and others; but not one Man offer'd to come out againſt the *Engliſh*; for the King would by no means permit any ſuch thing. And indeed, beſides his own Cauteous Humor, the Lord *Cliſſon*, who was one of the Chief of his Council, and had his Ear moſt, caſt many doubts in the way, and ſaid, "Sir, be not eaſily tempted to ſend forth your People "againſt thoſe Madmen yonder. The beſt way to beat them, is to deny them Battle; "they will then fall away of themſelves. You may let them go on thus for a while; "for they cannot take your Inheritance from You; nor drive You out of your King-"dom by their Smoak. Sr. *Robert Knolles* therefore finding he could not obtain a Battle,

tle, began to diſlodge with his Army on the *Tueſday* Morning, having fired all the Neighbouring Villages, about which he had encamped, that the Fire and Smoak were ſeen at *Paris*. Now there was a Knight in the *Engliſh* Army, who had made a Vow the day before, to ride up to the Gates of *Paris*, and ſtrike at the Barriers with his Spear. And therefore when the Army began to March away, he left his Rank in order to accompliſh his Vow, with his Spear in his Fiſt, his ſhield about his Neck, on a good Horſe, and arm'd at all Pieces, but his Head, his Eſquire bearing his Helmet after him on another Horſe. But when he came near to *Paris*, he took, and clapt on his Helmet, and ſo leaving his Eſquire behind, ſet ſpurs to his Horſe, and came on a full Carriere to the Barriers, which were then open. It was at the Gate of St. *James* his, and there ſtood there at that time the Earl of St. *Paul*, the Vicount of *Rohan*, the Lord of *Chauny*, the Lord of *Creſpy*, Sr. *Edward* of *Renty*, and Sr. *Angerant Dourdan*, who all wonder'd, what this Knight intended to do: For by his Riding they thought he deſign'd to enter into the City. But it ſeems he intended no ſuch Matter; for having ſtruck once or twice at the Barriers, as before he had vow'd to do, he turned the Reins of his Horſe, and rode back again. But when the *Frenchmen* ſaw this, they laugh'd him to ſcorn, ſaying, "*Go thy ways in Gods Name, thou haſt ſhew'd thy Knighthood* "*enough of all Conſcience.* The Gentleman's Name We can't recover, nor whether he was an *Engliſh* or a *Scotch* Man, or of what other Country, only the Blazon upon his ſhield [h] was *Gules*, Two Fuſils in a Fez *Sable*, a Bordure indented, *Sable*. But in the Suburbs, he met with an hard Rencounter, which he little expected; for as he paſſed along the ſtreet, there was before him a Butcher, a ſturdy big bon'd fellow, with a ſharp Axe in his Hand: Who had before obſerved the behaviour of this Knight, and intended to give him a Mark, if he could conveniently. As therefore he return'd and rode on careleſly, heeding no Body, this Butcher ſlipt on one ſide, and gave him ſuch a ſtroak between his Neck and Shoulders, that he fell flat upon his Horſes Neck, and yet recover'd again; but at that inſtant the Butcher redoubled his Blow ſo ſtrongly, that the Axe entred into his Fleſh. With that the Knight fell down to the earth; but his Horſe ran away and went to the Eſquire, who took him by the Bridle, as he ſtood at the end of the ſtreet, wondring, what was become of his Maſter: For he had ſeen him ride to the Barriers, and after he had ſtruck thereat with his Spear, return again. Wherefore now he rode a little forward, to ſee what was the Matter, and there he ſpy'd his Maſter lying on the ground among four or five luſty fellows, who laid on him, as if they had been beating on an Anvil with a Maſſy ſledge. At this the Eſquire was in ſuch a bodily fear, that he durſt by no means go any further, and beſides he thought his Maſter by that time paſt help, wherefore he rode back with his Maſters Horſe in his Hand to the Army, and told what miſadventure had happen'd unto him, whereat they were ſorry. So the Knight was there ſlain by the Butcher, and the reſt with him; after which the Lords of *France*, who ſtood at the Barriers, and ſaw all the Paſſage; laid up his Armour, and cauſed his Body to be decently buried in Holy Ground. That Night the *Engliſh* Army lodged between *Paris* and *Montleherry*, by a little River, named *Yvette*: For they always us'd to take up betimes.

[h] *Froiſ. ibid.*

XX. While Sr. *Robert Knolles* [i] was employ'd in this Expedition on the one part, and the *Black-Prince* on the other Hand with his two Brethren, lay before the ſtrong City of *Limoges*, Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* with his two hundred Spears ravaged about on the one ſide of *Limoſin*; but he never lay in the Field ſo much as one Night for fear of being ſnap'd by the *Engliſh*, whom he knew ſo ſtrong in thoſe Parts. And yet every Day he rode about, endeavouring by all means to conquer and win Towns and Caſtles, and ſtill at Night he would retire for ſhelter into ſome Fortreſs belonging to the Lord *Lewis* of *Maleval*, or to the Lord *Raimund* of *Marvejols*, or ſome other, who had revolted to the *French* ſide. The Prince of *Wales* knew of all this his Progreſs very well, and Complaints were brought unto him dayly, how cruelly Sr. *Bertram* haraſſed the Country. But for all that he would not leave the Siege, no thô *Bourdeaux* had been in Danger to be loſt, becauſe of his Oath and Thirſt of Revenge: He only preſſed it on the more violently, that ſo he might be again at Liberty to attend other Matters. Thus Prince *Edward* lay before the City of *Limoges* for the ſpace of a Month or more, in all which time he made neither Skirmiſh nor Aſſault, but continued to undermine them Day and Night; he truſted ſo well to the skill of thoſe, whom he employ'd in that Matter. The Captains within the Town perciev'd plainly that they were undermin'd, and made many Countermines to deſtroy the *Engliſh*; but they made ſo many falſe Mines, and by great skill in Mathematicks ran their ways ſo variouſly, till they came to the Place deſign'd, and ſo amuſed their Enemies by flinging out Earth on one ſide the Town, when

[i] *Froiſ. c.* 282.

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when they had advanced their Mine to the other; that at last they brought their Work to Perfection, without suffering the least harm from the Counterminers. Then the Captains of the Miners went to the Prince and said, "*Sir, when ever now it shall please* "*Your Royal Highness to command us, we shall in so many Hours cause a great Pain of* "*the Wall to fall down into the Ditch; so that you may enter the City at your ease,* "*without any danger.* The Prince being extreamly pleased with these Words said, "*Then our Pleasure is, that early to morrow Morning all things may be ready for our En-* "*trance, as you have promised.* Then Orders being given secretly thrô the Army, and a strong Brigade of Footmen and Archers being appointed to enter at the Breach, so to open the Gates for the Prince, whose Resolution also concerning the Inhabitants was now known, the Miners set fire to all the Props that were under the Wall, and so by the time appointed the full Effect was wrought as was expected; and there fell down a great Pain of Wall of near 30 Foot in length into the Ditch, and so fill'd it up. Immediately the *English* Footmen, who stood ready ranged in the Field over against the Place, gave a Shout, and streight enter'd the Breach, and ran directly to the Gates, and beat them down with Axes, and the Barriers also; for there was no sufficient Resistance made, the thing was done so unexpectedly. Then the Prince of *Wales* high-mounted in his Chariot, rode in at the Gates with his Guard of Partizans and Archers on Foot. With him went the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sr. *Guischard Dangle*, and the other Lords with their Retinues of Men of Arms; after whom follow'd a Party of the Infantry, chosen out of every Troop, ready to plunder the City, and to slay Men, Women and Children; for so they were commanded by the Angry Prince. Three Troops of Men of Arms and Archers stood at the Gates, and as many at the Breach, and a third Part of the Army remain'd in the Camp: So that it was impossible for any Soul to escape out of the City. Surely at such a time *War* is drest up in his most Dreadfull Habiliments, and that Heart must be very strongly barr'd against all access of Pitty, which would not relent at the sight, when Men, Women and Children with Hands and Eyes lifted up, flang themselves upon their Knees before the Enraged Prince to entreat for Mercy. But he was so immeasurably inflam'd with Anger at the false Treachery of the *Frenchmen*, and at their insolent Obstinacy, when he summon'd them to return to their Duty, that now he would take no Notice of any of those wretched Objects. So that his Footmen with their Halberts and Poleaxes dash'd out the Brains of all they met with, and all manner of People were put to Death without any Distinction, whether armed or naked, opponent or suppliant, even those that had never done any Treason, or other sin of their own. Nay there was so little regard to those poor Innocent Souls, who could have no share in the Guilt, that they had yet a greater share in the Punishment, than those Persons of Higher Degree, who had been chiefly concerned in the Offence. But if ever *Justice* is blind, much more is she so, when she commits her Sword into the hands of *War* and *Fury*. 'Twas a Dismal slaughter, and able to draw tears of Blood from the Hardest Heart, if ever the least Pulse of Religion or Humanity had beat therein. For that Day in the City of *Limoges*, before the Prince put a stop to the slaughter, there were slain and beheaded (besides the Souldiers and Men of War) more than [k] 4000 Men, Women and Children, most of whom may well be supposed to have had no share in the Offence against the Prince, but they suffer'd for the sins of others. As thus the Prince entred the City, there was dispatch'd a Troop of *English* to the Bishops Palace, where they found the Bishop himself, who had been the Occasion of all this Mischief. Him they immediately carried before the Prince, who beheld him with extremity of Anger and Disdain, and for all his Pleading for Mercy, the best that the Prince gave him was, how he should lose his Head: And so for the present he was hurried away out of his sight.

[k] *Mezeray 2 Part. 3 Tom. p. 87.*

Now as for the Captains of the Garrison, who were within the City, as Sr. *John Villemur*, Sr. *Hugh de la Roche*, and *Roger Beaufort* Son to the Earl of *Beaufort*, which Three were the Chief Captains of the City, when they beheld the Desolation and Misery, that so fast approached them, they said to one another, "*We are but all dead Men*: "*That is certain; the Enemy gives no Quarter: Wherefore let us resolve to sell our Lives* "*dearly, as it becomes Good Knights to do; that so our Names may not die with us.* And therewithall Sr. *John Villemur* said to *Roger Beaufort*, who was then but an Esquire, "Roger, *it is fit that you should now receive the Honour of Knighthood by my hands. Sir* "(quoth *Roger*) *I have not yet done any thing worthy of that Honour; however I thank* "*you for your favourable Opinion: But if we survive this Day, I shall hope to have de-* "*served it.* Thus calm were these Worthies at the very instant of Death, but no more

more was ſaid; nor indeed had they leiſure to ſpeak any more. Wherefore they drew together in a convenient place with their Backs againſt an old Wall, and there began to diſplay their Banners, being in all to the Number of Fourſcore Choſen Men of Arms; upon whom immediately came the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Earl of *Cambridge*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* with their Men, who all alighted from their Horſes, and encountred with theſe Reſolute *Frenchmen*; the Duke of *Lancaſter* was pleaſed perſonally to engage with Sr. *John Villemur*, who was a ſtrong and hardy Gentleman, the Earl of *Cambridge* in like manner undertook to deal with Sr. *Hugh de la Roche*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* fought hand to hand with *Roger Beaufort*, who, thô but an Eſquire, was not eaſily overmatch'd by a moſt Valiant Young Prince. Theſe three *Frenchmen* did many gallant Feats of Arms, while they fought long and well in ſingle Combat with the Three *Engliſh* Princes, their Men at the ſame time being hotly engaged one with another. And the *Black-Prince*, as he was riding by in his Chariot, ſtopt to behold them, and much applauded in his Mind their Skill and Courage. And he was ſuch a Lover of Martial Gallantry, that this agreeable ſight began to ſoften his Obdurate Heart; ſo that for the ſakes of theſe Three *Frenchmen*, he commanded that no more ſlaughter ſhould be made in the City, and that the *French* Captains ſhould not ſuffer beyond the Law of Arms. Then the *French* Captains paid their Reverence to the Prince of *Wales*, and beholding their Swords ſaid with one conſent to their Antagoniſts, "*Lords, we are yours, "you have conquer'd us: Do unto us according to the Law of Arms. Sirs* (ſaid the Duke of *Lancaſter*) *we expect no leſs, and ſo receive you as our Priſoners.* Thus the three *French* Captains by their own exalted Courage ſav'd their Lives, but their Men were all ſlain, they could not hold out againſt ſuch Numbers of *Engliſh*; eſpecially their Captains being perſonally engag'd in that manner. After this triple Combat by the Prince's Command an end was put to the Slaughter; ſo that no more died that Day, except perchance any one reſiſted; the [1] reſt were all taken to Mercy. But the City was abſolutely given up to the Plunder, and rob'd and burnt, and level'd with the Ground. And now we had beſt to ſee what became of the Biſhop of *Limoges*, the chief Occaſion of all this Miſchief, whom therefore the Prince of *Wales* had threatned to make ſhorter by the Head. This Biſhop had the fortune to have many Great Friends among the *Engliſh* themſelves, particularly the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who cunningly pretending to be his Enemy, eaſily obtain'd of the Prince, his Brother, to have him deliver'd into his Hands, to do with him as he ſhould think fit; the Prince believing that he would put him to condign Puniſhment. The Duke of *Lancaſter*, that he might not diſpleaſe his Brother, by wholly acquitting the Biſhop upon his own Account, wrote ſecretly to the Pope, [m] who was juſt then return'd from *Italy* to *Avignon*, enforming him of the Biſhops taking and Danger, and that a Letter from his Holineſs, directed to himſelf on the ſaid Biſhops Behalf, might be very beneficial unto him. Hereupon the Pope, as it were of his own Head, with ſweet Words wrote unto the Duke of *Lancaſter*, deſiring him for Reverence of the Apoſtolick See to pardon the ſaid Biſhop, and to ſend him unto him to *Avignon*. The Duke of *Lancaſter* ſhew'd this Letter to the Prince, his Brother, who could not deny, but that he ought to grant the Pope's Requeſt, confeſſing that now he had the ſole Diſpoſe of him; but wiſh'd he had not defer'd his Puniſhment ſo long. However the Biſhop was ſent away to *Avignon*, having very hardly, by the Duke of *Lancaſters* Favour, evaded the Fury of the Prince.

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[1] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 180. *n.* 40.

[m] Urbanus *V. rediit Avinionem hoc anno xxiv. Septemb. vid. Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1370. §. 20. *&c.*

After this [n] Deſtruction of *Limoges*, the Prince and his Brethren return'd with their Spoil and Priſoners to *Cognac*, where the Lady Princeſs was: At which time the Prince gave leave to the greater part of his Forces to go to their ſeveral Quarters; reſolving to do no more at that ſeaſon; for it was now late in the Year, and his Sickneſs encreaſed more and more upon him: whereat his Brethren and Friends were much diſcouraged: And indeed this prov'd the laſt Warlike Exploit, which that Gallant Prince ever performed.

[n] *Froiſ. c.* 284.

XXI. About the time, that *Limoges* was thus taken by the Prince, he was pleas'd to expreſs his love to his Brother the Duke of *Lancaſter*, by [o] granting unto him the Caſtle, Town, and Chaſtellanie of *la Roche Sur Yon*, in the Inſtrument whereof, bearing Date the Eight of *October* this Year, he ſtyles himſelf *Edward*, Eldeſt Son of the King of *France* and of *England*, Prince of *Aquitain* and of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earl of *Cheſter*, Lord of *Biſcay*, and of the Caſtle of *Ordiales*. Appendant to which in Green-ſilk-ſtrings [p] is his Seal alſo of Green Wax, on which he is repreſented in his Robes, ſitting on a Throne, with a Circle on his Head, and a Scepter in his Right Hand, as Duke of *Aquitain*, between two *Oſtrich* Feathers and Scroles, whereon were the Words ICH DIEN; over which are the Letters E. P. (*viz. Edvardus Princeps*) in

[o] *Sandford Geneal. Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 4. *p.* 185. *ex Inſtrumento in Camerâ Ducatûs* Lancaſtriæ.

[p] *Vid. illius formam Sandford p.* 125.

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in Capitals. On the Reverſe he is figur'd on Horſeback, his Surcoat, Shield, and the Capariſons of his Horſe, charged with the Arms of *France* and *England* quarterly, a Labell of three Points: And for his Creſt a Lion Paſſant-Guardant, Crowned and gorged with a Labell alſo of three Points. The Seal and Reverſe being thus circumſcribed in * Capitals. S. EDVARDI PRIMOGENITI, REGIS ANGL. PRINCIPIS AQUITANIÆ ET WALLIÆ, DUCIS CORNUBIÆ, ET COMITIS CESTRIÆ.

* *Saxon* Capitals in the Original, after the manner of that Age.

XXII. Now when the *French* King heard of the Ruine of *Limoges*, and how it was level'd with the ground, and left utterly deſolate, he was infinitely diſpleas'd, and had great Compaſſion of thoſe poor Souls, who ſuffer'd ſo much for his ſake. But ſince there was no Remedy now, his next Care was, how to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt a like Miſchief for the Future. A little before this, Sr. *Moreau de Fiennes* Conſtable of *France*, who had been in his Days a moſt Valiant and Accompliſht Knight, but was [q] now quite worn out with Age, and the Fatigues of War, reſign'd up his Office into the King's Hands, and obtain'd his *Quietus eſt*. Whereupon the *French* King being aſſured, how it was neceſſary, that *France* ſhould in ſuch a juncture have ſome Extraordinary Perſon for her Conſtable, reſolved at laſt by conſent of his Council, that Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, if he might be won to accept it, was the moſt Expert in Arms, the moſt Valiant and Vertuous, and every way the Fitteſt to Execute that High Office, being alſo the moſt Fortunate, and Succeſsfull of any One, they knew, who bore Arms for the Crown of *France*. Hereupon, as we ſaid before, the King cauſed Letters to be writ unto him in his Name, requiring him to come immediately to confer with him at *Paris*.

[q] *Mezeray p.* 85.

Now after the two Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*, had finiſh'd their Expedition, Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* [r] entred into the Vicounty of *Limoſin*, a Country, which was yielded to, and held of, the Lord *John* of *Monford* Duke of *Bretagne*; thô the *Engliſh* had alſo many Garriſons and Towns in thoſe parts. There Sr. *Bertram* began to make heavy War in the Name of the Lady, the Relict of *Charles* of *Blois*. His Succeſs was conſiderable; for his Invaſion was ſudden, the Duke of *Bretagne* never imagining, that at this time Sr. *Bertram* could find any the leaſt pretence to quarrel with him. But whether his Conſcience perſwaded him, that the Widdow had the better Title, or that he might Revenge that Indifference, which the Duke had lately ſhewn to the Crown of *France*, when he gave leave to the Earl of *Cambridge* to paſs thrô his Country, or being himſelf a *Breton*, becauſe he thought it his Duty to take the part of his Lawfull Prince, which he took to be the Widdow of *Charles* of *Blois* and her Children, upon ſome, or all of theſe accounts, Sr. *Bertram* began this unexpected War; and firſt went before the Town of St. *Hyrier*, which not being commanded by any Gentleman of Name, yielded up for fear to Sr. *Bertram*, who took it in the Name of the Lady of *Bretagne*: And here at St. *Hyrier*, Sr. *Bertram* and his *Bretons* made a ſtrong Garriſon, whereby they wan divers other Towns in *Limoſin*.

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 282.

When the [s] *French* King's Meſſengers came to him, they found him in theſe Parts, having lately taken a Town called *Brantoſme*, and juſt then riding to beſiege another. He received the Meſſengers with great Reſpect and Honour, for he was very well-bred, and a Diſcreet Perſon, but when he ſaw the King's Letters, and had read his Expreſs Command, he reſolved to make no excuſe, but immediately to wait upon him to know his Pleaſure. Wherefore having diſpos'd of moſt of his Men into Garriſons, and left all to the Care and Conduct of his Nephew, Sr. *Oliver Manny*, he rode ſtraight for *Paris*, where he found the King, who received him very graciouſly. There the King told him, how by Advice and Conſent of his whole Council, he had pitch'd upon him to be Conſtable of *France*. Sr. *Bertram* ſeem'd very much ſurpris'd, and ſaid, "*Sir, I am* "*by no means worthy of ſo High an Office; for in reſpect of the Great Lords, and o-* "*ther Valiant Gentlemen of* France, *I am but a poor Knight; althô indeed Fortune hath* "*a little advanced me in the Eye of the World.* Sr. Bertram (reply'd the King) *it is* "*to no purpoſe, that you ſeek to excuſe your ſelf: You can no ways avoid accepting of* "*this Place: For it is a Matter, that hath already been abſolutely determin'd by our Coun-* "*cil, and alſo ordained by the Peers of* France, *and by the Three Eſtates. So that you* "*muſt not expect that I ſhall now fruſtrate, what they have on ſuch good grounds Eſta-* "*bliſhed.* Then Sr. *Bertram*, who ſaw that he was hereby ſet as a Mark for Envy, and that his Office would require a more abſolute Authority, than would be willingly yielded to one of his Degree, took another way, and ſaid, "*Right Dear and Gracious So-* "*vereign, I neither may nor dare in the leaſt contradict or oppoſe your High Reſolutions.* "*But Sir, this is true, that I am but a mean Perſon, and of too low a Rank and Blood to*

[s] *Froiſ. c.* 284.

"*be*

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"*be raiſed to the Dignity of being Conſtable of* France, *which is ſo High and ſo Noble* "*an Office. For it is convenient, that whoſoever will rightly execute that Function, muſt* "*have Authority to Command, as well thoſe of the Higheſt Quality, as inferior People,* "*if not much more. And Sir, behold! here are my Lords, Your Majeſties Royal Bre-* "*thren, your Nephews and your Couſins; who all Command many Men of War in your* "*Armies: Now Sir, how dare I be ſo bold, as even upon occaſion to Command theſe High-* "*born Princes? Surely Sir, from ſuch a Matter ſo much Envy may ariſe to me, that I* "*ought to be very cautious thereof. And therefore, Sir, upon this account alſo, I requeſt* "*Your Majeſty to pardon me, and to beſtow this Charge upon ſome other, who may deſerve* "*it much better, and execute it far more worthily.* To all this the King anſwer'd very ſeriouſly, *Come, Come, Sr.* Bertram, *neither will this Excuſe ſerve your turn: For I* "*have no Brother, Nephew, nor Couſin; no Duke, Earl, nor Baron in my Kingdom,* "*that ſhall not readily obey You; and if any preſume to do otherwiſe, I ſhall reſent it ſo* "*Highly, that he ſhall ſoon find ſome evident Marks of my Diſpleaſure. Therefore Sir,* "*freely in Gods Name accept the Office; it is the Deſire of all the Realm, and it is alſo* "*my Expreſs Command, that You do ſo.* Sr. *Bertram*, ſeeing it in vain to uſe any further tergiverſation, fell down upon his Knees, and ſaid, [t] "*My Lord, ô King, I heartily* "*obey your Commands, and accept this High Office: But moſt humbly requeſt, that be-* "*fore I take the Sword into my Hands, You will grant me one thing, which I ſhall ask;* "*it being a Matter no way prejudicial to your Royal Dignity, Eſtate, and Honour.* The King promiſed him ſo much, and then he proceeded, "*Sr.* (ſaid he) *becauſe I have of-* "*ten heard, that for the moſt part Envy and Calumny do frequent the Courts of Great* "*Princes, and Detraction by her Officious Inſinuations doth many times gain Credit, I* "*therefore humbly requeſt, that You will never ſuffer any Man whatſoever to ſpeak Evil* "*of me, unto You, unleſs he will dare to affirm that, whereof he accuſes me, before my* "*Face.* This the King graciouſly promiſed, and ſo at laſt, Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* (thô much againſt his will) accepted on the [u] 2[d] of *October* of the Sword of Conſtable of *France*, to the general ſatisfaction of all the Court. And that ſame day, the King to ſet a Mark of Eſteem upon him, [x] made him ſit down with him at his own Table, ſhewing him all the ſigns of Love and Reſpect imaginable, and together with that Office gave him many Rich Gifts, and ſettled upon him conſiderable Lands and Revenues for him and his Heirs for ever. But the Duke of *Anjou* was the Chief Aſſiſtant in exalting Sr. *Bertram* to this Honour.

[t] Richardi Dinothi *Adverſ. Hiſtor. p.* 150. *ex Libro de* Bertrandi Gueſchinatis *Vitâ conſcripto. Vid. Monſieur* Menard *in his Life of Sr.* Bertram *of* Clequin, *&c.*

[u] *Mezeray p.* 85.

[x] *Froiſ. ibid. & Du Cheſne p.* 707.

XXIII. When Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* was thus made Conſtable of *France*, [y] he ſaid to the King, "*Sir, if it pleaſe your Majeſty, I will go and ride after Sr.* Robert Knolles, "*who, I hear, is ſtill about the Marches of* Anjou *and* Maine. The King was well pleaſed with this his Offer, and commanded him to make what preparations he thought ſufficient, adding, how all his Subjects ſhould obey him. But yet he is ſaid [z] to have limited him to ſuch a Number of Men, to the end, that he might only have an Eye to the Enemy, and keep him ſhort, but not give him Battle. However Sr. *Bertram* was ſo earneſt, upon this his Firſt Expedition, that to furniſh himſelf the better, and to oblige his Followers, he ſold all his Jewels and Rich Moveables, which he had purchas'd in *Spain*, to diſtribute the profit thereof among his Souldiers. So he went from *Paris* with the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon* in his Company, and took his way towards *Maine*; making his Garriſon in *Mans*, the Chief City of that Province, as the Lord *Cliſſon* alſo did at *la Suze*, a Town near thereunto, both of them making up about 500. Spears, beſides others.

[y] *Froiſ. c.* 285. *fol.* 174.

[z] *Mezeray p.* 85.

Sr. *Robert Knolles* indeed was in thoſe Parts with a Great Army; but his Captains [a] were not all of a Mind; for the Young Lords *Grandiſon*, *Fitz-Walter* and others, would no longer obey their General, Sr. *Robert*, nor follow his Directions. He adviſed them, *now Winter was drawing on, to retire along with him into* Bretagne, *where they might Quarter more ſafely, being among their Friends and Allies; for at ſuch times they could not live many together, and the* Frenchmen *were all upon the Catch.* But the Major part of the Captains ſaid, *how as for that Matter they were ſtrong enough, and that the Enemy durſt not look them in the Faces; they had try'd their Courage ſufficiently that Campaigne, and therefore they were reſolv'd to quarter in their Enemies Country, and not burthen their Friends.* When firſt this difference of Opinion aroſe in the *Engliſh* Army, it was preſently by ſly inſinuations fomented by an unhappy Villain, named Sr. *John Menſtreworth*, an *Engliſh* Knight, Valiant indeed of his Hands, but Deceitfull, Covetous, Perverſe, and Diſloyal; and one that having embezel'd great Summs, which were deſign'd for Souldiers pay, was now afraid of being called to an account by his General, and ſo endeavour'd to deſtroy him; thô the ſame Sr. *Robert* had been his

[a] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 179. *&* 180. *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 234.

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prime Patron, and had advanced him to a conſiderable Command in the Army. But this Ungratefull Man did all he could to blow the Coals of Contention among the Chief Leaders, and eſpecially to inſtigate the Young Lords againſt Sr. *Robert Knolles*, by telling them, "*how it redounded to their Diſcredit, to be ſubject to a Man of ſo mean* "*an Extract, as he was, that now the Campaine was over, the Date of his Authority was* "*expired; and if ſtill he pretended to Command his Betters, he was not to be endur'd:* "*That every One of them was far from being a Novice, and able enough to do his own* "*Buſineſs without the Direction of that old Freebooter.* Upon theſe and the like inſinuations tending to Diſcord, they divided into ſeveral Bodies, and every Man drew to himſelf, as many as favour'd his Opinion. Sr. *Robert Knolles* and Sr. *Alan Boxhull*, who only held firmly to the beſt Counſel, were at that time not far from *Mans*, but they deſign'd to go ſtreight into *Bretagne*, and Quarter there. The Lord *Thomas Grandiſon*, the Lord *Walter Fitz-Walter*, Sr. *Hugh Meinil*, Sr. *John Menſtreworth*, and the greater part of the other Lords, were in other Places about the parts of *Anjou* and *Touraine*. But when Sr. *Robert Knolles*, and Sr. *Alan Boxhull* knew, that the Conſtable of *France* and the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon* were come ſo near unto them, they were very glad thereof, and Sr. *Robert* ſaid, "*This is good News for Us: Let Us now gather our* "*Friends together, and take our Advantage. Surely Sr.* Bertram *of* Clequin *for Novel-*"*ty of his Office is come hither to look upon Us: Althô We have ridden thrô all* "France; *without meeting any, that dared ſo much before. I pray God, 'tis not from* "*our Diſſention, that they have taken Courage! However I'll ſend and invite hither,* "*to a participation of our Deſign, the Valiant and Loyal Sr.* Hugh Calverley, *who is now* "*in Garriſon at* Saumur *on the* Loire, *as alſo to Sr.* Robert Briquet, *Sr.* Perdiccas of Al-"bret, *Sr.* Robert Cheney, *and the other Captains of the Companions our Friends, that* "*are here about Us, deſiring them to come and joyn Us immediately; I believe, they* "*will be glad of ſuch an Opportunity to ſhew their Valour. We will alſo ſend to our Diſ-*"*ſenting Friends, who have ſeparated from Us; if ſo be We ſhall now be able to per-*"*ſwade them to embrace wholſome Council. For* (ſays he) *if We may overthrow this* "*New Conſtable, and our inveterate Enemy, the Lord* Cliſſon, *it will redound exceed-*"*ingly to our Honour and Advantage.* Now, as we ſaid before, Sr. *Robert Knolles* and Sr. *Alan Boxhull* were always of one Mind, and they agreed in this point accordingly, and ſent Meſſengers with Letters ſecretly to Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, to Sr. *Robert Cheney*, and the reſt, deſiring them to come and joyn them by ſuch a time, at ſuch a place, to the end they might give the *Frenchmen* Battle. They ſent alſo to Sr. *Thomas Grandiſon*, Sr. *Walter Fitz-Walter*, and the reſt of that Faction to the ſame effect; who alſo prepared readily to come to them, the latter party amounting to [b] 200 Spears. But whether Sr. *John Menſtreworth* did already begin to hold Correſpondence with the *French*, as ſhortly after he openly fell off to them, or by what other means, I know not, this Aſſignation of Sr. *Robert's* was not ſo cloſely carried on, but that Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* had particular notice thereof: So that at the time appointed, he went out of his Garriſon with [c] 400 Spears, beſides others in his Company, and planted himſelf in a way, where he knew the *Engliſh* muſt of neceſſity paſs, at *le Pont Vallin* in the County of *Maine*. That very Night Sr. *Thomas Grandiſon* with his 200 Spears, and about 6000 others, left his Quarters, and began to March toward the place appointed, to joyn Sr. *Robert Knolles*. But his journey was ſhortned by Sr *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who meeting him early in the Morning at *Pont Vallin*, gave him a ſudden Charge with all the Vigour imaginable. The *Frenchmen* were at leaſt double, the Number of the *Engliſh*, and the ſurpriſe, wherewith they made the Onſet, was no ſmall Advantage on their ſide neither. However the Battle was ſtrong, and well fought, and laſted a good while: For at the Firſt Encounter, the *Engliſhmen* alighted all on Foot, and came boldly againſt their Enemies, fighting with Spears, Swords, and Axes Valiantly. But at laſt the Victory fell to the *French*, and they obtain'd the Day, almoſt all the *Engliſh* being ſlain, or taken; except the Pages, and Boys, and ſuch, who leap'd on their Maſters Horſes, and ſo ſaved themſelves. But Sr. *John Menſtreworth* however made ſhift to eſcape, and ſoon after [d] he got back into *England*, where he challenged Sr. *Robert Knolles* of Treaſon, and accuſed him as the ſole occaſion of this Loſs, before the King and Council. But the approved Worth of the Man was ſo well known, that generally Sr. *John* was look'd on, as a falſe Liar, and Sr. *Robert* clearly acquitted in the Opinion of all Men. Thô this Diſloyal Calumniator had ſo ſtoutly beſpatter'd him; that the King withdrew a Penſion, which before he had granted him; and Sr. *Robert* durſt not afterwards return into *England*, till he had ſecur'd the King's Favour, both by the Teſtimony of his Friends, and a good round Sum of Money; as We ſhall ſee preſently.

[b] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[c] *Froiſ. &c.*

[d] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 180. *n.* 10. *& Hypod. p.* 131. *n.* 50.

In

In the foresaid Battle there were slain upon the Spot above [e] 1200 *English*, and almost all the rest were taken Prisoners, as the chief Captain the Lord *Thomas Grandison*, the Lord *Walter Fitz-Walter*, Sr. *Gilbert Gifford*, Sr. *Geoffry Ursewell*, Sr. *Hugh Meinill*, Sr. *Philip Courtney*, Sr. *Hugh Spencer*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, all who were carried away Prisoners to the City of *Mans*. On the *French* side the famous old Warrier the Lord [f] *Arnold D' Endreghan* died of the Wounds he receiv'd in this Battle. The News of this Loss was presently carried to Sr. *Hugh Calverley* at *Saumur* upon the *Loire*, to Sr. *Robert Cheyney* and their Fellows, who thereupon forbore to go to Sr. *Robert Knolles*, as they had designed. And Sr. *Robert Knolles* for his part, together with Sr. *Alan Boxhull* and his Friends, retired from the appointed Place of Rendezvous, and wholly quitted the Design of going against the Constable. Shortly after he went into *Bretagne* to his own Castle and Town of *Derual*, and there he gave leave to all his Men of Arms and Archers to go where they pleased; so that some of them returned into *England*, others went to Sr. *Alan Boxhull* to the Town of St. *Saviour* the Vicount in *Normandy*, which King *Edward* had committed to his Charge.

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[e] *Du Chesne p.* 707.

[f] *Jacob Meyer l.13.p.190.*

XXIV. But Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, who had given the *English* this memorable Discomfiture at *Pont Vallin*, finding he was not able to do any more that Year (for it was now deep Winter) return'd with much Honour ro *Paris*, leading thither with him the greater part of the *English* Prisoners, whom the *Frenchmen* are said to have used very courteously, and to have ransomed reasonably, letting many of them go only upon their Faith and Promise. It was not then the manner of the *English* and *French* to put their Captives in Stocks, in Chains and Dungeons, and to use them severely, as the *Germans* and *Spaniards* would do in those Days, by that means to extort an high Ransom from their Prisoners. Wherefore Honest *Froisard* is here a little concerned against those Nations, and curses them for that their Unknightly Severity, saying also, that because they were so void of Pitty and Honour, they ought to have no Mercy shew'd unto them. But Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* and the other *Frenchmen* (says he) were very courteous to their *English* Prisoners, and put them to easie Ransoms. And yet I find [g] that the Lord *Walter Fitz-Walter* was so highly rated at this time, that he was fain to mortgage his Castle and Lordship of *Egremond* in *Cumberland* for the Summ of a 1000 *l.* (for certain Years) towards raising of the Fine, which he was demanded, for his Redemption.

[g] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 222.*

Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, having obtain'd so remarkable a Succes against so formidable an Enemy, just upon his Entrance into the Office of Constable, gain'd much Honour and Commendation of all Men; especially of the King his Master and other true *Frenchmen*, who began already to look upon him as THE RESTORER OF *FRANCE*, a Title which afterwards was appropriated unto him. But the *Black-Prince* and the Duke of *Lancaster*, who lay then at *Cognac*, were extreamly concern'd at this Loss, chiefly because it fell in such a juncture, when a little Fresh Reputation was most necessary for their Affairs. As for Sr. *Robert Knolles*, when he understood how he had been traduced to the King his Master, as the Occasion of that Loss, he sent two discreet Persons of his Esquires to make his Excuse, and to give the King a true Prospect of the whole Matter; and these Men by the help of Sr. *Alan Boxhull*, and other Knights of sound Reputation, who voluntarily went to the King in his Behalf, did their Devoir so well, that the King and his Council held him blameless, and plainly saw, how they had been misinformed. So Sr. *Robert* was again settled in the Favour of the King, and his Son the Prince of *Wales*; and Sr. *John Menstreworth* was summon'd in by such a Day to give Answer to the King and his Council, to what should be objected against him. But not appearing at the time limited, he was proclaimed Traytor and Outlawed, if again by such a Day he should not submit himself to a Legal Tryal. But his evil Conscience would not give him the Courage so to do; he rather chose to forfeit his Allegiance, and so turned Runagate, and fled over to the *French* King; but was taken some Years after, and executed in *England*, as we shall shew in due place.

XXV. While these Broils were thus hot in *France*, Pope *Urban* the V, who had been for about two Years and an Half at *Rome*, was now return'd again to *Avignon*, and used all his Endeavours to make a Peace between the Realms of *France* and *England*: But the Two Kings remained Deaf to all his Propositals, and shortly after, *viz.* on the [h] 19 of *December* his Holiness departed this Life, having enjoy'd the Papacy the space of 8 Years, one Month, and 23 Days. He was succeeded by *Peter Rogerii*, a Cardinal but of Fourty Years of Age, who was Son to *William* Earl of *Beaufort*, by the Lady *Joan* sister to Pope *Clement* VI. This Man who took unto him the Name of *Gregory* the XI, first return'd back the Papal Seat to *Rome*, after that it had continued at *Avignon* in *France* for the space of 70 Years in all. To which Removal (thô not undertaken

[h] *Labbe Chron. Techn. ad ann.* 1370. *vid. Odor. Rainal. ad eundem annum* §. 23. *& c. Mezeray & Walsingh. M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c.234. & Victorell. & Froiss. c.279.*

[i] *Victorell. & Ciacon. 1 Vol. p. 949.*

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dertaken till about six Years after this) he was prompted by this Occasion: As he[k] beheld once a certain Bishop (whose presence perhaps he was not over-fond of) standing by him, he demanded of him, why he was absent from his Pastoral Charge, adding, "*That it became not a good Shepherd to remove himself so far from his Flock.* Whereupon the Bishop replied, "*If so, why then is your Holiness, who are the Chief Bishop,* "*and ought to be a Pattern to us all, so far from* Rome, *where your Charge doth lie,* "*and where St.* Peter *resided?* This is said to have been an occasion of the Removal of that Chair, and the Pope was convinc'd, it was his Duty, and went thither as soon as he might accordingly. Which I wonder at, not knowing how it should come to pass, that he should forget, how he was an Universal Bishop, and so might reside any where, as having a like Pastoral Authority every where; but when Conscience appears, witty Evasions avail but little.

[k] *Sabellicus Ennead. & Paul. Æmyl. p. 297. & Blondus & Jacob Meyer. Ann. Flandr. p. 193.*

Nor shall we forget to mention a Son of the Muses, perhaps as Great, thô not as Dignified as either of these Popes; especially because Learned Men have a Title to the Laurel, and a Right to be recorded in History, as well as Captains themselves. This Man was *Maximus Planudes* a famous *Greek* Monk, who flourished[l] at this time, thô some by Mistake have put him later. However, as if his Prophetick Genius had even then foreseen the Downfall of the *Greek* Empire (which yet was not compleated till 83 Years after, at which time *Constantinople* was taken by *Mahomet* the Great) he made it his chief Endeavour to advance, or at least to preserve that then-decaying Language. To which end he translated into the *Greek* Tongue that small Book of Morals, which is called *Cato*, and also all the Works of St. *Augustine*, which he finished not till he was very old. He is moreover believed to have collected those Fables, which bear the Name of *Æsop* the *Phrygian* Fabulist; to which he added the Life of that merry conceited Philosopher. Further yet he turned into *Greek* the Poet *Ovid's* Books of Metamorphosis, with his Heroick Epistles; besides *Macrobius* his *Saturnalia*, aud *Somnium Scipionis*; and (which I value above all his Labours) collected those [m] Seven Books of the *Greek* Epigrams, commonly called the *Anthologia*, as they are now extant. For all which commendable Industry his Name deserves highly to be respected by the Learned and Ingenuous of all Nations. He died in a good Old Age several Years before *Constantinople* was taken, therein having a like Fate with St. *Augustin*, whom he had translated; for he also died, as he had desired, before he saw the Ruines of *Hippo*, his dearest City.

[l] *Joh. Gerard. Vossius in l. de Scient. Mathem. reponit illum ad hunc ann.* 1370. *Vid. Guliel Burton in Græcæ Linguæ hist. p.* 57.

[m] *De quibus hæc olim lusi,* Ἐνθ' ὅλῳ Εὐρώπης κόσμῳ πάνυ Ἄνθεα Μουσέων Ἐπὶ δὲ δεμινπλέκτοις ἐνδέδεται στεφάνοις.

CHAPTER the EIGHTH.

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[a] *Froiss. c.* 286.

I. THIS Winter the Valiant and Generous Captain [a] Sr. *Eustace Dambreticourt* was in great danger of being utterly lost thrô his own too free Confidence in an old Acquaintance. For he rode one Evening to pay a Visit to the Lord of *Pierre Buffierre*, whom he look'd upon as his special Friend and Lover, and also of the *Englisn* Interest: For as we [b] shew'd before, the *French* King himself

[b] *Vid. l. 4. c. 7. §. 2. p.* 785.

himself could not persuade him to renounce the Homage, which he had made to the Prince of *Wales*. In the *Christmas* Holydays Sr. *Eustace* rode to his Castle, designing to make merry with him; but his Entertainment was much otherwise than he expected: For his unkind Host admitted Sr. *Tibauld du Pont* a Knight of *Breton*, and an Enemy to *England* into his Castle, whom he suffer'd to seize upon Sr. *Eustace*, while he suspected no harm, and to lead him away Prisoner. And now he had certainly been put to a shamefull Death, because he had been a Captain of the Companions, and so great an Enemy to the Realm of *France*: But then the Duke of *Bourbon* was pleas'd to remember the good Turns he had done him in releasing his Mother, who was taken at *Bellepeche*, and so to requite him interceeded effectually for his Life at this time, and compounded for a Ransom of 12000 Franks; 4000 whereof Sr. *Eustace* paid down, leaving his Son *Francis Dambreticourt* in Hostage for the Remainder with the Duke of *Bourbon*, who thereupon repledged him, engaging his own Word for the Residue to Sr. *Tibauld*. Sr. *Eustace* being thus acquitted went and lay at *Carentan*, beyond the Marches of St. *Clement* in Base *Normandy*, a Town which the King of *Navarre* had given him. And there he shortly after died, having been in his Days a most Valiant Knight, and a sworn Servant to the Ladies.

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II. About the same time there fell another Adventure, which I presume worth the Relating, because therein will appear the ill Consequences that attend Treason, with the great Power of natural Sympathy and Commiseration, and the agreeable Prospect of an unexpected Turn of Fortune. We shew'd before, how the Lord *Lewis* of *Maleval* and his Nephew the young Lord *Raimund* of *Marvejols*, had without any Constraint or Provocation revolted from the Service of the King of *England*, and began to make War against the Prince of *Wales*. Now the Lord *Raimund* of *Marvejols* hearing at this time, that all his own Country had followed his Example, and were turned *French*, took his leave of the Court at *Paris* intending to go home. But by the way he was suddenly met by two or three Troops of Sr. *Hugh Calverley's* Men, who were led by Sr. *Geoffry Argentine*, Captain of a Castle in *Poicton*. He fell so unluckily within their Power, that he could not possibly avoid them; so he was forthwith taken Prisoner, and carried into *Poicton* unto the said *English* Knights Castle. When it was known in *England*, that the Lord *Raimund* of *Marvejols* was taken and in sure Custody, King *Edward* wrote his Letters to Sr. *Geoffry Argentine*, who had him in his Keeping, commanding him with all speed to send over unto him his Enemy, that false Traytor, Sr. *Raimund* of *Marvejols*; saying, how he would take such Vengeance on him, that all others should take Example by him; and further he promised the Knight for his acceptable Service in taking him 6000 Franks. Sr. *Geoffry Argentine* resolv'd by all means to obey the King his Masters Commands, and said, he would surely fulfill his Pleasure, as soon as he could meet with an opportunity of Transporting him with Security; and began presently to seek out for a Vessel and Company to have him convey'd into *England*. Of all this Sr. *Raimund* had knowledge, wherefore he was much more nearly concern'd than ever: For before he hoped to get off by Ransom, but now he saw there was no other Remedy but inevitable Death, and that in all likelihood to be as full of Torment as Ignomy; for he knew how Traytors were usually punish'd, as well in *England* as elsewhere. He was then in the Flower of his Age, a Proper, Young, Handsom Valiant Gentleman, of a fair Estate and Fortune in the World; and perhaps not so fit to die, as those who have not met with the Temptations which attend so high a Condition: No wonder then, if he was very much affected with these Apprehensions of Death. He began to make the most dolefull Lamentations imaginable, and always when his Keeper came near, he heard him bewail his untimely End, and complain of his Misfortunes so pathetically, that it was impossible for Flesh and Blood not to sympathise therewith. The Keeper, who was an *Englishman*, had the Curiosity to ask him the occasion of so great Sorrow, and while he declared it in the softest Terms that could be devised, wept along with him for pitty, and afterwards gave him all the Consolation that might be, telling him how King *Edward* was a very Mercifull Prince, and thô terrible to those that resisted him, yet always Gratious to those whom he had in his Power; and much more he said with great Tenderness, out of a Pious Consideration of his Prisoners dejected and forlorn Condition. Sr. *Raimund*, who knew his Life lay at stake, saw little or no Comfort in all these Words, but only observing how wonderfully concerned his Keeper was for him, he began to repeat his Moans, thereby to raise his Compassion, and at last said unto him, "*Ah! my "dearest Friend! Next unto God, it is in your Power alone to save me, which if out of "* Christian *Charity you will undertake to doe, I promise you by my Faith and Troth to be- "stow Half my Lands and Possessions upon you, to be held for You and your Heirs for e-*

"*ver.*

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"*ver.* The *Engliſhman*, who was but a poor Eſquire and unmarried, conſider'd how Sr. *Raimund* was a fine Gentleman, that it was a great Pitty he ſhould be put to Death upon any account; and alſo that he had promiſed him very largely, and ſo he ſaid in general, that he would do his utmoſt to ſave him. Sr. *Raimund* being exceeding glad at that Word, ſware ſolemnly unto him, how he would moſt religiouſly keep his Promiſe, and further do for him whatever he ſhould deſire. Then they fell to contrive how to bring their Purpoſe to effect, and as it was agreed, the *Engliſhman*, who bore the Keys of the Caſtle and of the Tower wherein Sr. *Raimund* was, and alſo of the Poſtern Gate, let him out about Midnight into the Fields, and went along with him into a great Wood for fear of being followed preſently. That Night they ſuffer'd much Pain, for they footed it ſeven Leagues before 'twas light Morning, ſo that they cut their Feet, becauſe it was an hard Froſt. But by Day-light they came to a *French* Fortreſs, where they were kindly received by the Garriſon, to whom Sr. *Raimund* declared all his Adventure, the Danger he was in, and the Eſcape he had made: Fot which they all thanked God and the *Engliſh* Eſquire.

But when Sr. *Geoffry Argentine* found the next Morning, that Sr. *Raimund* and his Keeper were fled, he ſent forth Men on Horſeback to ſcour about the Country, and to purſue them: But it was too late, they were far enough off, and perhaps in the Caſtle of their Friends by that time. After this manner Sr. *Raimund* of *Marvejols* made his Eſcape, and came into his own Country, where his Lands and Eſtate lay, and there he told all his Relations and Allies, what a ſignal Courteſie the *Engliſh* Eſquire had ſhew'd unto him in his extremity; whereupon they all embrac'd him, and ever after highly reſpected and lov'd him, and Sr. *Raimund* offer'd him (as he had promiſed before) to convey over unto him the Moiety of all his Inheritance; but he would not by any means receive ſo much; he only took 200 *l. per annum*, ſaying, it was as much as befitted one of his Degree. And thus the *Engliſh* Eſquire continued in thoſe parts, and Married, and liv'd there upon his Eſtate, and was ever Dear and Welcome to Sr. *Raimund*, and to all his Friends and Relations.

[c] *Froiſ. c.* 287. *&c.*

III. In the opening of the Year [c] there died at *Bourdeaux* the Young Lord *Edward Plantagenet*, Eldeſt Son to the *Black-Prince*, in the beginning of his ſeventh Year, to the extream Regret of the Prince and Princeſs, and the whole Court. At that ſame time the Prince himſelf was adviſed by his Phyſicians and Chirurgeons, who knew the Nature of his Diſtemper, to go into *England*, his Native Country, to try if ſo at leaſt he might recover his Health, which by this time was mightily empaired. The Prince approv'd of their Counſel, and ſo provided for his Return into *England*; appointing his Brother the Earl of *Cambridge*, and his Brother-in-Law, the Earl of *Pembroke*, with their Retinues, to be his Convoy. And while the Fleet was rigging out in the Haven of *Bourdeaux* on the *Garonne*, he ſent forth his ſpecial Summons to all the Loyal Barons and Knights of *Gaſcogne* and *Poictou*, and other parts of his Dominions, to come unto him by ſuch a Day to *Bourdeaux*. And all theſe at the time appointed, having preſented themſelves before the Prince in his Chamber, he began to tell them, "How he had now been for almoſt Ten Years ſpace a Good and Gracious Lord unto "them, as much as in him lay; for he had kept them in Peace, and had maintain'd "them in great Wealth, Proſperity, and Honour; till the Common Enemy of Man-"kind had ſcatter'd new Occaſions of War among them, wherein notwithſtanding he "had defended them with a ſtrong hand. But that now, for the Recovery of his Health, "which he very much wanted, he had deſign'd for *England*; thô he ſhould leave be-"hind him his Deareſt Brother, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, to ſupply his place. Him "therefore now he deſir'd, that they would all Believe, Honour, Serve, and Obey, e-"ven as hitherto they had done unto his own Perſon; and he alſo required them to "be heartily aſſiſtant unto Him in all his Undertakings, by their Counſel and otherwiſe, "nothing doubting, but that they ſhould find him a very Good and Gracious Lord "upon all occaſions. Then all the great Barons of *Gaſcogne* and *Guienne*, of *Saintogne* and *Poictou*, promiſed and ſware on their Faith and Honour, that there ſhould never be found any fault or failure in them. And ſo there, in preſence of the Prince, they did Fealty and Homage to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, as to the Prince's Lieutenant, and therewith according to the Cuſtom they kiſſed his Mouth. After which the Prince tarried not long at *Bourdeaux*, but [d] went on Board in the beginning of *January*, with their Son *Richard* and the Princeſſes Children by her Firſt Husband, together with the Earls of *Cambridge* and of *Pembroke*, and 500 Men of Arms, beſides Archers. Thus they ſailed without any Oppoſition from the Elements or their Enemies; till they arrived happily at *Southampton*, where they Landed, and tarried two Days to refreſh them-

[d] *Froiſ. ibid. Walſing. hiſt. p.* 181. *M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantabr. *c.* 234.

themſelves. On the Third Day they all took Horſe, the Prince only uſing a Litter, and ſo the Navy returning to *Bourdeaux* with the Earl of *Cambridge*; the Earl of *Pembroke* went along with the Prince to *Windſor*, where the King was at that time, who with much joy received his Son and Daughter, and their Young Son *Richard*, and was now by the Prince perfectly informed of the ſtate and Condition, wherein he had left *Aquitaine*. Soon after the *Engliſh* Court return'd to *Weſtminſter*, and the Prince of *Wales* went with his Family, to his Mannor of *Berkhamſteed* near *London*, where the Air is accounted better than ordinary.

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IV. When the Prince of *Wales* had left *Bourdeaux*, and the Earl of *Cambridge* was returned with the Fleet and his Men of War, the Duke of *Lancaſter* ſolemniſed the Obſequies of his Nephew, *Edward* of *Angouleſme*, Eldeſt-Son to the Prince, his Brother, after a moſt Stately and Magnificent manner, in the City of *Bourdeaux*; at which Solemnity were preſent all the Lords and Barons of *Gaſcogne* and *Poictou*, who had ſo lately ſworn Obedience unto him. But before the Solemnity of the Funeral was quite over, while yet all the foreſaid Lords and Knights tarried at *Bourdeaux*. Theſe *French* Lords, namely, the Lord *William de Leondoul*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Maillezais*, the Lord of *Archy*, and Sr. *Alan Huſſy* marched forth of *Perigeux*, with 200 Spears, *French* and *Bretons* in their Company, and rode to a ſtrong Caſtle, called *Monpaon*, belonging to the Prince of *Wales*. Now the Captain of this Fortreſs, named Sr. *William* of *Monpaon*, thô he kept the Caſtle for *England*, was rather in his Heart a Friend to *France*; wherefore believing himſelf ſecure now, becauſe the Prince had left the Country, he preſently received theſe *Frenchmen* into his Caſtle, and openly turn'd Traytor. When the *French* Captains had thus eaſily obtain'd a Place of that ſtrength and importance, they fell about repairing and amending the Fortifications, and being even overjoy'd, ſaid, they would now Defend that Garriſon againſt all the World. When the News of theſe things came to *Bourdeaux*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* ſaid to the Lords about him; "*Gentlemen, ſurely We do not our Duty aright: For the* Bretons *and* French-"men *are abroad, and have taken the Fortreſs of* Monpaon, *which borders upon Us:* "*Wherefore it behoves Us to go forth and ſhew our ſelves; or the Enemy will laugh Us to* "*ſcorn.* Thus the Duke and all the Lords about him were concerned, and thought it would redound much to their ſhame, if they ſhould ſuffer that Place to remain in the Enemies Hand. Wherefore on the *Wedneſday* following, the Duke of *Lancaſter* leaving the Earl of *Cambridge* to govern in his abſence, marched out of *Bourdeaux*, with 700 Spears, and 500 Archers on Horſeback, beſide Footmen; the Chief Lords and Captains whereof, were the Lord *Thomas Felton*, the Lord *Thomas Percy*, the Lord *Thomas Ros* of *Hamlake*, the Lord *Michael de la Pole*, the Lord *Baldwin Frevile*, the Lord *William Beauchamp*, the Lord *John Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon*, and Sr. *Dangouſes*; beſides the *Gaſcogne* Lords, ſuch as the Lord *John Greilly*, Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord of *Pamiers*, the Lord of *Chaumont*, the Lord of *Monferrant*, the Lord of *Landuras*, the Soldiche of *Eſtarrac*, Sr. *Bernard* of *Albret*, the Lord of *Garonne*, Sr. *Emery de Tharſe*, with theſe Lords of *Saintogne* and *Poicton*, the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord *Lewis Harcourt*, the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle*, the Lord *James* of *Suggieres*, Sr. *Moubron de Liniers*, Sr. *William* of *Montendre*, Sr. *Hugh de Vinoye*, the Lord of *Crupenac*, and ſeveral others; who all rode forth with the Duke of *Lancaſter* to lay Siege to *Monpaon*. When Sr. *William* of *Monpaon* heard, how the Duke was coming againſt him with a great Power, and ready to beſiege him, his Heart miſgave him mightily; for he knew, if he ſhould be taken, he muſt die an ignominious Death. So he fairly diſcover'd his Mind to the *Bretons*, ſaying, "*Sirs,* "*I'll e'n leave this Caſtle to your Care, and I'll remove to* Perigeux, *and help to Defend* "*that: For the Duke of* Lancaſter *will not take me to Mercy, if I ſhould chance to fall into* "*his Power:* Thus with their conſent he marched off, and the reſt put themſelves into the beſt poſture of Defence, that might be.

When the Duke of *Lancaſter* [e] was come with his Army before *Monpaon*, he began to inveſt the Place, and Tents and Pavilions were ſet up, and Proviſion for Lodging and other neceſſaries was made, as if he intended to tarry there ſeven Years. Nor yet did he ſuffer his Men to lie idle, for immediately they prepared to Aſſault the Caſtle, and forced the Clowns thereabout to fell an huge Quantity of Wood and Timber to caſt into the Ditch. For 15 Days together, they did nothing but buſie themſelves in filling up the Ditches, by flinging in Wood, Stones, and Timber, and always upon that, ſtraw and earth; ſo that at laſt they had made up a conſiderable ſpace of the Ditch; that it was firm as any other Ground; whereby they might approach the Walls at their pleaſure, to Aſſault the Beſieged, or Skirmiſh at the Barriers, which they never failed

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 288. *fol.* 175. *ſed* Gallicè *fol.* 239. *b.*

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to do Five or Six times a Day. In this Siege there happen'd many notable Exploits; for the *French* and *Bretons*, were all good Knights and Eſquires, Men of Reputation and Courage, and Defended themſelves extraordinary well. Inſomuch, that thô the *Engliſhmen* and *Gaſcogners* by filling the Ditch, came ſo near them, yet they were nothing the more concern'd with fear, and alſo they behav'd themſelves with that Induſtry and Valour, that for all that, they had little or no Diſadvantage: Wherefore they are worthy to inherit an Honourable Report.

Now there was not far from thence another Garriſon of *Bretons* in a Caſtle called St. *Macari*, whoſe Captains were *John de Maleſtroit*, and *Silveſter Budes*: and every day they had News brought them, how bravely their Friends of *Monpaon* acquitted themſelves, thô they were ſo hardly put to it. Theſe Men ſaid often to one another, "*Our Friends* "*and Countrymen yonder in* Monpaon *are every day upon hot Service, and deſerve great-* "*ly to be honoured for their noble Courage, whereof we hear ſo advantagious a Character.* "*And yet, behold! We ſit ſtill here, neither undertaking any thing to advance our own* "*Names, nor to aſſiſt our Friends, who are thus ſtreightly beleaguer'd: Surely we do not* "*as becomes Knights and Gentlemen to do* Thus they ſhew'd a good Will to go and help their Neghbours, but then they conſider'd the Danger of leaving their own Fortreſs void: So that in this Caſe they were at a ſtand what courſe to take. At laſt *Silveſter* ſaid to his Fellow, "*John, either you ſhall go and I'll ſtay behind, or I'll go and* "*leave you here: Choſe you whether.* Then *John* ſaid, "*Silveſter, you ſhall ſtay here* "*and I'll go*: Thus there was a long ſtrife between them who ſhould go, for both of them claim'd that as a Privilege. But at laſt they agreed, ſwearing and promiſing before all the Garriſon to ſtand to the Deciſion of Fortune by drawing of Cuts; ſo that he of the two, who ſhould draw the Longeſt, muſt go to *Monpaon*, and the other was to ſtay behind. They drew, and *Silveſter* had the longeſt Cutt, whereat all the Company laught, becauſe indeed (however in point of Honour they had contended for it) 'twas look'd upon as an Enterpriſe far more full of Hazard than Advantage However *Silveſter* took not the Matter as a Jeſt, but ſeriouſly ſet about it, and exactly accoutred himſelf, and mounted his Horſe, and rode forth with 12 Choſen Men of Arms in his Company; and in the Dark of the Evening came and entred into the Fortreſs of *Monpaon* (for he had the Night before given them intelligence of an Aſſiſtance coming) where he was heartily welcome to the Knights of the Garriſon; all who thanked him kindly, and highly extolled his Courage. The very next Morning *Silveſter* had occaſion to ſhew his Valour, for they were alarum'd with a fierce Aſſault, and after that with another; ſo that all the Defendants had their Hands full. But the *Engliſh* had now made themſelves ſtrong Mantelets or moveable Penthouſes in manner of a *Teſtudo*, under which they ſhrouded certain Pioneers, who, while the Archers ſhot thick to clear the Battlements, with great Pickaxes undermined the Walls; till at laſt there fell down a Pane of Fourty foot long; at which inſtant the Archers ſhot ſo thick, that none durſt appear at the Breach, and the *Engliſh* Army ſtood ready embattled to enter. Then and not till then were the *Bretons* afraid, and immediately they ſent out an Herald on Horſeback, to try if they might be accepted to make any ſort of Treaty. The ſight of the Herald cauſed a Ceſſation, ſo when he had told his Meſſage to the Duke, which was to obtain a little Reſpit and Leave for their Captains to come forth and ſpeak with Him; the Duke by Advice of his Council granted thus much. The Herald being return'd with this Good News, all the Four Knights of *France* came forth at the Breach in a peaceable manner, to whom the Duke ſent Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, who ſpake with them on the near ſide of the Ditch. Firſt the *Frenchmen* demanded, "*in what manner the Duke* "*would pleaſe to receive them?* Sr. *Guiſchard*, who had full Inſtructions what to ſay, anſwer'd, "*Why certainly Gentlemen, you have very much offended my Lord the Duke;* "*for by your Obſtinacy you have held out now* [f] *ſeveral Weeks, to his great Charge and* "*Trouble; beſides the loſs of his Men: So that he is reſolved now he has won you, not to* "*receive you to Mercy, unleſs you abſolutely ſubmit to his Pleaſure; and alſo in the firſt* "*place deliver up into his hands that falſe Traytor Sr.* William *of* Monpaon, *that he* "*may put him to Death as he hath deſerved.* To this Sr. *Lewis* of *Maillezais* for himſelf and his Company reply'd thus, "*Sr.* Guiſchard, *as for Sr.* William *of* Monpaon, "*whom You deſire to have, We ſwear unto you truly, that we know not where he is at this* "*time: For he hath not been in this Fortreſs ſince you laid your Siege thereto. And Sir,* "*it is an hard thing to compell us to yield up abſolutely, ſince we are ſent hither by a* "*Power above us, whom we ought to obey, and whom we ſerve for Wages, which is our* "*Livelyhood: As you alſo ſend your Men abroad, and are ſometimes content to take* "*Wages your ſelves. Wherefore before we will make any ſuch Bargain, we reſolve to*

"*ſell*

[f] *Froiſard* ſays *above Eleven Weeks*: But then I cannot ſee, why the Duke disbanded his Men after this, ſince by that means it would have been time to begin a Campagne.

"*ſell our Lives at ſuch a Rate, that it ſhall be talk'd of an hundred Years hence.* But "*Honourable Sir, We deſire you to go back to the Noble Duke your Maſter, and let him* "*know it is our Requeſt, that he would receive us courteouſly, as Priſoners of War to be* "*ranſomed; as he himſelf would wiſh his Men ſhould be dealt withall, when they fall into* "*the like Danger.* Sr. *Guiſchard* having promiſed to do his beſt in their Behalf, returned to the Duke, taking unto him the Captal of *Buſche*, the Lord of *Roncoigne*, and the Lord of *Mucidan*, that he might be able to perſuade the better. All theſe gave the Duke ſuch Arguments from his own Generoſity, from the Submiſſion of his Enemies, from the ill Effects their Deſpair might produce, and alſo from the Uncertainty of his own Condition; that the Duke at laſt condeſcended to their Reaſons, and was content to take the Four Captains with *Silveſter Budes*, and all their Men to Mercy as Priſoners of War.

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V. And thus the Duke of *Lancaſter* recover'd *Monpaon* again, and took Fealty and Homage of all the Town, and ſet there 40 Men of Arms, and as many Archers in Garriſon under the Command of two Valiant Knights *Gaſcogners*: And after he had repaired the Breach, and abundantly fortified the Caſtle and the Walls, and clear'd that part of the Ditch that had been fill'd up, and ſuppli'd the Place with Proviſion and Artillery, he [g] brake up for that time, and diſmiſſed all the Lords, giving them leave to go whither they would. He for his part return'd to *Bourdeaux*, the *Poictevins* and *Gaſcogners* to their ſeveral Garriſons, and the Companions quarter'd abroad in the Country, where they did much Miſchief in the Lands of their Enemies, and not a little among their very Friends: Which yet the Duke of *Lancaſter* was fain to connive at, becauſe he expected to make further uſe of them very ſhortly: For the Wars were then much more warm in the Land of *Poictou*, than in any other Parts of the Principality. Particularly there was a ſtrong Garriſon in the Fortreſs of *Moncontour*, which was about four Leagues from *Thoüars*, and ſix from *Poictiers*; and there Sr. *Peter de Guerſille*, and Sr. *Jordan de Coulonges* were Captains, who overran the whole Country, and rode almoſt every Day either up to *Thoüars* or to *Poictiers*, rifling, plundering and ſlaying all of the *Engliſh* Name or Intereſt. Not far thence there was in *Chaſtellerault Carlonet* the *Breton*, with another huge Garriſon conſiſting of 700 *Bretons*, who likewiſe domineer'd and ravag'd all the Country about them. Beſides which the Garriſon at *la Roche de Pozay*, and that of St. *Salvin* tyranniſed as much about their Precincts; ſo that the Loyal Barons of *Poictou*, which held ſtill for *England*, durſt hardly ſtir abroad, unleſs in Conſiderable Bodies, for fear of the *Frenchmen* which lay ſcattering about in the Country.

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 289.

Soon after the Regaining of *Monpaon* to the *Engliſh* Side, all the Lords of *Poictou* being retired to their ſeveral Garriſons, to keep Frontier War upon the *French*, the Lord *Lewis* of St. *Julian*, the Vicount of *Rochechoüart*, and other *French* Gentlemen came ſecretly into *Poictou*, bringing along with them many powerfull Arguments, and many more-prevailing Bribes from the *French* King, thereby to corrupt the Faith of the *Poictevins*: For the *French* King ſtudied night and day, how he might bring over the Land of *Poictou* to his Devotion. Theſe Lords therefore being thus inſtructed, prevail'd ſo much at this time with the Lord of *Pons*, that he fell off to the *French* even againſt the Will of his own Lady, and all the Men of the Town of *Pons* in *Poictou*, who ſtill remain'd firm to the *Engliſh* Intereſt; the Lady her ſelf being for King *Edward*, and the Husband for King *Charles*. All the Loyal Barons and Knights of *Poictou* were much concern'd at this Levity, which the Lord of *Pons* had ſhewn; becauſe being a Perſon of a Conſiderable Character, he was therefore likely to do much Harm by his Example. The Duke of *Lancaſter* himſelf was hugely diſpleaſed at the Matter, but on the other hand highly extoll'd the Vertue of his Lady, and the Inhabitants of *Pons* for their Fidelity: And in order to their greater Encouragement as well as Security, preſently diſpatch'd away unto them Sr. *Edmund Bourges*, who was a Valiant and Expert Captain, with a conſiderable Reinforcement.

After this manner were the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts buſied, being always forced to ſtand upon their Guard; for [h] many of theſe Great Lords, whom either the Reputation, Fortune or Liberality of the *Black-Prince* had conſtrained to follow Him, fell now away to the *French* King after his Departure: So that the Knights and Lords of *Poictou* were engag'd in a kind of Civil War, the Weaker being alway made a Prey to the Stronger, and Caſtles and Fortreſſes being ſo intermingled one with another, here an *Engliſh* and there a *French* Garriſon, that there was nothing but mutual Loſſes and Repriſals every Day, all things were in Confuſion, neither Law, Right nor Reaſon being of any moment in thoſe Parts.

[h] *Mezeray p.* 87

VI. Now the Loyal Barons and Knights of *Poictou*, who ſtill adher'd to *England*,

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consider'd, that the Castle of *Moncontour* [1] molested them more than any other Garrison, wherefore they agreed to go thither and lay Siege thereto. So the Lord *Thomas Percy*, who was Seneschal of *Poictou*, made his Summons for that Purpose within the City of *Poictiers*, where upon the Muster he found his Forces to amount to 500 Spears, and 2000 Footmen well armed, besides Archers: The Chief Captains whereof, next Sr. *Thomas* himself, were the Lord *Baldwin Frevile*, Sr. *Dangouses*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *Walter Hewett*, Sr. *Percival Collins*, Sr. *Geoffry Argentine*, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon*, *English* Men; and these Knights of *Poictou*, Sr. *Guischard Dangle*, Sr. *Lewis Harcourt*, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Pinant*, the Lord of *Taniboton*, the Lord of *Crupenac*, Sr. *Hugh de Vinoye*, Sr. *James* of *Surgieres*, Sr. *Moubron* of *Linieres* and others; all who marched forth of *Poictiers* in good Order, under the Conduct of the Lord *Thomas Percy*, and came and sat down before *Moncontour*. This Castle and Town of *Moncontour* stands on the Marches of *Poictou* and *Anjou*, being little more than six Leagues from *Saumur* in *Anjou*, and about as many from *Poictiers*; but hardly four from *Thoüars*.

[1] *Froiss. ibid.*

The Castle was exceeding strong and fair, and had a good Garrison, commanded, as we said before, by Sr. *Peter de Guerfille*, and Sr. *Jordan de Coulonges*. But the *English* had brought with them from *Poictiers* several Great Engines of Battery, and had others also sent to the Camp from *Thoüars*; all which they reared up against the Fortress, and plaid therewith Night and Day. Besides this there were Skirmishes held at the Barriers constantly, and especially by the Companions, who were then in the *English* Army, being commanded by Sr. *Walter Hewett*, *John Cresswell* and *David Holcraft*: For they were continually upon Duty, being all Valiant Men, and desirous by any means to carry the Place; because Sr. *Thomas Percy* had promised to bestow it on those, who should win it. The Garrison wanted neither Courage nor Provision, nor any other thing necessary, but Repose and Quiet; for they had no rest allow'd them Night nor Day, but were constantly alarum'd in several Places without any intermission. Especially on the Tenth Day of the Siege the Assault was General, and more vigorous than ordinary; so that at last the Place was carried by fine Force, and every Man within put to the Sword, except the two Captains, and about five or six Men of Arms, who were taken to Mercy. Upon this Success the Lord *Thomas Percy*, by Advice and with Consent of all the Barons and Knights present, granted the Castle to the Custody of Sr. *Walter Hewett*, *John Cresswell* and *David Holcraft*, who undertook with their Troops amounting to 500 able Men *Companions*, to make good the Place, and to hold Frontier War with those of *Anjou* and *Touraine*. And this *English* Garrison subsisted thus a great while to the no small Detriment of the *Frenchmen* their Neighbours; but the Lord *Percy* having succeeded here discharged his Troops for the present, and sent them to their several Quarters.

VII. Now Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Constable of *France*, having after his Victory over the *English* at *Pont Vallin*, designed to Winter at *Paris*, was informed, how the *English* had again taken the Field in *Poictou* and *Guienne*: Wherefore he resolved after *Candlemas*, in the beginning of the Year, to raise an Army, and to ride forth against the Enemies of *France*, who ranged about at their pleasure; especially from their Garrisons in *Poictou*, *Limosin*, *Quercy*, *Auvergne*, and *Rouvergue*. For in most of these Parts the *English* had behav'd themselves with much Honour, and had sustain'd their Interest with Commendable Bravery, ever since the War began. Particularly the Lord *John Devereux* was just then return'd into *Limosin*, whereof he was Seneschal; having lately pass'd in Hostile Manner thrô *Auvergne* and *Givaudan*, till he came into *Vivarais*, where he took the Castle, with the City, and base Town and all: But Sr. *Bertram* thought not to leave such Matters uncontroverted. So having the King's leave, he left *Paris* with a considerable Number of Men of Arms, among whom were these Captains of Name; the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Alenson*, and his Brother the Earl of *Perche*, the Earl of St. *Paul*, the *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, the Earl of *Vendosme*, the Earl of *Porcien*, the Lord of *Sully*, the Lord of *Montagre*, Sr. *Hugh Dauphin*, the Lord of *Beaujeu*, the Lord of *Rochefort*, the Lord of *Talascon*, and many more Barons, Knights, and Esquires of the Marches of *France*. All these went into *Vivarais*, and sat down before the City of *Uzes*, where having layn fifteen days to no purpose, the Place being Valiantly Defended by the *English*, they raised their Siege, and marched thence toward the Parts of *Rouvergue*; the Constable thinking fit to go and make Experiment of his Enemies there also. But at his rising from before *Uzes*, several of the Chief Lords with him, took their leaves of him for a while, and struck off to *Avignon* to pay a Visit to Pope *Gregory*, and to the Duke of *Anjou*, who was then with him; having [k] lately been very instrumental in advancing him to that See. But having received his Holinesses Blessing, and confer'd a little with the Duke of *Anjou*, they re-

[k] *Froiss. ibid.*

turn'd

turn'd from *Avignon*, and follow'd the Conſtable toward *Rouvergue*, where they joyn'd him, and proceeded with him in winning Towns and Caſtles from the *Engliſh*. Among others, they came before the ſtrong Town of *Millaud*, and laid Siege thereto; the Captain therein for the *Engliſh*, being Sr. *Thomas Wake*, who had kept the Place about a Year and an half together, with another Fortreſs not far off, called *la Roche Vauclere*. But now on certain Reaſons the ſaid Sr. *Thomas* was fain to deliver up *Millaud* upon Compoſition to depart with Bag and Baggage, and flying Colours; whoſe Example was ſoon after followed by many other Fortreſſes on the Frontiers. Sr. *Bertram* ſtay'd a while hereabouts to refreſh his Men, and ſo went back again toward the City of *Uzes*, reſolving to renew his Siege, and that he might do it the more effectually, he ſent for Great Engines from *Riom* and *Clermont*, and reared them up againſt the Walls, and made ready all other Inſtruments of War, in order to make one grand and general Aſſault. When the *Engliſh* within ſaw the Conſtable's Deſign, [1] being informed that ſuch a Man as Sr. *Thomas Wake* himſelf had yielded up *Millaud*, and quitted all *Rouvergue*, and conſidering alſo that there was no *Engliſh* Army in thoſe Parts able to fight Sr. *Bertram*, or to raiſe the Siege, they called a Council of War, and concluded to treat with the Conſtable; which they did ſo diſcreetly, that they were permitted to go away with all their Goods, and what they pleaſed to carry, and were alſo conveyed ſafely into *Limoſin*; where they incurred no Blame of their Friends for what they had done. Thus Sr. *Bertram* proſper'd in this Expedition, and wan many Towns and Caſtles from the *Engliſh* before he return'd into *France*.

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[1] *Froiſ. c.* 291.

VIII. But now 'tis time to look at home and ſee, how King *Edward* behaves himſelf in this juncture: He for his part [m] in the firſt Week of *Lent*, being the Beginning of *March*, held his High Court of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, at the opening whereof *William* of *Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and then Lord Chancellor of *England*, declared in the Painted-Chamber before the King, Lords, and Commons, how ſince the laſt Seſſions, his Majeſty had defrayed a Mighty Maſs of Money, and had ſent over conſiderable Armies, for the Conqueſt and Recovery of his Own: And that he had lately received perfect information of the Great Power, which the *French* King had prepared, therewith to drive him from his Inheritance beyond the Seas; as alſo of his Vaſt Navy, whereby he meant to Subject unto him the whole Realm of *England*; of all which the King demanded their Counſel and Advice. Then there were appointed Receivers of Petitions for *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, *Guienne*, and other foreign Places and Iſles; and Tryers alſo for the ſaid Petitions.

[m] *M.S. Rot. Parl. p.* 107. *Sr Rob. Cottonis Abridgm. p.* 111. *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c.* 234.

At this time * the Clergy granted unto the King an Aid, towards his Wars in *France*, of Fifty Thouſand Pounds, to be paid that Year, towards which Sum Chantry Prieſts were taxed, according to their Annual Receits, and alſo ſmall Benefices, which had not been taxed before. And the Laity alſo, Lords, and Commons granted unto the King for the Uſe aforeſaid, the like Sum of Fifty Thouſand Pounds, to be levied of every Pariſh within the Realm, at the rate of 22 *s.* 4[d]. the greater Pariſhes helping out the leſs; ſuppoſing (according to the Common Opinion) that there had been as many Pariſhes in *England*, as would have ſufficed to anſwer the ſaid Sum. Wherefore Writs were directed into all the Shires in *England*, that the King might be certified of all the Churches in every Shire, and of their Number: Upon which it was found; that the ſaid Sum of Fifty Thouſand Pounds, might not be raiſed in that Manner, as had been propoſed.

* *Stow p.* 268. *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bib. C.C.C. Cantab. c.* 234.

The mean while, among other things, becauſe all the High Offices of the Realm had been engroſſed in a manner by Men of the Church, [n] to the Diſheriſon of the Crown, the Lords and Commons petition'd, that for the future, Secular Men only might be Principal Officers of the King's Court and Houſhold, (the Chief of which Places were there named particularly, as that of the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Privy Seal, and the like) and none of the Clergy, they being enough taken up by their Spiritual Affairs, if they minded them according to their Duty: Saving unto the King his Prerogative freely to chooſe or remove Officers, provided they may be of the Laity only. To which Petition, althô the King's Anſwer was then, *That he would do by Advice of his Council*, yet we find, that in this very [o] Month of *March*, *William* of *Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, did deliver up the Great Seal unto the King at *Weſtminſter*, who immediately deliver'd it to Sr. *Robert Thorpe*, One of the Juſtices of the Law. At the ſame time [p] *Thomas Brentingham*, alias *Brantington*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, was alſo removed from being Lord Treaſurer, in whoſe Place Sr *Richard Scroop* of *Boulton*, a Baron of the Realm ſucceeded on the 27 of *March*. And then it paſſed into a Law, that for the future the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Clerk

[n] *M.S. Rot. Par. Sr. Rob. Cottons Abridgm. ibid. & M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c.* 234.

[o] *Philipots Catal. Chancellors p.* 43.

[p] *Philipots Catal. Treaſurers p.* 39. *& Godwins Catal. Biſh.* 408.

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of the Privy Seal, ſhould not be Spiritual Men; but that Secular Perſons only ſhould have thoſe Employments. After which thô ſometimes indeed the Clergy did attain the ſaid Dignities; yet it was much more ſeldom, and in proceſs of time, very rare or never.

This done, [q] Sr. *Robert Thorpe*, the New-Lord Chancellor declared, that for as much as *Eaſter* drew near, all the Petitions of the Commons could not be anſwer'd at that time: But that after the ſaid Feaſt, the King would take Care to anſwer them. And ſo the King thanked the Lords and Commons for their Travel and Aid, and gave them leave to depart.

[q] *M.S.Rot.Par. p.*107. §. 8. *Sr. Rob.Cotton's Abridgm.p.*111.

The next Seſſions was held at [r] *Weſtminſter*, in the Octaves of the Holy *Trinity*, then next after; at which time the Lord Chancellor declared unto the Lords and Commons there aſſembled, how their late Grant of 22 *s.* and 4[d]. out of every Pariſh, would not amount to 50000 *l.* becauſe by the Return into the Chancery, it appear'd, that there were not ſo many Pariſhes in the Realm. Whereupon the Lords and Commons, for the perfecting the foreſaid Sum, granted unto the King of every Pariſh-Church, aſſeſſed within the Realm, Five Pounds [s] Sixteen Shillings, compriſing therein the foreſaid Sum of Twenty Two Shillings and Four Pence; except the County of *Cheſter*, and all ſuch Lands of the Church, as had been amortized before the Twentieth of King *Edward* the Firſt. The Form of the Commiſſion for this Subſidy was read before the King; and the Collectors and Commiſſioners were appointed by the Knights of the ſeveral Counties; and there were ſet down the [t] Names of every Shire, with the Number of the Pariſh-Churches therein; and the Sum, to which the Groſs of the Payment of all the Pariſhes amounted: Which was in all 50181 *l.* 8 *s.* Whereof the Odd 181 *l.* 8 *s.* was deducted, becauſe thrô great Poverty the Pariſhes in *Suffolk* paid but Five Pounds Twelve Shillings and Seven Pence apiece; and thoſe in *Devonſhire* but Five Pounds Twelve Shillings and Ten Pence Farthing. And ſo the King was anſwer'd his full Summ of 50000 *l.* But *Cheſhire*, a County Palatinate, I know not for what Reaſon, came not to this Parliament, and ſo was not reckon'd among the other Counties, nor in the Tax: Thô in the City of *Cheſter* there were Ten Pariſh Churches, and in the Shire Eighty Seven more, beſides Chappels.

[r] *Ita M.S. Rot. Parl. rectè; ſed* Wincheſt. *apud Sr. Rob. Cotton.*

[s] *Ità M.S. rectè, ut videtur; ſed Sr. Rob. Cotton legit* 10 *s.*

[t] *Vid. Stow p.* 268. *&c. ubi tamen error in numeris non facilè emendandus.*

[u] *M.S.Rot.Par.* 45. *Ed.* 3. *n.*7, 11, 13. *p.*107. *Sr. Rob. Cotton p.*111, *&c.*

In this Parliament it was [u] agreed, that a Staple ſhould be held at *Melcomb Regis* in *Dorſetſhire*, after which the Petitions of the Commons not before anſwered, were now read and anſwer'd before the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons; which done the King licenſed the Eſtates to depart, and the Parliament ended.

Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers.

That *Magna Charta* and the Charter of the Foreſt may be obſerved in all Points; and alſo that every Petition now exhibited may be by ſome of the Lords conſidered. *It pleaſeth the King.* For that the Realm hath been of long time governed by Men of the Church, to the Diſheriſon of the Crown, the Lords and Commons required, that Laymen only may be Principal Officers of the Kings Courts and Houſhold, and that none of the Clergy be, ſaving (as before) unto the King his Free Election, *&c. The King will therein do by Advice of his Council.* That all Lands holden of the King in Chief may be let for Life without Licence. *The King will do his Pleaſure.* That there be no Fines for any Writs of Chancery. *The Chancellor ſhall conſider the ſtate of the Perſon.* That no Purveyance be made for the King but for ready Money, and that the King be ſerved by common Meaſure. *The Statute made ſhall be obſerved.* That no *Eyre* or *Trailebaſton* be uſed during the Wars. *It pleaſeth the King.* That in the Extracts of Green Wax mention may be made at whoſe Suits ſuch Amerciaments were loſt, in what Term, in what Plea, and between what Parties. *Let the ſame be provided at the next Parliament.* That Sheriffs be no further charged than they ſhall receive. *The Party grieved upon Complaint ſhall have Remedy.* That the Birth of any Man may be try'd as well of the Country where the Birth is alledged, as where the Writ is brought. *The Law uſed herein ſhall ſtand.* That no Mayor, Bailiff, or any Sergeants be Victuaſler, [x] Hoſtler or Taverner during their Offices, on pain of 20 *l.* *There is in this Caſe a certain Law.* That the *Eaſterlings* may give Security to treat the *Engliſh* Merchants in their Country, in ſuch manner as they are here. *The ſame hath and ſhall be done as need ſhall require.* That all Merchants may paſs over Wooll freely. *The King will be adviſed.* That ſuch Statutes, as reſtrain *Engliſh* Merchants from fetching Wines at *Gaſcogne*, may be utterly repealed. *The Statutes heretofore made ſhall ſtand.* That all Corporations may enjoy their Liberties, any Statute to the contrary notwithſtanding. *Such as be grieved, upon Complaint ſhall be anſwer'd.* The Commons affirm the Decay of the Navy to ariſe from three Cauſes; *Firſt*, becauſe ſeveral Mens Ships are ſtay'd for

[x] *i.e.* Hoſteller, *Diverſorii Dominus.*

for the King long before they ſerve; whereby the Owners are compelled at their own Charges to find their Mariners to their undoing. *Secondly*, becauſe Merchants (the Nouriſhers of the Navy) are often reſtrained their Shipping, that Mariners are forced to ſeek out for other Trades to get a Livelihood. *Thirdly*, becauſe Maſters of the Kings Ships do take up Maſters of other Ships as good as themſelves, ſo that moſt of theſe Ships lie ſtill, and the Mariners are enforced to ſeek out for a new Livelihood: For all which they pray that Remedy may be had. *The King will provide a Remedy.* That all ſuch Merchants, as plead the Kings Pardon for Goods not Cuſtomed, may have the ſame allowed. *The Grieved upon Complaint ſhall be heard.* That every Man may freely make Fortreſſes, Towns and Walls [y] Karnelled and Embattled. *The King will be adviſed.* That ſuch as ſue forth Affiſes be not obliged to pay for the Juſtices Patent. *The ſame ſhall be as formerly.* That the Commiſſioners for the Kings Affairs may be allow'd their Charges of the Profit of their Seſſions. *The King will provide therefore.* That in Villenage alledged in the Plaintiff, as regarding a Mannor, the Iſſue may be where the Mannor is laid. *The King will be adviſed.* That no Man be put from his Poſſeſſion by an Inqueſt of Office before the *Eſcheator*, or other Juſtice by Commiſſion, untill the Right be try'd by *Scire Facias*. *The Statute made heretofore ſhall ſtand.* That no Sheriff or Eſcheator do remain above one Year. *The Statute made ſhall be kept.* That the Boys or Valets of *France* being here, ſhall be uſed as Servants or Bondmen. *Let them ſtay till the next Parliament.* That the Statutes, whereby Juſtices are not to defer doing Juſtice, for the Great or Privy Seal or other Commandment, and that no Man be put to anſwer, but by due Order of Law, may be kept. *Such as are grieved ſhall be heard.* That none of the Houſe of Commons be appointed for Collecting the Subſidy. *The King will be adviſed.* That ſuch as remain on the Sea-Coaſts by the Kings Command may have Protections with the Clauſe *Volumus, &c.* *The ſame is to the apparent Loſs of the Commons.* That ſuch as counterfeit any Mans Seal to any Deed, may remain in perpetual Priſon. *The Statute made therefore ſhall ſtand.* That all *Scotch* Money may be brought into the Kings Exchequer by a Day: And that the Statutes of the Prieſts by Aſſent of the Clergy may be obſerved. *The Anſwer to both theſe Petitions* cannot now be read from the Records.

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[y] *Vid. Skinner in voce* Kernells, & Cornelle, *&c.*

IX. During this [z] Seſſion there came from Pope *Gregory* two Legates, the One having been Chancellor to the King of *England*, and the Other to the King of *France*, namely *Simon Langham titulo S^ti Sixti*, and *John titulo Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum*, Prieſts, Cardinals of the Apoſtolick See, who were ſent from his Holineſs with Letters beating Date VII. *Idûs Martii Anno Pontific.* I. to treat effectually with King *Edward* about the ſettling of Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *England*. But althô in this caſe the Pope ſhew'd how willing he was to follow the pious Footſteps of his Predeceſſor; yet he alſo found no better effect than the other had. And ſo the Breach continued as wide as before.

[z] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 234. *Walſingh. hiſt. &c. Od. Rainal. ad hunc an.* §. 1.

X. This Year King *Edward* [a] ſent the Lord *Humphry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Eſſex* and *Northampton*, to treat and confer with *John* Duke of *Bretagne*, his Son in Law, about ſome important Matters. But becauſe the War was open, and the Seas infeſted with the Fleets of *France* and *Spain*, there went in this Voyage many Noble and Valiant Knights of the Kings Houſhold. The Chief of theſe was Prince *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, King *Edwards* Youngeſt Son, then about ſixteen Years of Age, who ſhortly after married the Lady *Eleanora*, Daughter to the ſaid Earl of *Hereford*, *Eſſex* and *Northampton*, and in time became Conſtable of *England*, Earl of *Buckingham* and Duke of *Glouceſter*. The Admiral of the Fleet was the Lord *Guy Brian*, a moſt expert Commander both by Sea and Land, and one of the Honourable Order of the Garter. With him was joyned Sr. *Richard Sturry*, and many other Valiant Captains, with a choice Number of Archers for their Defence upon Occaſion. Nor was all this Precaution needleſs, thô they were neither encountred by the Fleet of *France* nor of *Spain*; for ſince the Heireſs of *Flanders* had been given away to *Philip* of *Burgundy*, there was no good Correſpondence between *England* and *Flanders*. The *Flemiſh* Fleet had been at *Rochell*, where they were laden with Wine, and now in their Return homewards they called at *la Baye* in *Bretagne*, where they took in vaſt Quantities of the beſt *Salt*, the *Heer van John Peterſon* being their Admiral. The *Engliſh* making up to the ſame Port, knew not at firſt who they were, but when they ſaw them prepare to entertain them as Enemies, they made haſt to receive them couragiouſly. So there began a fierce and terrible Medley which laſted long: For [b] the *Flemings* were more in Number, and better provided for a Battle, as thoſe who waited for ſuch a Buſineſs; thô they found here but an indifferent Mercat neither. This Naval Fight endured for three Hours together, in which time

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 292. *f.* 177. *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 181. & *Aſhmole p.* 666. *M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 235. *Jacob. Meyer. Annal.* Flandr. *ad hunc ann. l.* 13. *p.* 190.

[b] *Froiſ. ibid.*

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time many Gallant Actions were performed by the valiant Men on both ſides, and many wounded, hurt or ſlain: For they were faſtned to one another with Grapling-Irons, ſo that there was no other way but to conquer or die. At laſt the Victory fell to the *Engliſh*, the *Heer van John Peterſon*, the *Flemiſh* Admiral, being taken Priſoner, together with all that were left alive, the reſt being either drown'd or ſlain; not [c] a Man of them eſcaped one of theſe three Evils: For the *Engliſh* were more than uſually ſevere, when they had the full Maſtery; becauſe they had been ſo bold as [d] to begin the Aſſault. After the Fight, the Earl of *Hereford* adviſed Sr. *Guy Brian* the Admiral to make for *England* as then, and not expect his Return, till he had reinforced the Fleet: So he took land with the reſt of the Commiſſioners at *la Baye*, and went ſtraight to *Breſt*, where he found the Duke of *Bretagne*. But the Lord *Guy Brian* ſet ſail for *England*, returning with his Conqueſt and Priſoners, above 4000 of the Enemy being ſlain, and as many taken, with 25 Ships laden with Salt, and all the Wine they had taken in at *Rochell*.

[c] *Jacob. Meyer ibid.*
[d] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 182.

XI. The King of *England* was wonderfully pleaſed as this unexpected Succeſs of his Fleet, and ſo much the more, when he heard, how the *Flemings* had been the Aggreſſors, and gave the firſt Occaſion, and yet were ſo entirely defeated. The *Heer van John Peterſon* their Admiral was ſent to the Tower of *London*, and the other *Flemings* beſtow'd about in other places. And becauſe the King reſolved by any means to pull down the Pride of thoſe People, who had thus preſumed to begin a War againſt him, [e] he forthwith ſent out a Royal Fleet againſt the *Flemings*, giving ſtrict Command to his Admiral and Viceadmiral to make ſharp War upon all the Merchants of *Flanders*, and to block up their Ports, and conſtantly ply about the Sea called *la Manche*, or *Pas de Calais*, between *Dover* and *Calais*, ſo to intercept all their Commerce with *France*. When this was known to the Men of *Gaunt*, *Bruges* and *Ipres*, they had a Council together, wherein all things conſider'd, they concluded it moſt for their Intereſt, to remain at Peace with *England*, and not any longer to have the Diſpleaſure of King *Edward*, for the ſake of their Lord the Earl of *Flanders*, who was now again wholly for the *French*. Wherefore all the Good Towns of *Flanders* having agreed in this Reſolution, ſent Deputies ſufficiently inſtructed into *England* to treat for a Peace with the King and his Council: And theſe Deputies had ſuch Succeſs, that they return'd with a Conſummation of Peace with *Flanders* on certain Conditions, ſealed and agreed to on both Parts. Thus lightly can Vulgar Minds be moved to begin a War, and when they are beaten, as readily ſue for Peace.

[e] *Froiſ. & Jac. Meyer. ibid.*

XII. It may be remembred, that upon the *Black-Prince's* Return out of *Spain*, we obſerv'd, how *James* the Young King of *Majorica* by reaſon of ſickneſs was forced to tarry behind; and how ſhortly after he was taken Priſoner in his Chamber by the Baſtard *Henry*, upon his return to make new War againſt King *Don Pedro*. Now I ſuppoſe, it will not be amiſs to inform the Curious Reader, what further became of this Unfortunate Prince. And firſt Pope *Urban* being moved with his Calamity, [f] wrote in his Behalf to *Don Henry*, that he would reſtore to liberty the unhappy young King, who had ſo long languiſhed in the King of *Aragon's* Priſon before. And the Queen of *Naples*, his Lady, and the Marchioneſs his Siſter, when they were informed of his Miſchance, took it very heavily, and within a while [g] ſent certain diſcreet and ſage Gentlemen to treat with *Don Henry*, who was then King of *Spain*, about his Ranſom. So at laſt he was deliver'd for the Summ of an 100000 Franks, which the Ladies paid very punctually to King *Henry's* ſatisfaction.

[f] *Dat. vi Kal. Januar. Ann. 6. Vid. Tom. 6. Ep. Secr. p.* 32. *& Odor. Rainald. ad an.* 1367. §. 18.
[g] *Froiſc.* 294. *Gallicè fol.* 242.

When the King of *Majorica* had thus got his Liberty, he returned into *Naples*, where yet he lay not long idle; but having amaſſed together conſiderable Sums of Money, and gather'd many Valiant Captains and hired Souldiers about him, he began his March towards *Navarre*, with deſign to make War upon the King of *Aragon*, his Adverſary; to whom he could by no means be reconciled; for he had Murther'd the King, his Father, and had long kept him himſelf in Priſon; and unjuſtly and violently withheld from him his Crown and Heritage. Upon which account he had furniſh'd himſelf with Men of War from all Parts, as *Engliſh*, *Gaſcogners*, *Italians*, *Almaines*, *Bretons*, and ſome Troops of the Companions: Who in all amounted to 1200 Men of Arms; beſides Archers and Footmen. The Captains of the Companions were Sr. *Gracian du Chaſtel*, Sr. *John de Maleſtroit*, *Silveſter Budes*, and *James Braye*; beſides ſundry Lords and Gentlemen of Divers Countries, to all whom he gave great Wages and promiſed to ſatisfie them in each point. King *James* order'd his Affairs ſo well, that he had leave to bring this Army into the Realm of *Navarre*, and alſo to tarry there ſome few days to refreſh himſelf. From thence he entred into *Aragon*, and began

gan to make heavy War againſt *Don Pedro*, King of that Realm, and ravaged the Country, and took little Fortreſſes, and Ranſom'd and ſlew Men, and won Cattle and Priſoners, and fill'd the plain Country with Deſolation. The King of *Aragon*, who very much doubted this War, being alarum'd at this ſudden Invaſion, ſent Men of Arms in all haſte to the Frontiers, under the Conduct of the Vicount of *Roqueberton*, and the Earl of *Rodaiz*; while himſelf was buſied in raiſing an Army to go againſt [h] his Nephew, the King of *Majorica*. But He, Poor Prince, even while thus the War was fair on his ſide, fell ſick again in the Valley of *Soria*; of which ſickneſs he died within few days, leaving the Injuries done unto his Father and himſelf unrevenged, and all the hopes of his Crown and Life together. It is likely, that upon his Delivery from his *Spaniſh* Priſon, when he found, how the *Black-Prince*, in whoſe Fortunate Valour he had repoſed a ſure hope of Succeſs, was himſelf ſeiſed with an Incurable Malady, he thereupon began by Degrees to entertain Melancholy thoughts; till now at laſt his Grief and Sickneſs together put an end to his troubleſome Life. However his Uncle, the *Aragoneſe*, had Peace thereby, and continued in that Condition ſeveral Years after. As for the Companions, who came with the King of *Majorica* to make War againſt him, they return'd back into *France*, where they thought to make their advantage either by owning the *French*, or *Engliſh* Intereſt. The reſt of the Auxiliaries went, as their Humor or Intereſt led them, to other Parts.

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[h] *Vid. Lit. Papales de hoc ad Regem* Aragoniæ *apud Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1363. §. 9.

XIII. All this [i] while *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, was in the City of *Bourdeaux* on the *Garonne*; where he kept a Court little inferior to that of the Prince, his Brother, having about him a Gallant Retinue of Barons, Knights, and Eſquires of *England*, and of *Aquitaine*. And as yet Fortune had not taken her leave of King *Edward*, as We may ſee by his late unexpected Victory over the *Flemings*: Thô ſeveral Lords of *Poictou*, *Limoſin*, and other Provinces, revolted daily to the *French* King, and immediately turn'd their Arms another way, making frequent Skirmiſhes and Rencounters with the *Engliſh*.

[i] *Froiſ. c.* 295: *fol.* 178. *Gallicè fol.* 243.

But now Divine Providence began to weaken the *Engliſh* Intereſt and Power, even by ſuch a Means, as all other Princes make uſe of to ſtrengthen theirs, *viz.* An Alliance by Marriage, which thô Glorious in ſhew, prov'd no more, but an Airy Title, and yet that brought forth in time many Expenſive Wars, and gave an Occaſion of much Bloodſhed, and loſs of Treaſure, principally in *Spain* and *Portugal*; but by accident alſo it produced the loſs of *Rochelle*, and conſequently of many more Places in *France*, as we ſhall now ſee. We ſpake [k] before of the Death of the Lady *Blanch*, Dutcheſs of *Lancaſter*, upon which the Duke, her Husband, being left a Widower; the Barons of *Gaſcogne* (now with the ſaid Duke at *Bourdeaux*) began to conſider, how *Don Pedro*, late King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, had left behind him two Daughters, which he had by a Lawfull Bed. That theſe young Ladies were then at *Aire* a City of *Gaſcogne*, having been left as Pledges with the Prince of *Wales* for certain Sums of Money, due unto him from their Father. And when theſe Ladies heard firſt of the Murder of the King, their Father, they were extreamly Diſconſolate, and in ſuch Fear and trouble, that it was a Thouſand Pities, ſuch Innocent Virgins of Royal Blood ſhould ever be brought to ſuch Affliction by the Sins of their Father. Eſpecially, all Men lamented the Condition of the Eldeſt, who was now the True and Lawfull Heir to the Crown of *Caſtille*, by Right of Succeſſion, devolved unto her immediately upon the Death of her Father, King *Don Pedro*. All this Sr. *Guiſchard D' Angle* ſhew'd unto the Duke of *Lancaſter*, in the Preſence of the Earl of *Cambridge*, his Brother, ſaying, "My Lord, if it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs, You are yet to be diſpoſed of "in Marriage once more; and Sir, We can tell You of a Match not unfitting your "Birth; whereby You ſhall obtain the Title of a King in her Right, and your Chil- "dren by her ſhall be Heirs to a Crown; and ſhe likewiſe hath a younger Siſter, which "will make a good Wife for You, my Lord of *Cambridge*. They are both Ladies of "Incomparable Perfections both of Mind and Body; being the Daughters of *Don Pe-* "*dro*, late King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*. And ſurely it is no ſmall point of Charity to "ſuccour and comfort diſtreſſed Damſels, eſpecially they being Daughters to a King, "in ſuch a forlorn Condition, as Fortune hath now reduced them to. My Lord Duke, "We your Faithfull Servants would adviſe You to take unto Wife, the Lady *Con-* "*ſtance*, who is the Eldeſt of theſe Princeſſes: For We cannot tell where You can "Match more Honourably, or obtain Higher Dignity in ſo doing. Theſe Words and more to the like purpoſe, made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Duke's heart, who was now but One and Thirty Years of Age, and in the Higheſt Vigour of Nature, but eſpecially when both their Beauties were enlarged upon, he was ſo pleaſed, that he reſolv'd

[k] *Vid. l.* 4. *c.* 6. §. 31. *p.* 782.

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solv'd forthwith to send for the two Ladies, *Constance* the Eldest, whom he had pitch'd upon, and *Isabella* the Youngest, whom his Younger Brother, the Earl of *Cambridge*, design'd to espouse. Four Lords with their Attendants went for them, and they managed their Business so well, that the Ladies consented to go along with them to *Bourdeaux*, when they should have got all things ready for their journey. Upon News of the time, the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earl of *Cambridge* rode forth to meet them, and were both so extraordinarily pleased with their several Mistresses, that they immediately Married them in the next Village to them, called *Rochefort*, not far from *Bourdeaux*. The Marriage was solemnised with a Great and Royal Feast, and after that, the two Princely Bridegroomes brought their Ladies to *Bourdeaux*, where again there was Feasting and Joy, and a most Splendid Resolemnization of this Double Marriage, being attended with a great Number of Lords and Ladies, all who Caressed the Royal Brides, and presented them with many Rich Jewels, and other Gifts, to shew their Respect chiefly to the Duke.

But whatever all this might be in other Circumstances, it was only now in effect to denounce Mortal War against the King of *Spain* and his Heirs for ever; and thô indeed that King was an Usurper, yet he was at that time of Great Power; so that it seem'd no ways convenient to put him to Despair, in a juncture, when the King of *England* had his Hands full of War elsewhere. King *Henry* of *Castille* had early notice, how the Duke of *Lancaster* had Married the Eldest of his Neices, and the Earl of *Cambridge* the other: Wherefore by Advice of his Grandees, who were all strictly United to his Interest, he resolved forthwith to engage with the *French* King in a close and perpetual League Offensive and Defensive, thereby to support himself the better against the Power of *England*. The first Opportunity accordingly he dispatch'd away his Ambassadors to the Court of *France*; who were graciously received at *Paris* by the *French* King; and there between him and these Deputies, who had Procurations from King *Henry*, ready sealed (whereby they were fully Authorised to treat, and to proceed effectually in all Causes in the Name of their Master in any Parliament or Council whatsoever) there were accorded, ordained, and confirmed certain mutual Alliances and Confederations, Engrossed and solemnly sworn to on both Parties, them firmly to hold and maintain, nor by any means to infringe, or do any thing contrary thereto: But that the two Kings should for ever abide firmly in mutual Unity of Peace, Love, and Alliance; and then, and there, the *French* King sware upon the Word of a King, to aid and assist the King of *Castille* and his Heirs, in all his Business, and never to make any manner of Peace or Agreement with the King of *England*, unless he should be comprised in the same. And to this League Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, the Constable gave much furtherance; for he as Dearly loved King *Henry*, as King *Charles* loved and believed him. So the *Spanish* Ambassadors return'd back to their Master, whom they found at his City of *Leon* in *Spain*; and he received extraordinary satisfaction from this his Alliance with *France*, and entertain'd less doubt of the *English*, than before. However, like a Wise Prince, he neglected no means of Establishing his own Affairs; but began to strengthen himself by Sea and Land; as One, that knew foreign Amities of small force, as well as of slow approach, where due Care is not taken at home. Nor indeed was all this his Caution wholly needless or vain: For soon after *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, in Right of this his Lady, Eldest Daughter to *Don Pedro*, the last Lawfull King of *Spain*, took upon him the style of King of *Castille* and *Leon*; and [1] empaled the Arms of *Castille* and *Leon* with his Ducal Coat. Nor only so, but some Years after began a fierce War against the Bastard, Usurper of his Crown, which at last could no other ways be ended, but by a Match between the Sole Daughter and Heiress of *John* of *Gaunt* by this *Spanish* Princess, and *Henry* Grandson and Heir of the said *Henry* the Bastard; in whose Line and Posterity, thus legitimated, that Kingdom hath ever since remained.

[1] Archbishop *Abbot's* Description of the World *p.* 7. *Vid.* Mr *Sandford's* Geneal. Hist. *p.* 238. & *p.* 253.

XIV. Before this Solemn League was thus Established between *France* and *Spain*, the Pope, being alarum'd with the Wonderfull Success of the *Turks* against *Christendom*, used all his Endeavours to close the Breach between *England* and *France*, and especially to heal the exulcerated Mind of our King *Edward*. To which end he wrote to the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earl of *Cambridge*, that they would joyn to move the King, their Father, to dispose himself towards a Peace with *France*; he also wrote to the King himself, the Form of his Letters [m] being very near the same, with those, which Pope *Innocent* VI wrote [n] formerly to the *Black-Prince* upon his Victory at *Poictiers*; wherefore we purposely omit them in this Place: But I shall here set down another Letter, which this Pope sent, a little before he wrote to the King, to that Renown-

[m] *Extant apud Odor. Rainald. ad hunc ann.* §. 3. *ex Tom.* 1. *Ep. secr. p* 112.

[n] *Vid. Hujus Hist. Lib.* 3. *c.* 1. §. 14. *p.* 517.

Renowned Warrier *John Greilly* Captal of *Buſche*, whom he knew to be very Gracious with King *Edward*, and of a truly Heroick Mind, thô moſt able for War, yet exorable, and apt to embrace an Honeſt Peace. °

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"*GREGORY* the Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his moſt Beloved Son "in *Chriſt*, *John* Captal *de Buſche*, Greeting and Apoſtolick Benediction. The *Eaſtern* "Parts being expoſed to heavy Dangers, and in a manner obnoxious to utter Ruine, do "cry unto the Vicar of *Chriſt*, unto *Chriſtian* Princes and other Nobles. The Holy "Land alſo being violently poſſeſſed by the moſt impure *Saracens*, of a long while "baſely detained and polluted by their filthy Touch, doth cry unto them, doth o- "pen her Wounds unto them with ardent Deſire, expecting an healing Aſſiſtance from "them.

° *Extant apud Odoric. Rainald. ad hunc an.* §. 8.

"Certainly when late we underſtood thoſe things, [p] concerning the miſerable Condition "of the ſaid Parts, and heard alſo thoſe things, which our Beloved Sons the Ambaſſadours "of the whole City of *Genoa*, ſent unto Us particularly for this purpoſe, did declare unto "Us concerning this miſerable State of the ſaid Parts, We were inwardly wounded with "the Compunction of bitter Sorrow. For it was their Aſſertion, that the *Turks* and o- "ther Enemies of the Croſs of *Chriſt*, being gather'd together in a great Multitude, "do with heavy tempeſts of Wars afflict, waſte and conſume the ſaid *Eaſtern* Parts, ear- "neſtly affecting to aboliſh the *Chriſtian* Name and Worſhip in thoſe Parts; nay even "utterly to exterminate from thence the poor Remainders of *Chriſtianity*. And that "unleſs there be made in the next *March* Expedition a powerfull Reſiſtance to the "fury and malice of the ſaid Infidels, there will hardly be found in thoſe Parts to in- "voke the Name of *Chriſt*. And 'tis probably feared, nay 'tis by many held for certain, "that the foreſaid *Turks* and other Miſcreants are preparing to invade *Sicily*, and by "Conſequence other Countries of the *Chriſtians*. Wherefore the foreſaid *Genoans* "from an inward compaſſion of their Hearts, condoling with the ſad Tribulations of "the foreſaid Parts, and together with the Aid of other Faithfull *Chriſtians*, willing "to comfort them with the Remedy of a ſpeedy Aſſiſtance, neither ſparing their own "Goods nor Perſons, are now Rigging forth a mighty Fleet of Gallies to paſs the Seas "this next *March*-Expedition: But they do not think themſelves any ways able to re- "ſiſt in the Premiſes, unleſs they are aſſiſted by other *Chriſtians*. Oh! How unplea- "ſant is the Memory of theſe things to Us! O how bitter the Recollection, conſide- "ring theſe and other ſo great Dangers of the Faithfull! For while we revolve theſe "ſad things in our Mind, while with ſollicitous thoughts We meditate thereon, our Zeal "is kindled like a Fire; Tears being conceived ſpring forth as witneſſes of our Grief; "nor can we forbear ſighing, chiefly for this; that as to the Readineſs of haſting with "ſo great Succours the Meaſure of Poſſibility can no ways equal, as We would, the vaſt- "neſs of our Wiſhes, many Confuſions in the Parts on this ſide the Sea hindring; and "eſpecially the heavy Diſcord, which long ſince the [Grand] Diſturber of Peace, "and Enemy to Charity hath ſtirred up between our moſt Dear Sons *Edward* and *Charles*, "the Illuſtrious Kings of *England* and *France*. For the allaying whereof We have "deſtin'd to ſend unto the ſaid Kings two of our Reverend Brethren, Cardinals of "the Holy *Roman* Church, *viz.* *Simon* of the Title of St. *Sixtus*, and *John* of "the Title of the *Four Crowned Saints*, Prieſts-Cardinals, Nuntio's of the Apoſtolick "See.

[p] *In hoc loco vo- culam quæ de- leo.*

"Leſt therefore, ô moſt Beloved Son, the *Eaſtern* Parts do now irreparably run to "ruine, and fall irrevocably into the Hands of cruel *Barbarians*, We thought good to "have our Recourſe to your Piety, earneſtly entreating and deſiring you in the Lord "*JESUS CHRIST*; and alſo perſwading you in Order to the Remiſſion of your ſins, "that conſidering the Premiſes with ſuch pious Meditation as is fitting, you would in- "duce the ſaid King of *England*, and our Beloved Sons, *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and "*Edmund*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Sons of the ſaid King (to whom alſo We write to this very "purpoſe) to make a good and laſting Peace and Concord with the ſaid King of *France*, "and to provide for ſome Succour, as ſhall ſeem good to them in the ſaid next Expe- "dition; when for ſuch as ſhall be willing to paſs the Seas, a mighty Fleet will be e- "quipped by the ſaid *Genoans*: So that ſuch great Evils may ſoon be obviated, and "the ſaid Peace being made (which God grant, who is the Author of Peace) ſpeedy "Succour may be ſent unto the ſaid *Eaſtern* Parts. For We requeſt very many Princes "and Nobles for ſpeedy Succour, by writing unto them effectually for that Purpoſe. "And what ſhall ſeem good to your Magnificence in the Premiſes, forget not to write "back unto Us as ſoon as may be. *Dat. apud Villam Novam Avenion. Diœceſ. Kal. Auguſt. An° Pontif.* 1mo.

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Thus did his Holineſs uſe his utmoſt Diligence to oppoſe the Succeſs of the Infidels Arms, by healing the Breaches of *Chriſtendom*; but the *French* King being now more confident upon the late League with *Spain*, was leſs careſull to hearken to moderate Terms, and ſo this Deſign fell; and the War continued open as before.

XV. The [q] Duke of *Lancaſter*, and his Brother the Earl of *Cambridge* tarried at *Bourdeaux* with their New Ladies in great Jollity and Sporting till after *Michaelmas*; about which time the Duke reſolved to return into *England*, not only becauſe there was a Great Council to be held about Carrying on of the War, but alſo that he might more particularly inform the King his Father of the Affairs of *Aquitain*. But before his Departure, he ſummoned all the Loyal Barons of *Guienne* to meet him at *Bourdeaux*: Where he declared unto them, "How he deſign'd to go for *England* about certain Af-"fairs relating to their Advantage, and the Weal and Safety of all *Aquitain*; and that "by the next Summer at furtheſt he would be there again with them, if ſo it ſhould "pleaſe the King his Father. And all Men being highly ſatisfied with theſe Words, he appointed the Noble and Valiant Lord *John de Greilly* Captal of *Buſche*, his Deputy Governour of all *Guienne*, and with him he joyned as Aſſiſtants the Lord of *Mucidan*, and the Lord of *Leſparre*. In *Poictou* he ſet as Chief Governour the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, and the Lord of *Partenay*; and in *Sainctogne* the Lord *Lewis* of *Argenton*, and the Lord *William* of *Montendre*; and all his Seneſchals and other Officers he left *in ſtatu quo priùs*. Then there were nominated certain Repreſentatives for the Good Towns of *Gaſcogne*, *Sainctogne* and *Poictou*, who were to go along with the Duke of *Lancaſter* into *England*, the better to inform King *Edward* of the State and Condition of *Aquitain*; the Chief whereof were the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle*, the Lord of *Pinant*, and Sr. *Emery* of *Tarſe*. When they had all made themſelves ready for the Voyage, the Duke of *Lancaſter* went on Ship-bord with his Lady the Dutcheſs, and her Siſter, and his Brother the Earl, and a great Company of Men of Arms and Archers; ſo that the Fleet conſiſted of Threeſcore Good Veſſels, together with thoſe that bore their Proviſion and Neceſſaries. They had Wind at Will, and ſo landed with ſafety at *Southampton*, where having tarried two Days, they went all to *Windſor* to the King. He was glad to ſee his two Sons, the Duke and the Earl, and his Daughters the two *Spaniſh* Princeſſes, and alſo all the Lords and Knights Strangers. But in eſpecial manner he welcom'd Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, for he was a moſt Valiant and Loyal Baron, and one who had a Deep inſight into Men and Matters.

[q] *Froiſ. c.296.*

CHAPTER the NINTH.

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I. THIS being the first Inauspitious Year of our Great *Edwards* Reign, was begun with the Death of two Famous Peers of this Realm. For first [a] on the 16 of *January* there died the Valiant Lord *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Northampton, Hereford* and *Essex*, and Constable of *England*; the Tenth of that Name, and the last Male of that Noble Family: For by the Lady *Joan* his Wife, Daughter to *Richard Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, he left Issue only two Daughters his Heirs, the Lady *Eleanor* (who became the Wife of *Thomas Plantagenet* sirnamed of *Woodstock*, the Youngest Son of King *Edward*) and the Lady *Mary*, who was Wife to the Eldest Son of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, called *Henry* of *Bolingbroke*, Earl of *Darby*, and afterwards by Usurpation King of *England* by the Name of *Henry* the IV. This Earl is also said in a certain [b] private Genealogy, which I have seen, to have left behind him another Daughter named *Beatrix*, which is there pretended to have been married to an Ancestor of that Family: But this is a gross Error and Mistake, and a Vanity worthy to be corrected (thô here I spare the Gentlemans Name) since it contradicts [c] all the Publique and Authentick Accounts, that are any where to be met with.

[a] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 186. *& Mill's Catal. Honor. p.* 1075.

[b] *M.S. Penes Dn. Ed. D. Mil. de* Sharsted *in Cantio.*

[c] *Dugd. ibid. & Mills ibid. & Sandford Gen. Hist p.* 227. *&c.*

About the same time, *viz.* on the 15 of *January* [d] being a *Thursday*, and the Day after the Feast of St. *Hilary* the Bishop and Confessor, there died in the City of *London*, that most Generous and Couragious Gentleman the Lord *Walter Manny*, Banneret, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, leaving behind him the Lady *Anne* his only Daughter and Heir, then married to the Lord *John Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, she being at that time but Seventeen Years of Age. At this Mans Death King *Edward* and all the Lords of *England* were mightily concerned, because of the extraordinary Judgment, Loyalty and Courage, that had always been found in him. He was therefore [e] buried with great Solemnity in his own Chappel of the *Carthusians*, now called the *Charter-House* in *London*, King *Edward* and all his Children, the Great Prelates of the Church, and the Brethren of the Order of the Garter, with many of the Chief Ba-

[d] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 150. *& Froiss. c.* 296. Lit. Dom. DC.

[e] *Sanford Gen. Hist. p.* 207. *&* 208. *Stow's Survey p.* 478. *Dugd. &c.*

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rons of the Realm honouring his Funeral Rites with their Presence. He died [f] seized of the Mannor of *Dunstaple* in *Kent*, of *Dovercourt*, *Chesterford Magna*, and *Rumford* in *Essex*, of *Weston* and *Knebworth* in *Hertfordshire*, of the Castle of *Strigoile*, and Mannor of *Tudenham* in the Marches of *Wales*, of the Mannors of *North-Pidele* in *Worcestershire*, of *Bretteby* in *Darbyshire*, of *Oneston* and *Barton-Hanrede* in *Northamtonshire*, of *Scotteſdon* in *Shropshire*, of *Aspele*, *Alspathe*, *Thurlaston* and *Fleckenho* in *Warwickshire*, of *Cold-Overton*, *Dalby*, *Segrave*, *Sileby*, *Montsorrel*, *Groby*, *Witherdale*, and the Hundred of *Goscote* in *Leicestershire*, of *Watton* and *Stoneham* in *Suffolk*, of *Framlingham*, *Southfield*, *Lodden*, the Moiety of the Mannor of *Dikelburgh*, and Half-Hundred of *Ersham* in *Norfolk*, and of a certain Mannor in *Penne* near *Beaconsfield* in *Buckinghamshire*. All which Possessions (except the Mannor of *Dunstaple* first mentioned) came to him in Right of the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter and Heir of *Thomas Plantagenet* sirnamed of *Brotherton*, Earl of *Norfolk*, and Uncle to King *Edward* the Third. Of her Body he gat (besides a Son unhappily drown'd in his Childhood) only one Daughter, namely the Lady *Anne*, married, as we said before, to the Earl of *Pembroke*. Whereupon all these Lands and others, as well in *England* as beyond the Seas in *Hainalt*, his Native Country (besides what King *Edward* [g] had given unto him in *Calais* and other Parts of *France*) fell now unto the said Earl of *Pembroke* in Right of his Wife the Lady *Anne Manny* aforesaid. Wherefore soon after the said Earl sent two of his Knights to make Seisin of the said Lands belonging unto him in *Hainalt*; and they did their Devoir so well with Duke *Albret* of *Bavaria*, who then Governed for his Distracted Brother *William*, that they attained their Purpose.

[f] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol.* p.150.

[g] *Vid. hujus Hist. l.*2. *c.*6. §.20. *p.*411.

II. Now thô King [h] *Edward* design'd to enter *France* with two Fresh Armies this Year; yet upon the Pope's earnest request both by Letters and Messages, he first endeavour'd to lay hold of an Honourable Peace. To which end [i] Power of treating thereon was given to *Simon Sudbury*, alias *Tibald* Bishop of *London*, to the Lord *Guy Brian* and the Lord *Roger Beauchamp* Bannerets, to Sr. *Arnold Savage*, Knight, Dr. *John Appleby* Dean of *London*, and *John de Branketre*, Treasurer of *York*. And the [k] next day the King granted his Letters of safe Conduct for the Ambassadors of *France* to treat about that Affair. But because nothing as to Peace was now done, we shall proceed orderly to the War.

[h] *Ashmole's Garter p.*666.

[i] 19 Febr. *Rot. Franc.*46 *Ed.* 3. *m.*47.

[k] 20 Febr. *ibid. m* 48.

All this Winter [l] there were held in *England* by the King many Consultations, how to carry on the War the Summer following; for he design'd to send two Powerfull Armies, the One to act about the Parts of *Aquitaine*, and the other from *Calais*, to March thrô *Picardy* into *France*: And all the while he neglected not to Establish himself with Friends on every side, as well in *Almaine*, as the Marches of the Empire; where he purchas'd many good Knights and Esquires to his Service. And besides all this, in *England* he made such Wonderfull Preparations, that the like had hardly been seen before. But it seems, that God Almighty was willing to prepare this Glorious Monarch by some sensible Affliction for his final Dissolution; and that He might, by observing his own Weakness, fall to a due Consideration of Gods Power, and learn to despise the false Grandeur and Painted Glories of the World, he was pleased from this time to blast both his maturest Counsels, and his strongest Preparations; whereby, as a Father doth his Child, he weaned him from the Delights and Allurements of this Life, and directed him to seek after a better. For to say the Truth, We cannot till this time Date the Full Birth of King *Edward's* Misfortunes: But from henceforward We shall see his Great Web of Victories continually to unravel, and the strong spring of his Success to run backwards with much more speed, than ever it was wound up.

[l] *Froiss.* 296. *&c. & Gallicè f.*244.

King *Charles* [m] of *France* was perfectly informed of all King *Edward's* most secret Resolutions; whereupon he provided in all Places accordingly. And first, he mightily fortified all his Towns, Cities, and Castles in *Picardy*, and the Marches towards *Flanders*, supplying all his Garrisons with good Captains and Souldiers, and other necessaries. Nor did he forget his Concerns in *Guienne*; but besides the Armies on that side in Garrison, which were able to resist any Encounter, after his usual way of Artifice, he tamper'd secretly with the Chief Burgesses of *Rochelle*, and other Places; and sent also to his New Confederate the King of *Spain*, desiring him effectually to assist him with a strong Fleet the next Summer.

[m] *Froiss. ibid.*

III. On the other hand King *Edward*, when the Spring was enter'd, and he had magnificently solemnised the Feast of St. *George*, as was his constant Custom, at *Windsor*, having created Sr. *Guischard Dangle* Knight of the Garter, in the Room of Sr. *Walter Manny* deceased, return'd to *London*, and at his Royal Palace at *Westminster*, held a Great Council about the Affairs of his Realm. Here he ordain'd the Duke of *Lancaster*,

ſter, as his Lieutenant, to invade *France* with a great Army by the Plains of *Picardy*; the Earl of *Cambridge* being to attend him. Then at the inſtant requeſt of the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle*, and all the *Poictevin* Lords, whom he and his fellows repreſented, he order'd the Earl of *Pembroke*, [n] as his Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, to go into *Poictou* to preſerve that Country, and to make Powerfull War againſt the *French* on that ſide. For the *Gaſcogners* and *Poictevins* had earneſtly requeſted of the King, both by their Letters and the Mouth of Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*; that if he could not ſpare ſome One of the Princes, his Sons, yet at leaſt he would ſend the Earl of *Pembroke* unto them, whom next to thoſe, they lov'd and honour'd moſt, as having had good Experience of his Extraordinary Courage and Conduct. Hereupon King *Edward*, before all his Barons and Knights then aſſembled in Council, ſaid unto the Earl of *Pembroke*, who thô now Husband to the Lord *Manny's* Daughter, had for his firſt Wife a Daughter of the Kings, "*My Fair Son* John, *I here appoint You as my Lieutenant and Commander in Chief o-*"*ver all* Aquitaine, *to go into* Poictou *along with my Lord* Guiſchard *of* Angouleſme, "*and there to be Captain of all my Forces, as well of thoſe, whom I ſhall ſend with You,* "*as of ſuch, whom You ſhall find there ready to joyn You; who are no ſmall Number,* "*as I am credibly informed.* The young Earl kneeling down, ſaid, "*Sir, I heartily* "*thank your Majeſty for the great Honour You are pleaſed to confer upon me; thô I ſhould* "*be glad to be employ'd in your Majeſties Service, either there, or elſewhere, as One of the* "*meaneſt Officers of your Army.*

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[n] *Rot. Vaſc.* 46. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 4.

IV. Theſe Orders being thus ſettled, and due Care taken for all things to be ready againſt the time appointed, the Council brake up, and the King return'd to his Beloved Seat of *Windſor*: He took along with him among others, the Noble *Poictevin* Lord, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, with whom he frequently ſpake of the Affairs of *Poictou* and *Guienne*. Sr. *Guiſchard* advis'd the King by no means to doubt the Loyalty of his Good Subjects there; "*For Sir* (ſaid he) *as ſoon as my Lord of* Pembroke *ſhall but* "*once appear, he ſhall find a Conſiderable Army in the Field to joyn him: For We ſhall* "*make up to the Number of Four or Five Hundred Spears at leaſt, with their ſeveral* "*Retinues, all at Your Majeſties Service, to live and die for You; ſo they may have* "*their Wages duly paid them. Sr.* Guiſchard! *Sr.* Guiſchard (reply'd the King) *take* "*You no Care for Gold and Silver to maintain the War, when You are once come thither;* "*For, I thank God, I have enough, and I am well content to beſtow it on ſuch a Commo-*"*dity, as the Glory and Advantage of Me and my Kingdom.* In ſuch [o] Diſcourſe the King paſt the time with Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, whom he entirely reſpected, and credited no leſs, as indeed he deſerved; till the Fleet was ready, and the Earl of *Pembroke* came thither to take his leave of the King, in order to his going on Board. The Captains that accompanied him, were the Lord *Thomas Grandiſon*, the Lord *John Tuchet*, Sr. *Thomas* of St. *Albans*, Sr. *John Lawton*, Sr. *Simon Whitaker*, Sr. *John Curſon*, Sr. *Robert Beaufort*, Sr. *John Grimſton*, all Knights of *England*, beſides the *Poictevins*, as the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle*, the Lord of *Pinan*, the Lord *John* of *Mortagne*, Sr. *Emery* of *Tarſe*, and others; but they had no great Company with them, becauſe Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle* had advis'd the King, not to exhauſt *England* of her Beſt Men at that time, when there were enough ready to fight for him in *Poictou*; provided he ſent over ſufficient for their Wages. All the Captains and their Men were order'd to repair to *Southampton*, where they were fain to tarry no leſs than fifteen days in expectance of a Wind; and then they went on Board with a good merry Gale, and ſet ſail for *Poictou* (as they ſaid) in the Name of God and St. *George*, but moſt certainly in an unlucky Hour. For King *Charles* of *France* being either inform'd of all this, or thrô his great Inſight into Matters, gueſſing how things would fall, or thrô doubt however of what might be, reſolv'd not to leave ſo Conſiderable an Entrance unguarded; and therefore, having obtain'd from his New-Confederate of *Spain*, a ſtrong Navy of Fourty Great Ships, and Thirteen Barks, well trim'd and furniſh'd with Men and Artillery, he order'd them to ply about *Rochelle*, either ſo to trap the Earl of *Pembroke*, whom he heard to deſign for that Port, or at leaſt to encourage thoſe *Rochellers*, who enclin'd to a Defection, and to frighten the others of the *Engliſh* ſide into a Revolt. The Admirals of this Fleet were Four Valiant Gentlemen of *Spain*, viz. *Sennor Don Ambroſio di Baleguer*; *Don Cabeſſo di Vaccadent*, *Don Hernando Du Leon*, and *Don Rodrigo de Roſes*; all who had layn at Anchor about *Rochelle*, and the Iſle of *Re* many days, expecting the return of the *Poictevins* with the Earl of *Pembroke*; for they were certainly informed, how they intended that way to come into *Poictou*.

[o] *Froiſ. c.* 297. *ſed* Gallicè *fol.* 244. *b.*

On the 22[d] day of *June* the Earl of *Pembroke* came up to the Port, and ſhould have taken Land happily enough with all his Company: But there he found this Fleet of

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Spaniards ready to impeach his Landing. He saw now it was too late to avoid them; wherefore he comforted his Men and began to arm, the Archers being placed to the best Advantage. But surely the Match was nothing equal, neither in Numbers of Men, nor bulk, or strength of Ships; to say nothing of the Artillery of the *Spaniards* among which [p] One places *Canons*, and other Fire-Arms. And indeed *Froisard* himself witnesses the same: For he tells us, how the *Spanish* Fleet being well-provided with a vast Number of Men of Arms, Brigands, Cross-bows, and *Canons*, great Barrs of Iron, and heavy plumets of Lead to fling down, first fetch'd a course, and tack'd about to get the Wind of the *English*, and so came upon them with full Sails in manner of an Half-Moon, making a High and horrible noise, which rebounding from the shoar ascended the Skies. The Earl of *Pembroke*, having Knighted several Young Esquires for their better Encouragement, received them warmly without the least sign of Fear, and that day in person performed most worthily, doing many notable Exploits with his own Hands, and exhorting his Men, by telling them these were the same *Spaniards*, over whom they had triumphed at *Najara*. Indeed all the Lords both of *England* and *Poictou* shew'd that day extraordinary Manhood in Offending and Defending, while the *Spaniards* from their High-built *Carracks* thundred down among them huge Barrs, massy Stones, and heavy Plumets of Lead, wherewith they extreamly frustrated the Valour of the *English* Knights, who were not permitted to cope with an equal Enemy; but lay thus obnoxious to every Disadvantage. However they and their Friends the *Poictevins* were all greedy of Honour, and so became well Content to Court her in the greatest Difficulties. And many of their Enemies, who saw and felt them, acknowledged afterwards, [q] that they doubted no Attempt whatsoever, but to Advance their Names, readily accepted the most hazardous offer; and that never any Men did fight more Valiantly, thô they were but a few in respect of the *Spaniards*, and had also both fewer and smaller Vessels. So that it was wonderfull, how they could subsist so long, had not those Generous thoughts within them, supply'd them with fresh Courage, and that Courage rendred them for a while Invincible. Insomuch [r] that it was thought, the *Spaniards* would have got but very little, or no Advantage over them, had they been in Ships no Higher, nor Stronger than theirs. For they held themselves so close together, and fought with such Resolution and Animosity, that none were able to abide their stroaks; but those, who were exceeding well arm'd and shielded from their Fury. But the rowling down of Stones, Lead, and Barrs of Iron afflicted them, and endammaged their Vessels, and hurt and wounded many good Knights and Esquires. The Citizens of *Rochelle* saw all this Engagement; but they made not the least Motion to come and help the Earl of *Pembroke* and his Men, who fought so obstinately with their Enemies at such mighty Disadvantage. They were indeed at that time under the subjection of *England*, but in their Hearts they wished small Success to any of that Nation. And thus much the *Spaniards* knew before by the private Intelligence they had; or else they durst not have engaged in the very Mouth of the Channel of *Rochelle*, which was a Place so Considerable. Thus the *Rochellers* left the *English* to their Fortune, not affording them any Succour; thô however they maintained themselves with Excessive Bravery, till Night coming on, the two Fleets with One Consent separated from each other, and cast Anchor: The *English* having lost this first day two Good Barges laden with Provision, together with all the Men within them.

That same Night Sr. *John Harpedon*, who was then Seneschal of *Rochelle* for King *Edward*, spake to *John Chaudron* the Mayor, and to the Chief Burgesses of the City, desiring them to take Arms, like good Loyal Friends, and to muster such a Number of the Commons of the City, and so to go on Board to the Assistance of the Noble Earl of *Pembroke*, and the rest of their Friends, who came thither only to Succour them, and had endured so much all that day in Valiantly resisting their Enemies. But these false-hearted Men, who had no mind to the Matter, but had kept secret Correspondence with the Enemy, began to excuse themselves, saying, "how it was as much, "as they could do to maintain the Town against the *Spaniards*, and how they were no "Men for Sea-fights; nor should be able to do any Service upon the Water, But if "the Battle was to have been on the Land, he should see, how gladly they would go "into the Field to serve their Lord the King of *England*. And more than this the Seneschal could not perswade them to, and to offer to force them was not seasonable in that juncture. And yet besides the Constant Garrison, there were at that time in the City the Lord *Taniboton*, Sr. *James* of *Surgeres*, and Sr. *Maubron* of *Liniers*, who also earnestly desired the Mayor and Burgesses to send assistance to the *English* in this their extremity: But when they saw, they could not prevail, they three together with Sr. *John Harpedon*,

[p] *Mezeray ad hunc ann. p. 89. & Angl. p. 391.*

[q] *Froiss. c. 298. &c.*

[r] *Froiss. ibid.*

Harpedon, having left a ſufficient Garriſon in the Caſtle, went and arm'd themſelves, and all the reſt of their Men, ſuch as could be ſpared, and would partake with them (which yet was but an Inconſiderable Number) and ſo went on Board in Four Barks, and at the break of Day, when the Floud came, ſet forth and joyn'd the Earl of *Pembroke*, who thanked them heartily for their Good-Will. Theſe Knights told the Earl and Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, how the *Rochellers* had refuſed to come to his Aſſiſtance. "*Well then*, ſaid the Earl, *We muſt Couragiouſly expect what Chance it ſhall pleaſe God* "*to allot Us: And I doubt not but one day We ſhall find a time to make theſe* Rochel- "lers *repent their unkind Dealing*. On [t] that ſame Morning, when the Floud was now pretty High, the *Spaniards* weighed Anchor, making a great noiſe with Trumpets and Clarions, and ſet themſelves in good order, as they had been the Day before; verily believing, that the *Engliſh* were by this time quite tired out, and much impaired in their Numbers. Being all ready, they began to take Advantage of the Wind, and ſo to come upon the *Engliſh*, who were nothing equal to them in any thing, but Courage. However they and their Friends the *Poictevins*, who ſaw well what their Enemies did, prepared to receive them, and drew all boldly together, ſetting their Archers before them, and with that the *Spaniards* came upon them with full Sail, and the Battle began to wax hot on all Hands. Certainly never did Men endure more Difficulty in a Naval Fight, than the *Engliſh* did that Day; for tho the moſt part of them were grievouſly wounded and bruiſed with the fall of Barrs of Iron, and the flinging of Leaden Bullets, and the [t] ſhooting of Stones; yet for all that they fought, while they were able to ſtir, and by a Generous Importunity courted Victory (who firſt now began wholly to turn her back from King *Edward*) till Three of the Clock in the Afternoon: But the Fickle Goddeſs was coy unto them notwithſtanding. For now the *Spaniards*, finding the *Engliſh* mightily waſted, and that they themſelves had far more and ſtronger Veſſels, better furniſh'd with Men and Artillery, began to caſt their Grappling-Irons, and ſo faſtned themſelves to the *Engliſh*, that they could not get aſunder. To the Earl of *Pembroke's* Ship there were no leſs than Four *Spaniards* faſtned at one time, in all which there were many Choſen Men of Arms, under the Command of *Don Cabeſſo di Vaccadent*, and *Don Hernando Du Leon*, two of the Admirals. With the Earl of *Pembroke* at that time was the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle*, and Two and Twenty other Valiant Knights, beſides Eſquires and Archers, who fought as Gallantly as was poſſible, and held out a long while, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* had ſuch Advantage of them many ways. But there Sr. *Emery* of *Tarſe*, a Valiant Knight of *Gaſcogne*, was ſlain by the Earl's ſide, and with him a Gallant *Engliſh* Gentleman, Sr. *John Lawton*, who was Knight for the Earl's Body; ſo that at laſt the Earl's Ship was Boarded, and then was done many a Noble Exploit; but there was no more room for Valour; the *Spaniards* ruſh'd in like a floud on all ſides: So that there the Earl himſelf was taken Priſoner, and all his Men either ſuffer'd the ſame Fate or a Worſe, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, Sr. *Robert Beaufort*, Sr. *John Curſon*, and Sr. *John Grimſton* were taken alive. But the Lord *John Tuchet*, Sr. *Simon Whitaker*, Sr. *John* of *Mortagne*, Sr. *Emery* of *Tarſe*, and Sr. *John Lawton* were ſlain. Yet ſtill the Lord *Thomas Grandiſon*, and the *Poictevins*, as the Lord of *Pinant*, the Lord of *Taniboton*, Sr. *James* of *Surgeres*, Sr. *Maubron* of *Linieres*, and others fought on in other Ships: But finally they were all overmaſter'd by Number; ſo that none eſcaped being either taken or ſlain. And when the Lords and Knights were all conquer'd, they deſired the *Spaniards* to forbear ſhedding the Blood of their ſervants: For they ſaid, how they would pay a Ranſom for the Lives of them all.

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[t] *Froiſ. c.* 299.

[t] *Vid.* Skinner's *Etymol. Ling.* Angl. *in voce* Gunſtones.

It was impoſſible for any Men to behave themſelves better, in thoſe Circumſtances, the *Engliſh* and *Poictevins* were in at that time, than they did: And the ſtouteſt Heart alive muſt yield to Neceſſity. But ſurely the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle* (tho he [u] was a moſt Valiant and Noble Knight, and after this, deſervedly made Earl of *Huntington*) did not adviſe King *Edward* well, when he told him, that now a ſmall Convoy would ſuffice; becauſe they had Friends enough beyond the Seas. And it muſt be attributed to ſome ſecret Ordinance of Providence; that ſo Wiſe a Prince was now perſwaded to commit ſo Fatal an Overſight. For a Victorious King, who is no longer ſo without Reputation, ought never to commit any conſiderable Adventure, meerly to the Will of Fortune (eſpecially in ſo doubtfull a juncture, as this was) ſince One Great Miſcarriage undoes all his former Deeds; as now it happen'd. Whereas had this Fleet been but well fitted out, they had infallibly Conquer'd; and thereby all *France* had been ſaved, and King *Edward* had dy'd as Victorious, as he liv'd: But it pleas'd God to order it otherwiſe.

[u] His Arms *Or* Bilette a Lion Rampant *Blue*. Vid. *Tho. Mill's* Catal. Honour *p.* 918. *Aſhmole's* Garter-Plates Plate 40. Sr. *Will. Dugd.* Baron. 2 *Vol. p.* 173.

Among

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Among other Losses, that Ship wherein lay all the Treasure, wherewith Sr. *Guischard Dangle* should have paid the Souldiers their Wages, was unhappily sunk and drown'd, and all within lost to the value in Money of 20000 *l. Sterling*, besides other things. But this was nothing comparable to the Los *England* received in the Death and Taking of so many Valiant and Noble Gentlemen. And yet the ill Consequences of this Day were far greater than the Los it self; and it was evident, that King *Edward* now received the greatest Blow that ever he had felt before: For by this Discomfiture he lost in a manner all that ever he had got in *France*, except *Bayonne*, *Bourdeaux* and *Calais*, as will appear in the Sequel of this History.

V. All that Day, which was the Three and Twentieth of *June*, and the Eve of St. *John* the *Baptist*, and the Night of that Day, and the next Day till Noon, the *Spaniards* lay still at Anchor before *Rochelle*, triumphing and making much joy at their hardly-obtained Victory. And it happen'd well for Sr. *James* of *Surgeres*, a Knight of *Poictou*, that they staid so long there: For he spake such fair Words to his *Spanish* Master, and in subtlety so obligingly humbled himself, that he was immediately acquitted only for paying 300 *Franks*, or Thirty Pounds *Sterling*. And so on St. *Johns* Day having his full Liberty, he came and din'd in the City of *Rochell*, and there made a particular Relation of all the Engagement, and who were kill'd, and who were taken Prisoners; at which heavy Tale the Burgesses that were present, seem'd to be very much concerned; but indeed they were glad of it: For naturally they never cared for the *English* Nation.

Now on the Feast of St. *John* about Noon, when the Tide was up, the *Spaniards* weighed Anchor, and hoised their Sails, and so left that Coast with a merry Noise of Trumpets and Clarions, their Masts and Foredecks being adorn'd with Long Streamers, and rich Penons and Standards, beaten with the Arms of *Castille* and *Leon*, which made a glorious Shew, as they waved about in the Wind.

Thus the *Spaniards* left the Haven of *Rochell*, with the Earl of *Pembroke* and the rest of the Prisoners in their Company, and set Sail for the Coasts of *Galizia*. A little after whose Departure, on that very Day of St. *John Baptist*, there came by Land to *Rochell* a great Number of Men of Arms, *English* and *Gascogners*, who as yet knew nothing of this Mischance of their Friends: They had only heard, that for certain the *Spaniards* lay before *Rochell*, with design as it should seem to block it up, and therefore they came thither now to preserve the Place. The Chief Captains of these Men were the Noble Lord *John Greilly* Captal of *Busche*, Sr. *Beras du Launde*, Sr. *Peter* of *Landuras*, the *Soldiche* of *Estarrac*, Sr. *Bertram de France*; and of *Englishmen* the Lord *Thomas* [x] *Percy*, the Lord *Baldwin Freville*, the Lord *John Devereux*, Sr. *Richard Ponchardon*, Sr. *Walter Hewett*, Sr. *William Fermin* and others. When these Lords and Knights with their Troops, which were to the Number of six hundred Men of Arms, were come to *Rochell*, the Citizens made them extream Welcome, as it should seem: For as then they durst not shew the Malice of their Minds. But when Sr. *James* of *Surgeres* had inform'd them of the *Spaniards* Victory by Sea, in which Engagement he himself had been taken and ransomed, these heavy Tidings all the Barons and Knights took mightily to Heart, and thought themselves the most unfortunate Men Living, that they had not come thither time enough to their Friends Assistance: But they were beyond measure displeased, that they had lost the Earl of *Pembroke* and Sr. *Guischard Dangle*. However there they tarried certain Days to consider how they should now proceed; and because the Seneschal of *Rochell* Sr. *John Harpedon*, was taken by the *Spaniards*, the Captal of *Busche*, as being one of the Duke of *Lancasters* Chief Deputies in those Parts, constituted Sr. *John Devereux* Seneschal of *Rochellois*, of which We shall speak hereafter.

[x] *Vid. de his Baronibus Dug. Bar. ad eorum nomina.*

VI. Many *French* Writers talk of one *Owen* or *Evan* (which they corruptly call *Yvan*) making him to be Son to a Prince of *Wales*, whom (say they) King *Edward* the Third put to Death, and gave the Principality to his Son *Edward* the *Black-Prince*. But those that are better acquainted with the *Welch* Story can tell, that *Lhewellin ap Griffith*, the last Prince of *Wales* of the *British* Blood, died without Issue, being slain at *Buelht* in the Days of King *Edward* the First, Grandfather to our *Edward*, in the Year of our Lord MCCLXXXII, which was full 90 Years before this time. That indeed [y] one *Madoc* of the Kindred of the said *Lhewellin* rebelled afterwards, but being taken was kept a perpetual Prisoner in the Tower, or as some say, submitted and was received into Favour, on Condition he would bring in another Rebel named *Morgan*, and put him into the King's Hands, which he did. That [z] *Edward* of *Carnarvon*, afterwards King *Edward* the Second, was by his Father stiled Prince of *Wales*, and received the Homage

[y] *Lloyd's Hist. of Wales p. 374*

[z] *Lloyd ibid. p. 382. ex Rot. Turr.*

Homage of ſeveral Lords and other Free-Holders of *Wales*: That his Son *Edward* of *Windſor*, in time King of *England* by the Name of *Edward* the Third, about the Sixteenth Year of his Fathers Reign, was in a Parliament holden at *York* created Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Aquitain*; thô (as [a] we ſhew'd before) he is no where found to have uſed the former Title of the two. But this is moſt certain, that his Son the *Black-Prince* in the [b] *Seventeenth* Year of his Fathers Reign was created Prince of *Wales*, and that by this means *Wales* was ever after joyned to the Crown of *England*, even to this Day. From all which it appears, that this *Owen* (however otherwiſe commendable) was but a Counterfeit as to this Point: And yet it might be no ill Policy for the *French* Kings to entertain him, as being a Declared Enemy to the *Engliſh*. Having thus by a ſincere Antidote taken away the Venom of this Upſtart Prince's Pretenſions, I ſhall now proceed to ſhew what Uſe the *French* King made of him at this time in his Affairs. It was reported, that our King *Edward* the Third took one *Edmund* Prince of *Wales* (who was never elſe heard of) and beheaded him, that his young Son, this *Owen* forſooth, being by ſome means or other brought over into *France*, was nouriſhed up by King *Philip* of *Valois*, as a Child of Honour in his own Chamber: That he bare Arms for King *John* at the Battle of *Poictiers*, but that after the famous Peace at *Bretigny* he retired into *Lombardy*: Whence upon the Renewing of the War between the two Realms he came back again, and offer'd his ſervice to King *Charles* againſt the *Engliſh*. The King received him gladly, and advanced him in his Court, committing to his Charge certain Troops of Souldiers; particularly this Summer he gave him 4000 Men, and ſent him to ſea againſt *England*.

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[a] *Vid. hujus Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 1. §. 2. *p.* 2

[b] *Vid. hujus Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 3. §. 5. *p.* 45. *& l.* 1. *c.* 21. §. 9. *p.* 273.

VII. Prince *Owen* (for ſo however We will take leave to call him) went on Board, having imbarked his Men at *Harfleur* in *Normandy*, and ſo ſet Sail taking his Courſe to the left hand for the Iſle of *Garnſey*, the Governour whereof for the King of *England* was *Edmund Ros*, a Valiant and Hardy Eſquire. When this Gentleman heard how the *French* had took land in the Iſle, and that *Owen* of *Wales* was their Leader, he made his Summons immediately thrô the Country, reſolving to march forth againſt him, and to give him Battle. The whole Iſle is not [c] above 36 Miles in Circuit: But however what with his own Men and the Inhabitants, he preſently raiſed 800 Fighting Men, and ſo came and preſented Battle to *Owen* of *Wales*. The Fight proved fierce and obſtinate on both ſides, but at laſt the *Engliſhmen*, who were far outnumbred by the Enemy, were diſcomfited and fled, leaving behind them 400 dead upon the Spot. *Ros* himſelf with the reſt made ſhift to retire into a ſtrong Fortreſs about two leagues from the place of Battle, called *Cornet*-Caſtle, which he had exceedingly fortified and victuall'd before, and there he reſolv'd to expect what God would pleaſe to ſend him. After this Victory Prince *Owen* rallied his Men together, and went directly and laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Cornet*, whither he heard *Edmund Ros* the Captain was retreated. But the Place was ſo ſtrong, and as we ſhewed before ſo well provided, that it was not to be won without much time and labour; wherefore *Owen* ſat down before the Caſtle.

[c] *Speeds* Maps *p.* 94.

It was in the time of this Siege, that the late unhappy Adventure fell to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle* and their Men in the Haven of *Rochell*, as we have related. At the News whereof the *French* King was extream glad, and aſſumed the greater Courage to purſue the Wars in *Poictou* and elſewhere. For now he thought, when the Good Towns and Cities of thoſe Parts did ſee the *Engliſh* once begin to decline a little, they would preſently put themſelves into his Hands. Wherefore he forthwith determin'd to ſend his Conſtable into *Poictou*, to the Parts of *Saintogne* and *Rochellois* eſpecially, there to make hot War both by Land and by Sea; for he ſaid, the *Engliſh* had never a Conſiderable Captain in thoſe Countries. And that he might be well furniſhed with a Navy, he ſent his Letters to *Owen* of *Wales*, who lay at that time before *Cornet*-Caſtle in the Iſle of *Garnſey* (of all which the King was informed, and how in all likelihood the Fortreſs was impregnable) commanding him on ſight of his Letters to break up his Siege and leave *Garnſey*, and forthwith to go on Board a ſwift Sailer, which the King had ſent him for the ſame purpoſe, and to make for *Spain*, and in his Name to require of King *Henry*, his Confederate, that he would lend him once more his Admiral and Men of War, with a Fleet of Barks and Gallies, to go and block up *Rochell* by Sea, while others held Siege thereto by Land. This Command of the *French* King's *Owen* reſolved forthwith to obey, and ſo having ſent his Men away by Sea to *Harfleur*, himſelf went on board that good Ship which the King had ſent him, and ſet Sail for *Spain*: Whereby the Iſle of *Garnſey* and *Cornet*-Caſtle were preſerved.

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VIII. King *Edward* was extreamly [d] displeased, when he heard, how the Fleet which he had sent into *Poictou* with the Earl of *Pembroke*, was overthrown in a Sea-fight by the *Spaniards*, and so many Brave Men, and all his Money lost: So that all those Parts were left in a manner defenceless. And indeed both the King and his Council, and all the Wise Men of the Realm concluded, that now all *Poictou* and *Saintogne* were in great likelihood to be lost by reason of that Mischance. Wherefore about this weighty Affair much Consultation was held, and for the present the King order'd the Earl of *Salisbury* to go into those Parts with 500 Men of Arms besides Archers. But whatever was now determin'd, there was no such Matter done: For the Affairs of *Bretagne* coming on presently after put this Business by, which thing King *Edward* repented when it was too late.

[d] *Froiss. c.* 301. &c.

IX. The mean while the *Spaniards*, who had taken the Earl of *Pembroke*, were detain'd on the Sea several Days by contrary Winds; but however at last they arrived without much loss at the Port of St. *Andero* in *Biscay*: Where they landed and entred the Town about Noon, bringing all their Prisoners into the Castle bound with Chains, after the *Spanish* manner of Treating their Captives: Which was far from that Courteous and more Human way of Entercourse held between the *French*, *English* and *Scots* of those Days. That same Day in the Afternoon arrived in the same Port *Owen* of *Wales*, who came, as we shew'd, from the *French* King, to request a Naval Assistance from King *Henry* of *Spain*. Being landed he went to the Castle, where *Don Hernando du Leon*, and *Don Cabesso di Vaccadent* had placed the Earl of *Pembroke* and the other Prisoners: So that as soon as he was conducted into his Chamber, he was informed, that in the same House there were several *English* Captives. *Owen* had a great mind to see these Men, and to know who they were, and so immediatly went forth into the Hall, and as he was going thither encountred the Earl of *Pembroke*, whom he knew very well; altho he had seen him but once in his Life before. Then he said to him by way of Taunt, "*O Sir, Earl of* Pembroke, *are you then at last come into this Country to do* "*Homage unto me for such Lands, as you hold in the Principality of* Wales, *whereof I* "*am the True Heir: Altho your King hath taken it from me by bad Counsel and rash* "*Advice?* The Earl of *Pembroke* was asham'd to see himself a Prisoner, and thus affronted in a strange Land, by a Man, of whom he had no knowledge; tho he spake to him in his own Language. So he only asked him briefly, "*Pray Sir, who are you,* "*that give me these Words? Why Sir* (said he) *I am* Owen *Son to* Edmund *Prince of* "Wales, *whom your King of* England *put to Death wrongfully, and without title of Rea-* "*son, and hath disinherited me his Son and Heir. But I hope shortly to find a Remedy* "*for these Evils, by help of my Gracious Lord the King of* France. *And I give you now* "*to understand, that if ever I may find you in any place convenient to fight you, I shall* "*not fail to do it: But then and there I will prove upon your body the Wrong you have* "*done unto me: As also I shall prove upon the bodies of the Earl of* [e] Hereford, *and the* "*Lord* Edward Spencer; *if I may but once light on them: For by reason of your Fa-* "*thers and other bad Counsellors, my Lord my Father was betray'd, whereat I ought to* "*be displeased, and seek amends as soon as I can.* At this there stept forth a Knight of the Earl of *Pembroke's*, named Sr. *Thomas* of St. *Albans*, and making haste to speak, said, "*Sir* Owen, *if you will say and maintain, that my Lord the Earl of* Pembroke "*hath ever done any thing false or unknightly, or that he oweth or should owe any Ho-* "*mage to you or to any of your Antestors, cast down your Gage in that Quarrel, and you* "*shall soon find him, that will take it up.* To this *Owen* reply'd scornfully; "*Sir, you* "*are a Prisoner, I can have no Honour in Challenging you: For you are not at your own* "*Dispose, but at the Command of those, who have taken you. However when you shall* "*be at Liberty, we shall talk further about this Matter: For the Quarrel shall not end* "*thus.* At which words certain Knights of *Spain* came between, and so parted them asunder.

[e] He now lately deceased: But this *Owen* might not know.

Soon after the *Spanish* Admirals led forth their *English* Prisoners toward the City of *Burgos*, to present them unto King *Henry*, who then held his Court there. He for his part hearing of their Coming, sent forth his Eldest Son Prince *John*, who was then stiled the *Infant* of *Castille*, with an honourable Retinue of Knights and Gentlemen to meet the *Englishmen*, and to do them Honour. For this King knew very well what belong'd to Generosity; and therefore he himself, when they were brought before him, shew'd them much Respect and Honour both in Word and Deed, as unto Men of High Birth and Merit: Tho however within a while after he sent them into several parts of his Realm to be put in safe Custody, as having been his Enemies.

X. Now let us see what became of the Business of *Poictou*, after this loss of the Earl

Earl of *Pembroke*, and thoſe who came with him for the Defence of thoſe Parts. It may be remembred, how that preſently after the *Spaniſh* Fleet was gone from before *Rochell*, there came thither the Captal of *Buſche* with ſix hundred Men of Arms, who were all extreamly troubled, that they came too late to ſave their Friends. But however when they ſaw the Matter paſt Remedy, they fell to conſult, how they might prevent any further Miſchief thereabouts. They ſaw and knew, that the *Rochellers* were falſe at the Bottom; wherefore by general Conſent, the *Captal* who was the Chief, as being the Duke of *Lancaſters* Deputy, took order for the Security of the City, and made the Lord *John Devereux* Seneſchal of *Rochell* (in the place of Sr. *John Harpedon*, who had been taken by the *Spaniards*) with whom he left no leſs than 200 Men of Arms: For he knew, that as long as he was ſtrong enough in the Caſtle they durſt not rebell. Having thus ſettled Affairs here, he left *Rochell*, and marched away with 400 Spears toward *Soubize*; for he heard, how certain Troops of *Bretons* held ſeveral Churches and ſmall Fortreſſes thereabouts, which they had made Defenſible. But when the *Captal* and the *Engliſh* Lords came thither, they eaſily wan their Holds, drave them away, and rid the Marches clean of them.

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XI. All this while [f] there kept the Field about the Frontiers of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Berry*, Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Conſtable of *France*, the Duke of *Berry*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Alenſon*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, the Lord *Beaumont de la Val*, the Vicount of *Roüen*, and the Lord of *Beaumanoir*, and a great many other Lords of *France*, with very conſiderable Forces, to the Number in all of 3000 Men of Arms. Theſe being all joyn'd with the Conſtable in *Poictou*, went, and laid Siege to *Monmorillon* ſtanding on the River *Gartempe*, which they wan by Aſſault, and put every Soul within to the Sword, and new-mann'd the Place with *Frenchmen*. Thence they proceeded to *Chauvigny* on the *Vienne*, where they lay two Days, and on the Third the Place was yielded up, and the *Engliſh* within taken to Mercy. Thence they went to the Town and Caſtle of *Luſac*, both which yielded without enduring One Aſſault. After that they came before *Poictiers*, the Chief City of that Province, before which they lay One Night among the Vines; ſo that the *Engliſh* within began to be mightily concerned, as expecting to be beſieged, but there was no ſuch Matter: For upon ſome occaſion or other, contrary Reſolutions were taken, and the next Morning the Duke of *Berry* went away from the Hoſt with a good Body, and the Conſtable lead the Reſidue of the Army toward *Moncontour*, and ſat down before it. The Captains within were *John Creſwell* and *David Holcroft*, and with them were ſixty Men of Arms of approved Valour; who had very much conſtrained the Marches of *Anjou* and *Touraine*, and other *French* Garriſons, their Neighbours: Wherefore the Conſtable vow'd not to ſtir thence, till he had the Place at his Devotion. But becauſe the Dikes were broad and deep, he cauſed the Bores of the Country to cut down Wood, and bring it thither, and ſo flinging it into the Ditches with ſtraw and earth upon it, they fill'd them in Four Days time, that they might paſs over, when they pleas'd. On the Fifth Day the Conſtable Commanded to the Aſſault, and there was one begun, which laſted with great Animoſity all that day; But the Garriſon were as buſie to Defend themſelves: So that by their extraordinary Manhood for that time, they kept themſelves from all Diſadvantage. On the Sixth Day the Conſtable renewed the Aſſault, and the mean while ſent over Pioneers with Pick-Axes and Mattocks in their hands; who being cover'd with a *Teſtudo*, made ſeveral ſmall Breaches in the Walls, to the great terrour of the Beſieged: But yet they fought as Valiantly, as was poſſible for Men to do; inſomuch that they remain'd that day alſo unconquer'd. But at Night *John Creſwell* and *David Holcroft*, began to conſider with themſelves the Danger they were in; that the Conſtable ſeem'd reſolv'd not to ſtir thence, till he had them at his Mercy; and that if they were taken by Force, nothing but Death was to be expected: Which Matters being duly weigh'd, they fell to a Treaty, proffring to deliver the Caſtle, their Lives and Goods ſaved. The Conſtable, who was not willing to haraſs his Men by another Aſſault, nor indeed to be too ſevere to thoſe of the Caſtle, becauſe he eſteem'd them as Valiant Men, yielded at laſt to let them go without any Bodily Hurt, on Condition, that they ſhould Carry nothing with them, except only Gold or Silver. And this Conceſſion being accepted, they left the Place, and were convey'd, as they had deſired, to *Poictiers*.

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 301, 302, *&c.* Gallicè *fol.* 247.

The Conſtable having thus obtained *Moncontour*, tarried there a while to refreſh his Men, and to repair the Fortifications of the Caſtle; during which ſpace he advis'd, whether he ſhould March next to *Poictiers*, or any other Place. But when it was known

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at *Poictiers*, that the Conſtable had taken the Caſtle of *Moncontour*, they were more doubtfull of themſelves, than before, and immediately diſpatch'd away Meſſengers to their Seneſchal the Lord *Thomas Percy*, who was then abroad in the Company of the *Captal* of *Buſche*. But before Sr. *Thomas* had received this Notice, Sr. *John Devereux* came to their Aid with 50 Spears of his Retinue: For hearing that the Conſtable of *France* had been once already before *Poictiers* to view the Place, whereby he gueſs'd, how he would ſhortly lay Siege thereto, eſpecially becauſe he knew, that Sr. *Thomas Percy* himſelf was not preſent, he left an *Engliſh* Eſquire, named *Philip Manſell*, for his Deputy and Captain in the Caſtle of *Rochelle*, and ſo went with the 50 Men of Arms aforeſaid to *Poictiers*; where he was very welcome, and received many thanks for his Good-will. But when News came to the Lord *Thomas Percy*, who was then with the *Captal*, how his Men at *Poictiers* deſired his ſpeedy return unto them, foraſmuch as they doubted a Siege, and that they requeſted him to come as ſtrong as he could, becauſe the *Bretons* and *Frenchmen* were a great Army, he ſhew'd the Matter to the *Captal*, requiring his Advice thereupon. The *Captal* having ſeriouſly debated the point, determin'd by no means to break his own former Deſign for that buſineſs; but he gave leave to Sr. *Thomas* to return to *Poictiers*, becauſe it was his particular Charge. And ſo Sr. *Thomas* went thither with 80 Spears, where he found Sr. *John Devereux*, and gave, and received many hearty Welcomes among his Friends.

XII. All this was ſhew'd to the Conſtable, who was ſtill at *Moncontour*, namely, that *Poictiers* was mightily ſtrengthened by theſe New Acceſſions; beſides that before it was thought no eaſie Matter to attempt it. Wherefore he intended to give over his Deſign of making tryal there, and to go for the preſent, and joyn the Duke of *Berry*, who, having a conſiderable Army alſo, which he had gather'd out of *Auvergne*, *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and the Marches of *Limoſin*, had lately ſent for him to come and go along with him to lay Siege to St. *Severe* in *Limoſin*; which Fortreſs alſo belonged to Sr. *John Devereux*. He had ſet there however theſe *Engliſh* Captains under him, namely, Sr. *William Percy* Knight, *Richard Gill*, and *Richard Horne* Eſquires, with a Convenient Garriſon of luſty Souldiers, who had before this overrun the Country of *Auvergne* and *Limoſin*, and had done ſo much miſchief to the *Frenchmen*, that now the Duke of *Berry* was reſolved to call them to an account; and ſo ſent, as we ſhew'd, to the Conſtable, deſiring him, if he could conveniently, to come and joyn him for the purpoſe aforeſaid. And the Conſtable for the Reaſons above ſpecified, having taken Order for the ſafe-keeping of *Moncontour*, marched thence with all his Forces, and went to the Duke of *Berry*, who received him gladly.

The *French* Forces being thus joyn'd made up a very Conſiderable Hoſt, even to the Number of 4000 Knights and Men of Arms, beſides others: All who went now to reduce St. *Severe*, vowing not to riſe from before it, till they had their Deſign upon the Place. Sr. *William Percy*, who was a Valiant *Engliſh* Gentleman, and Chief Captain of the Place, put himſelf preſently in a poſture of Defence, and diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger to Sr. *John Devereux*, deſiring him to haſten to his Aſſiſtance; for the Duke of *Berry*, the Conſtable of *France*, the *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, the Lord *Cliſſon*, and the Vicount of *Roüen* had beſieged his Fortreſs of St. *Severe* with 4000 Men of Arms. At this News Sr. *John Devereux* was very much dejected, and ſaid to the Lord *Thomas Percy*, who was there preſent at the Delivery thereof, "Sr. *Thomas*, you are Se-"neſchal of this Country of *Poictou*, and have great Authority and Power in your Hands: "Wherefore I heartily deſire you to aſſiſt me toward the Relieving of my Men; who "are all but loſt, if they have not timely Succour. Sir (reply'd Sr. *Thomas*) I ſhould "be very glad to do them and You this piece of ſervice, eſpecially ſince thereby I ſerve my "King and Country according to my Duty. And Sir, for your ſake I will go hence a-"long with You: But let us firſt go and ſpeak with my Lord, the *Captal* of *Buſche*, "who is not far hence, and let us endeavour to perſwade him to joyn Us with his For-ces, that ſo We may be the better able to raiſe the Siege, and upon occaſion to give the *Frenchmen* Battle. With that he committed the Cuſtody of *Poictiers* to a Valiant and Loyal Gentleman, at that time Mayor of the City, named Sr. *John Reinolds*, and himſelf rode forth with Sr. *John Devereux*, till they met with the *Captal*, who was riding in the Head of an Army toward St. *John D. Angely*. There they ſhew'd unto him, how the *French* had taken *Monmorillon* hard by *Poictiers*, and *Moncontour* alſo, and now lay with a great Army before St. *Severe*, a Caſtle belonging to Sr. *John Devereux*, wherein were Sr. *William Percy*, *Richard Gill*, and *Richard Horne*, all Captains too Good to be loſt. To theſe Words the *Captal* after ſome ſtudy, "*And, Gen-"tlemen, what would You have Me to do?* The Chief Knights about him anſwer'd, "*Sir*,

"*Sir, We have often heard You ſay, that You deſire nothing more than to come to a Bat-* AN. DOM.
"*tle with theſe* Frenchmen: *And Sir, You can never find them more eaſily than now.* 1372.
"*Wherefore We are of the Mind, that You ſhould draw that way, having firſt ſent out* An. Regni
"*your Summons into* Poictou *and the Marches of* Anjou; *for then We ſhall be Men e-* *Angliæ*
"*nough to fight them, conſidering the Good-will We have to the Matter. By my Faith* XLVI.
"(reply'd the *Captal*) *I am content: And ſhortly by the Grace of God We ſhall give* *Franciæ*
"*them Battle.* Then immediately he ſent forth his Letters to the Barons of *Poictou* XXXIII.
and *Sainctogne*, deſiring, and ſtrictly Commanding them to come unto him to a certain Place, by a time limited. His Letters were readily obey'd, and ſoon after there came to him, the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, the Lord *Hugh de Vinon*, and Sr. *Thomas* his Brother, the Lord *Percival* of *Cologne*, Sr. *Emery* of *Rochechoüart*, Sr. *James* of *Surgeres*, Sr. *Geoffry Argentine*, the Lord of *Puiſſances*, the Lord of *Rouſſillon*, the Lord of *Campenac*, Sr. *John Dangle*, [g] Son to the Lord *Guiſchard Dangle*, and Sr. *William* of *Montendre*, who being joyn'd with the *Captal*, amounted in all to 900 Spears, and 500 Archers on Horſeback, beſides Footmen.

[g] *Mill's Catal. Hon. p. 919.*

XIII. But by this time [h] News were brought into the *French* Camp, that lay before St. *Severe*, to Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, and the other Lords there, how the *Engliſh* and *Poictevins* were marching thitherward, with intent to raiſe the Siege. When the Conſtable heard this, he reſolv'd to make quick Diſpatch there, that ſo, if poſſible, he might reduce the Place, before their Succour ſhould come: And ſo preſently he commanded all Men to Arms, and to begin an Aſſault worthy of their Name and Nation. There was not a Man there, that would, or durſt, diſobey him: So the *French* and *Bretons* with mutual Emulation went before the Fortreſs in good Order, well-armed and defended with ſhields, and then there began a moſt terrible Aſſault indeed, every Lord being preſent under his own Banner, giving Orders, and Encouraging his Men. Surely it was a great Beauty to behold this Brisk Contention on both ſides, the *Engliſh* Lions nodding ſeverely from the Tops of the Towers, and the *French* Banners waving orderly in the Field to the Number of Fourty Nine, beſides Penons and Streamers. The Conſtable himſelf was there with the Lord *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, encouraging their Men to the Aſſault; whereupon many Knights and Eſquires of ſeveral Nations adventur'd themſelves more boldly to encreaſe their Honour, and did Wonders in Arms: For ſome waded quite thrô the Ditches, which were full of Water, and ſo came to the Walls, not offering once to Retire for all the Arrows, Darts, and Stones, that came againſt them. And on the Dike ſtood the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Alenſon*, the *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, and the other Great Lords, beholding and encouraging their Men; ſo that they valued not the Face of Death himſelf, when they found themſelves under the Eye of their Lords and Maſters. Sr. *William Percy* was not all this while ſlack in his own Defence; but was perſonally preſent in all the heat of the Action, ordering, and commanding, and encouraging his Men with his Sword waving about his Head. The *Engliſh* poured down upon their Enemies, Arrows, and Pots of quick Lime, and Stones, and Barrs of Iron plenty: So that the ſervice was exceeding hot on both ſides. However at laſt Sr. *William* and the two Eſquires of Honour, Captains of the Fortreſs, perceiving, how fiercely they were attacked, and that the *French* grew more reſolved and Deſperate againſt them every day, ſo that it was not poſſible for them to hold out long, eſpecially ſince they knew nothing of the Succour, that was now coming to them, nor of any Friend, that was near them within Ten Leagues; on theſe Conſiderations they made ſigns for a Parley, intending to treat with the Conſtable, while yet they might do it on tolerable Terms. Now Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* had received notice before this, that he ſhould hear of the *Engliſh* Succours that very Night: Whereupon he more readily enclin'd to this Treaty, and agreed to receive them to Mercy, and ſo took the Caſtle, and let the Garriſon go with their Lives and Armour only. This done, he forthwith drew out all his Army into the open Field, and ſet them in Battle Array, ready to fight, if need ſhould be, ſaying to his Men, "*Meſſi-*
"*eures, Conſider well your buſineſs: For our Enemies are coming towards Us apace;*
"*and I think yet before Night We ſhall have Battle. Stand therefore all to your Guard*
"*and be ready to play the Men for the Honour of* France. Thus was Sr. *Bertram* diſpos'd: But the *Engliſh* made no great Haſte to the Battle, when they knew, that St. *Severe* was loſt beyond Recovery: Beſides other Matters came upon them, which filled both their Hands and Heads with buſineſs enough.

[h] *Froiſ. c. 304.*

For it is to be underſtood, that the *Frenchmen* in *Poictiers* had all along many unſteady Minds among them, who only ſought an opportunity to revolt from the *Engliſh*:

So

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So that now in the abſence of Sr. *Thomas Percy* their Seneſchal, there aroſe an high Diſſention in the City: For three Parts of the Town were for letting in the *French*, but Sr. *John Reinolds* the Mayor, and Part of the Communalty reſolved to remain true to the *Engliſh*. Yet the Chief of the Richeſt Burgeſſes and of the Clergy, whereof there was a great Number, would by all means have the Conſtable ſent for to come and take Poſſeſſion of the City; for they promiſed to open the Gates unto him: Of which News the Conſtable was glad, and communicated the matter to the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*. Then it was agreed, that the Conſtable ſhould go from the Army with 300 Spears, the beſt mounted in all the Hoſt; and ſo he went and rode the remainder of that Day and the Night following, taking little reſt, more than 30 Leagues, by another way than that which he knew the *Engliſh* kept. The next Morning he came to *Poictiers*, where he found the Gates open, and his Friends ready to receive him: Yet if he had tarried but an Hour longer or ſo, he had come too late. For Sr. *John Reinolds* the Mayor of *Poictiers*, and thoſe of his Party ſent in all haſte to the Captal and Sr. *Thomas Percy*, who ſent them immediatly an 100 Spears, and as many Archers on Horſeback, and theſe were then come within a league of the City when Sr. *Bertram* enter'd.

XIV. Upon News of the Loſs of this Conſiderable Garriſon of *Poictiers*, all the Lords, Knights and Eſquires of *Gaſcogne*, *Poictou* and *England* were mightily caſt down; eſpecially thoſe who were then aſſembled together in *Poictou*, to the number of 800 Spears, and 400 Archers on Horſeback: For two Hundred of their former Number were now gone to ſave the Place, thô as we ſhew'd, they came too late. Then they called a Council of War to adviſe, how to proceed among ſo many Dangers and Uncertainties: For they ſaw well they were in the midſt of their Enemies, and yet knew not whom to truſt to as their Friends. But the Loyal Barons and Knights of *Poictou*, when they ſaw the *Engliſh* Captains ſo ſuſpitious and jealous, as they might well be in thoſe Circumſtances, to raiſe up their Minds, and aſſure them the more, ſaid, "*Certainly Gentlemen, our Friends and Companions in Arms, We are very ſorry to ſee how ill Matters go in theſe Parts, and that it is not in our power to help it. But ſurely Gentlemen, You may be Confident of this, that while We can hold our Swords in our Hands, and there is but one Caſtle or Fortreſs left in* Poictou *for us to retire to, we ſhall never deſert you, but remain True and Faithfull to our Natural Lord the King of* England *and to You.* The *Engliſh* Captains that were there reply'd, "*Gentlemen, next unto God Almighty, our chief Confidence is in You: And thô it be to die in the Quarrel, You ſhall find us True Companions.* Thus there was a long Debate held in the Field, but at laſt it was concluded that the *Poictevins* ſhould march ſeparately one way, and the *Engliſhmen* another. And ſo the former, *viz.* the Lord of *Partenay*, the Lord of *Thoüars*, the Lord of *Rouſſillon*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, Sr. *Emery* of *Rochechoüart*, Sr. *John Dangle*, Sr. *Percival* of *Cologne* Captain of *Thoüars*, Sr. *Reginald de Thoüars*, Sr. *William de Campenac*, Sr. *James* of *Surgeres*, Sr. *Hugh Monberon*; all theſe with their Retinues went to the ſtrong City of *Thoüars*. But the *Engliſh* Lords and Captains, as the Lord *Thomas Percy*, Sr. *Richard* of *Ponchardon*, Sr. *Thomas Fowkes*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *Geoffry Argentine*, Sr. *Walter Hewett*, Sr. *John Vbrues*, Sr. *Dangouſes*, *John Creſwell*, *David Holcroft* and others, took the way to *Niort*, where they thought to have found a ready Entrance. But when they came thither, they found the Gates ſhut againſt them, and the Bridge drawn up, and upon Demand, the Townſmen anſwerd, *That they muſt not expect any Admittance there.* This Affront the *Engliſh* could not endure, but upon Advice reſolved to aſſault the Place, and to make the Inhabitants an Example to all others.

Now thô the Men of *Niort* had Inconſtancy enough to imitate the Defection of others, yet they had not ſo much Wit as to conſider, that they were not able to defend themſelves againſt this Power of the *Engliſh*: For as yet they had no ſufficient Captain among them to direct them in caſe of Neceſſity, nor any that underſtood perfectly the Art of War. Wherefore after a ſhort Defence, wherein they ſhew'd more Animoſity than Skill, the Place was carried by Force, the Inhabitants for the moſt part put to the Sword, and the Town ſpoil'd and rob'd by the *Engliſh*. Though if they could but have held out till Night, in all likelihood they had eſcaped: For the Conſtable of *France* had ſent thither Sr. *Tibauld du Pont*, with 200 Choſen Men to reinforce them; but this Succour (as well as that which the *Engliſh* ſent to ſave *Poictiers*) came too late. And ſo at *Niort* the *Engliſh* made a ſtrong Garriſon, intending to lie ſtill till they heard more News.

[1] *Froiſ.* c. 304. XV. While the *Engliſh* [1] thus lay at *Niort*, and durſt not divide themſelves for doubt of

of their Inconſtant Friends, and for fear of their prevailing Enemies; *Owen* the Titular Prince of *Wales*, had ſucceeded ſo well with *Don Henry* King of *Spain*, that he came now before *Rochell* with a ſtrong Fleet of Fourty tall Ships, Thirteen Barges, and Eight Galeons full of good Souldiers, under the Command of *Don Rodrigo di Roſes* Admiral of *Spain*, and therewith ſo block'd up the Haven, that none could paſs out or in without much Danger. The *Rochellers* ſeeing themſelves in no good Condition, and indeed being more willing to open to an Enemy, that fought for their Friends, than to continue under their *Engliſh* Friends, to whom in their Hearts they were Enemies, fell into ſecret Communication with *Owen* of *Wales* and the Admiral of *Spain*: With whom (having diſcover'd, that they only wanted the Caſtle to ſhew themſelves true *Frenchmen*) they agreed for a mutual Forbearance, the *Spaniards* to do no injury to the *Rochellers*, nor they to the *Spaniards*. But however the Navy lay ſtill thereabout at Anchor, and had their Spies abroad all over the Country of *Poictou* and *Saintogne*, to enquire and know what was done or reſolv'd in every Place. But as yet the *Engliſh* held the Caſtle of *Rochelle*, which commanded the Town, the Captain thereof for the Lord *John Devereux*, being *Philip Manſel* a Valiant and Loyal Eſquire of *England*, but a Man of no great Reach, as we ſhall obſerve by and by.

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The mean while the Conſtable of *France*, being at *Poictiers*, which he had newly taken, ſent forth the Lord of *Pons*, and *Tibauld du Pont* with 300 Spears to the Caſtle of *Soubize*, a ſtrong Fortreſs in *Saintogne*, about five leagues from *Rochell Southward* toward *Broüages*, ſtanding on the Sea-ſide by the Mouth of *Charente*, where that River falls into the Sea. Within the Caſtle at that time was the Lady thereof with a ſmall Garriſon; wherefore upon the firſt apprehenſions of Danger, ſhe ſent an Eſquire to the Lord *John Greilly*, Captal of *Buſche* and Conſtable of *Aquitain*, who was then at St. *John D' Angely*, requeſting his timely Aid and Succour. The Captal immediatly upon this Meſſage ſent for Sr. *Henry Haye* Seneſchal of *Angouleſme*, Sr. *William* of *Marvejols*, Nephew to *Raimund* Lord of *Marvejols*, to the Lord *Thomas Percy*, and to Sr. *John Creſſwell* to come unto him, and they all came accordingly. Now of this Rendezvous, and of the Siege of *Soubize* *Owen* of *Wales* had ſecret Intelligence, as he lay with the *Spaniſh* Fleet before *Rochell*: Whereupon preſently he took 400 of the moſt ſelect Men of Arms, the ſureſt and beſt Arm'd of all his Company, and diſpoſing them into [k] thirteen Barges, he left the Admiral and the reſt of the Fleet before *Rochelle*, and ſo together with the Lord *James* of *Monjoy* and *Morilett* his Brother, row'd away ſecretly toward *Soubize*, and came on the other ſide right over againſt the Lord of *Pons*, as he held his Siege, who yet knew not that he had a friendly Ambuſh ſo near him, no more than the Captal of *Buſche*, who was now muſtering his Men at St. *John D' Angely*; for if he had had the leaſt Hint of any ſuch Matter, he would have taken with him more Men than he did. Whereas now he ſent back a great part of thoſe whom he had ſummon'd, and left another part of them in St. *John D' Angely*, and ſo rode toward *Soubize* with only 200 Spears and no more. Toward Night being come near to the *French* Leaguer and the Caſtle, he order'd his Men to alight a while beſide a little Wood to reſt themſelves and their Horſes; and that done he commanded them to horſe again, and cauſed his Banners and Penons to be diſplay'd, and ſo riding forth they ſuddenly daſh'd in amongſt the *Frenchmen*, crying their Cries, and beating down all before them. There was a great ſlaughter and Confuſion, and many a *Frenchman* grievouſly wounded; for they were taken at unawares. So there the Lord of *Pons* and Sr. *Tibauld du Pont*, with ſixty of the beſt of their Company were made Priſoners, and all the reſt either ſlain or put to Flight. But while ſome of the *Captals* Men follow'd the Chace, and others were buſied about the Spoil, or had unarm'd themſelves, as after a compleat Victory, there came an unexpected Miſchief upon them: For at that inſtant *Owen* of *Wales*, having paſſed the *Charente* with the Barges, came on with his 400 choſen Spears, there being a great number of Flambeaus, Torches, Firebrands and other Lights with him; for the Night was exceeding dark. Theſe freſh and luſty Men came ſuddenly upon the *Captal* and his Men, *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogners*, who thought they had finiſhed their Exploit, and were now ſcatter'd abroad, and buſied in the Chace or Spoil, or looking to their Priſoners: So that of meer neceſſity they were preſently beaten down, diſcomfited, ſlain and taken. Then there pricked forth an hardy Eſquire of *Vermandois* named *Peter Daniel*, and he among others adventur'd ſo near to the *Captal*, that at laſt he took him Priſoner by true Feat of Arms: And this *Captal* was the only Knight either of *Gaſcogne* or *England*, that the *French* King deſired to have in his Power, if not at his Service: For he was one of the moſt Conſiderable Barons of his Age for Perſonal Valour and Good Conduct. With him there were taken the Lord *Thomas Percy*, who

[k] *Ita Gallicè*; Three *verò Angl. edit.*

was

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was Prisoner to a *Welch* Priest named *David*, Sr. *Henry Haye*, and Sr. *Moubron* of *Lini-eres* with others. Sr. *Walter Hewett* escaped with much difficulty; but Sr. *Petiton* of *Coutras*, Sr. *William Ferenton* and *Carmil* fled directly to the Town of *Soubize*, where by good Chance the Lady of the Place being present, she caused the Barriers to be open'd for them, so that they had timely Admittance with others, who fled along with them. But the next Day *Owen* of *Wales* brought thither all his Barges, and began a fierce Assault both by Land and Water, the Lord of *Pons* and Sr. *Tibauld du Pont*, whom he had rescued from the *Captal*, joyning with him. Yet for that Day the Besieged behaved themselves resolutely enough, and without any great Loss; but at Night both they and the Lady consider'd, that the Town was not strong enough to hold out any long space, and that all their Hopes of speedy Succour were quite cut off now, that the *Captal* and the Lord *Percy* were taken. Whereupon the Lady by advice of her Council, and with the Consent of all the Knights and Captains within, fell to a Treaty with *Owen* and the *French* Lords; The Effect whereof was, "That all the Men of War "within the Place might freely, and without any Dammage or Impeachment, go to *Ni-*"*ort*, *Sainctes*, *Lusignan*, or whither else they should please, and that the Lady of *Sou-*"*bize* should submit Her self and her Lands to the Obedience of the *French* King. All which was put in execution, the *English* and *Gascogners* were safely conveyed to what Places they desired, and the *French* took Possession of the Town, the Lady doing Homage, and swearing Fealty unto *Owen* in the Name of King *Charles* of *France*.

XVI. After this Succes of *Soubize*, *Owen* of *Wales*, Sr. *James Monjoy* and their Company went to their Barges again, and so return'd with the *Captal* and other their Prisoners to the Fleet before *Rochell*. But the Lord of *Pons*, Sr. *Tibauld du Pont*, and the other *Bretons* and *French* with them, made all the haste imaginable to ride forth with a fresh Company; such as the Constable of *France* had newly sent to joyn them, as the Vicount of *Rohan*, the Lords *Clisson*, *Tournemine*, *Beaumanoir*, and *Rochefort*, Sr. *William* of *Bourdes*, Sr. *Oliver Manny*, Sr. *Reinald* of *Limosin*, *Geoffry Ricon*, *John de Lansonet*, *Alan de St. Pol*, *Carswell* and other Captains, all who with their several Retinues went before St. *John D' Angely*, which they prepared to assault. But the Inhabitants seeing how fast the whole Country fell away, and despairing of any timely Succour, now their Chief Governour the *Captal* was taken Prisoner, yielded themselves, and voluntarily engag'd for the *French* Interest.

After this they presented themselves before *Angoulesme*, which submitted in the same manner, and this Example was followed by *Taillebourg* a Town of *Sainctogne*, from whence they went and lay before *Sanctes*, the Chief City of that Province, where they were two Days without any Succes: Because their Captain Sr. *William Ferenton* resolved, as he said, not so lightly to yield up so considerable a Place; but rather to stand stoutly to his Defence. But there was within the Bishop of that See, who was a perfect *Frenchman*, and made such Harangues to the Citizens, that they siezed the Captain, and threatned to kill him, unless he would agree to deliver the Town. So thrô fear he was obliged to consent, but on this Condition, that He and his Men might go away freely without any Harm or Impeachment. And thus was *Sainctes* also given to the *French*, and Sr. *William Ferenton* with his Men had safe Conduct to go to *Bourdeaux*.

XVII. Now the *Spanish* Fleet of which we spake, lay still at Anchor before the City of *Rochell* with *Owen* of *Wales*, and many *Bretons* and *French* among them. And all the while the *Rochellers* held under-hand Treaty with them; for they durst not openly declare their Minds, while the Castle remain'd in *English* Hands. Wherefore also they had hither to dissembled, till by little and little the main Strength of the *English* Garrison had left them, while they went to prevent the Loss of other Places. As particularly the Lord *John Devereux* had lately gone to reinforce the City of *Poictiers* with fifty Spears, having left the Castle of *Rochell* in the Custody of *Philip Mansel* an *English* Esquire, who had with him in Garrison about an hundred Men of Arms more.

Now at this time there was a Burgess, Mayor of the City, a subtle Man and a secret Enemy to the *English*, named *John Chaudron*, who having one day in a close Caball assembled the Chief of his Faction, said unto them, "*My Friends*, *We see dayly*, "*how our Neighbours turn to the* French *side*, *and because We delay to do the same*, *I* "*fear*, *We shall be shortly so strictly beleaguer'd*, *as well by Land*, *as now by Water*, *that* "*We shall not tell which way to stir*, *nor dare to put our Heads out of the Town. Where-*"*fore in my Opinion 'twould be good to take heed betimes*, *and to consider*, *how We may* "*Reduce this Castle into our Power*; *which hath been so great a Curb unto Us hereto-*

"*fore.*

"*fore. Surely at this time it is but meanly provided with Men; and honeſt* Philip Man- AN. DOM.
"ſel *the Captain has no great Wit to boaſt of. I intend therefore to tell him, how I* 1372.
"*have received a Command from the King of* England, *to cauſe all the Inhabitants of* An. Regni
"*the City, that bear Arms, to appear in the Field, and be exerciſed at the time and place,* *Angliæ*
"*as I ſhall tell him: That I may take their Muſters, and view their Number, and the* XLVI.
"*Goodneſs of their Horſes and Armour; as alſo of thoſe within the Caſtle, and ſo ſend* *Franciæ*
"*word thereof unto the King. And hereupon I ſhall Command him in the King's Name* XXXIII.
"*to come forth of the Caſtle, and to make his Muſters together with Us; which I be-*
"*lieve, he will not ſcruple to do, as I ſhall handle him. And if ſo, We will be provided*
"*of an Ambuſh of* 200 *Men of Arms, lying among the Old Walls without the Caſtle;*
"*which Ambuſh ſtepping in between him and the Bridge ſhall cut off his Return. The*
"*mean while others ſhall be ready to compleat the Deſign, and ſo We ſhall take them at*
"*our pleaſure, and be Maſters both of them, and alſo of the Caſtle.* This project was agreed on, and kept ſecret, till one day the Mayor, who was Author of the Invention, invited *Philip Manſell* to come and dine with him, and ſeveral Burgeſſes alſo, moſt whereof were then of the *Engliſh* part, but they knew nothing of the Plot.

There was a great and Splendid Dinner indeed, and many things relating to the King of *England's* Affairs were at that time diſcuſſed, and the Mayor acted his part very well. But after Dinner he produced a Letter with King *Edward's* Broad Seal appendant to it, the better to perſwade *Philip Manſell* to believe him; whom he knew to be ignorant of Letters. And *Philip* for his part ſaw, and knew the Seal very well, but he could not read a Word, whatever he pretended by looking on. In ſhort the Mayor took the Letter and read it unto him, as he pleaſed, otherwiſe than it was written, the unlearned Captain looking over him all the while, as if he read along with him, thereby to conceal his Ignorance, which yet the Cunning Mayor knew well enough. Then he ſaid to Eſquire *Manſell*, "Captain, by the Tenor of this writing You ſee and hear, how our "Sovereign Lord the King hath Commanded Me, and alſo You by Me, to make our "joynt Muſters. Wherefore in the King's Name I now require You to come forth to "morrow Morning, and take a View of your Men; as I likewiſe according to my Duty "ſhall do. The Captain, who ſuſpected no harm in the leaſt, ſaid, he would be ready to do his Duty, and ſo took his leave, and return'd to the Caſtle.

That ſame Night before Day the Mayor took 200 Men of Arms, and laid them in an Ambuſh near the Caſtle among the Ruines of old Walls, that were without, and at ſuch an Hour he cauſed the Watch-Bell to be ſounded, and all the Inhabitants to be Armed. On the other hand *Philip Manſell*, having Armed Eighty Choſen Men, marched forth of the Caſtle in good Order at the Head of them, toward the Field, where the Rendezvous was to be. But when he was once paſs'd the old Walls, the Ambuſh ruſh'd forth, and placed themſelves between him and the Bridge; and then he ſaw, he was betray'd. However he fac'd about Couragiouſly upon them, hoping by force to recover an entrance into the Caſtle again. But then came the Mayor upon his Reer with the Commons of the City to the Number of 2000 Fighting Men: So that the *Engliſh*, being thus unequally match'd and aſſailed from before and behind, were compelled to yield only for ſafeguard of their Lives: They could obtain nothing further. But for all that the Caſtle was not yet won: For Eſquire *Manſell* had left behind 20 Valiant Men ſtill in the Place; beſides their ſervants, Valets, and Officers of the Caſtle, who ſeeing their Captain thus intercepted, had by this time drawn up the Bridge again, and ſhut the Gates. Whereupon the Mayor being exceedingly enflam'd with anger, that ſo well form'd a Plot ſhould thus be ſpoil'd, came to *Philip* the Captain and the reſt, whom he had taken. "*Hark Ye, Gentlemen, and mind well* "*what I ſay unto You; be aſſured of this, that unleſs You cauſe your fellows yonder with-*
"*in the Caſtle to yield up the Place immediately, all your Heads ſhall be ſtricken off here*
"*at the Bridge Foot: I'll not ſpare a Man of You.* The *Engliſh* being thus ſtreightned, promiſed to do their beſt, and went near, and ſpake to their Fellows in the Caſtle; and ſo by this means however they gain'd better Conditions; thoſe within capitulating, That both they and all their Fellows without ſhould be put into a good Ship with all their Goods and Moneys, and ſafely convey'd by the Mayor and Burgeſſes of *Rochelle* to the Port of *Bourdeaux*. Thus the Impregnable Caſtle of *Rochelle* was in the Hands of the City, and the *Engliſh* were ſent away, as they deſired.

When the Dukes of *Berry*, *Bourbon*, and *Burgundy*, the Marſhal of *Sancerre*, the Vicount of *Rohan*, the Lords of *Pons*, *Sully*, *Cliſſon*, and *Beaumanoir*, with the other Barons of *France*, heard this agreeable News; they went from *Berry* and the Marches of *Limoſin*, deſigning for *Poictiers*, where at that time the Conſtable of *France* was.

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In their way thitherward they took St. *Maixent*, a Town in *Poictou*, which yielded upon their first approach; but the Castle, that scorn'd to follow so poor an Example, was not taken without Assault: Wherefore every Man within was slain. And before this they had taken the Castle of *Aunay*, as also of *Brion* and *Mesle*, and several other Fortresses, which they found in their way. Being thus come to *Poictiers*, they sent Messengers to treat with the Burgesses of *Rochelle*. But these Men refus'd to open their Gates, or to admit any of the *French* Lords, their Friends: For they said, they would no more commit their Liberty to the Keeping of any other without good Caution. But said they, "*If it will please the Duke of* Berry, *and the other Lords with him to* "*grant Us their safe-Conduct for six days, to come to* Poictiers, *and to go at our plea-* "*sure, then We will wholly unbosome our selves as to that Matter.* In short a safe-Conduct was granted, and several of the Prime Burgesses of *Rochelle* went to *Poictiers*, where they told the *French* Lords, that they were all well content to submit to the Government of King *Charles*, on Condition that they might have leave to demolish their Castle, and be secured never to have another built among them. And this being once granted, the City and Country of *Rochelle* and *Rochellois* should be for ever thenceforth under the Resort and Demaine of the *French* King, never after to be alienated by any Marriage, Alliance, or Article of Peace, that may happen to the Realm of *France*, or by any other Condition whatsoever. Besides all which they required to have a Mint set up among them to Coyne Florens, and Money both [1] Black and White, of the same Form and Alloy with that in *Paris*. To these strange Conditions thus unusually proposed by subjects, the Lords of *France* durst not agree, but referr'd them to the King, their Master, and gave them their safe-Conduct to go to the King about that Matter. So Twelve *Rochellers* went to *Paris* to the King, who seeing it no time now to kindle Domestick Heats; but that it was necessary even by the loss of a Part, if need were, to preserve the whole, and being by all means desirous to Unite and Incorporate together the many Divided Cantons and scatter'd Limbs of his Kingdom, not only readily granted their Desire, but also feasted them greatly, and gave unto them many Rich and Princely Gifts, besides his Charter of Pardon, for presuming to Capitulate with their Prince. Thus the *Rochellers* return'd with their Charters of Liberty and Amnesty for all past, which had been confirmed in the Chamber of the Peers of *France*, and sealed by the King himself. Hereupon immediately they began to Demolish their Castle, which had been one of the strongest in the World, and rased it down to the Ground, and when once they had secur'd themselves of that Fear, they sent to *Poictiers* to the Lords of *France*, desiring them now to come to *Rochelle*; for they were ready to open their Gates, and to receive them. Then the Constable went thither with 200 Men of Arms in his Company; and the *Rochellers* received him with great joy and Triumph, and there did unto him Fealty and Homage, as unto the *French* King; from whom He had a Procuration for that purpose. For King *Charles* had established him in those Parts, as his Lieutenant, representing his own Person on such Occasions.

[1] *Black i.e.* Copper-unsilver'd. [m] *White, i.e.* Copper silver'd-over.

[n] *Froiss. c.* 305. *fol.* 185. *sed* Gallicè *fol.* 252. *b.*

XVIII. When [n] Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Constable of *France*, had been Four Days at *Rochelle*, setting things in Order, and appointing the Burgesses how to behave themselves for the future, he return'd to *Poictiers* to the other Dukes and Lords of *France*; with whom being joyn'd, he began with 3000 Spears in his Company to March from *Poictiers*: For he design'd to recover those Castles and Fortresses in *Rochellois*, and about the Marches, which were still in *English* hands. And first they came before St. *Benoist*, a Fair Castle and a strong; which notwithstanding they vow'd to reduce, before their Departure. Within the Place were two Valiant Captains, set there by the *Captal* of *Busche*, the One a Knight of *Naples*, called Sr. *James*, [o] without any Sirname, and the Other an Esquire of the County of *Foix*, named *William du Pons*. The *French* made here many fierce Assaults, but were received as fiercely by the Besieged; so that it was likely the Siege would prove of some Continuance. Now there was a Fortress in those Parts, called *Surgeres*, wherein was an *English* Garrison, set there also by the *Captal*, for whom they kept it. These Men said one Evening, how they would go and awake the *French* Army before St. *Benoist*; and accordingly at a time appointed there rode forth Fourty Spears well Mounted, who in their way joyning with a Party belonging to *Marans*, a Neighbour-Friendly-Garrison, came suddenly to the *French* Camp, and dash'd into the very Quarters of the Constable, where they hurt divers of his Men, and slew an Esquire of his Body, and took certain Prisoners, with some other Mischief in other Parts of that Quarter; but the Constable himself they found not, he was then in the Duke of *Berry's* Tent at Council. At the Report of this brisk Camisade the whole Army began to stir; for the Alarm was great and general: But the *English*,

[o] *Sans Surnom.*

Engliſh, who had already done, what could be expected, without any Loſs to themſelves, return'd again timely enough, and came to their own ſeveral Fortreſſes, leaving the Conſtable ſo vext at this Affront, that he ſware never to ſtir from before St. *Benoiſt*, till he had both it and all within at his Mercy; not one of whom he was reſolv'd to ſpare. So the next Morning he commanded all to their Arms, and to prepare all manner of Machines and Engines for a general Aſſault, and then he attacqued the Beſieged with ſuch Fury, that the like had ſeldom been ſeen. For the Men of Arms themſelves, eſpecially the *Bretons*, waded thrô the Ditches, without favouring themſelves, and ſo came to the foot of the Walls, with ſhields over their heads, and dug at the Walls with Pick-axes and Mattocks, that it was wonderfull to behold their Eagerneſs. Till at laſt, thô not without much loſs, as may well be gueſſed, they got down a great Pane of the Wall, whereat they eaſily made their Entrance, and put all within to the Sword without Exception.

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Then the Conſtable having repaired the Breach, and what elſe was amiſs, and ſet therein a ſtrong Garriſon of *Frenchmen*, reſolved to attack the Caſtle of *Marans*; but the *Engliſh* there deſpairing to maintain a place ſo much leſs defenſible than St. *Benoiſt*, capitulated with him, and yielded on Condition to ſave their Lives and Goods, which was accepted. From thence he went to *Surgeres*, reſolving to make that Garriſon pay dearly for their late Attempt upon him a few Nights before; but the *Engliſh* had left the Place void beforehand, not daring to expect his Arrival. Having ſet a good Garriſon here, he went back to *Fontenay* [p] *le Comté*, a Caſtle belonging to the Lady of Sr. *John Harpedon*, an *Engliſh* Knight, who was then a Priſoner in *Spain*: Here he laid Siege both to Town and Caſtle, and made many fierce Aſſaults, till at laſt it was agreed by Compoſition, that the Lady her ſelf and as many as would remain true to King *Edward*, ſhould go to *Thoüars*, their Lives, Honours and Goods ſaved: And accordingly thither they were ſafely convey'd by the Conſtable's Order, the reſt turning to the *French* ſide; and ſo the Conſtable took Poſſeſſion both of Town and Caſtle, and made a new Garriſon there.

[p] *Ità Gallicè, ſed in Angl.* le Comté *omittitur.*

And now the Conſtable reſolved to go and lay his ſiege to *Thoüars* it ſelf, to which Place the greater Part of thoſe Barons that held ſtill for *England* were retired; as the Vicount of *Thoüars*, the Lords of *Partenay*, *Puiſſances* and *Cors*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Harcourt*, Sr. *William* of *Campenac*, Sr. *Geoffry Argentine*, Sr. *James* of *Surgeres*, and Sr. *Percival* of *Cologne*, with many more. Thither they went, and began immediately to inveſt the Place, having brought from *Poictiers* and *Rochelle* ſeveral Engines, which they play'd Night and Day againſt *Thoüars*, to the great Trouble of the *Engliſh* and *Gaſcogne* Lords: Till at laſt, with deſign to put off the Day of Calamity as long as might be, and in hopes of a good Succour by that time, they agreed with the *Frenchmen* for a mutual Reſpit and Truce for themſelves and their Lands, till the Feaſt of St. *Michael* then next enſuing; "They in the mean time to ſend to the King of *England* their "Lord, to certifie him of their Condition; but ſo, as that if they ſhould not be ſuccoured "either by Him, or one of his Sons in Perſon, within the ſaid time, then they to "yield both Themſelves and Lands to the Obedience of the *French* King. This Treaty being agreed to by the Conſtable and other Lords of *France*, they return'd for that time to *Paris*, whither the *Captal* of *Buſche* was brought as Priſoner, and put under ſafe Cuſtody in a Tower of the Temple. The *French* King being extreamly pleaſed at his Taking, rewarded the Eſquire of *Vermandois*, who took him, with 12000 Franks. But becauſe the Captal would by no means renounce the *Engliſh* Intereſt, thô it were to ſave his Life, and to purchaſe his Liberty, the *French* King, who feared his Valour, would never let him be put to Ranſom, nor acquitted by Exchange; thô the *Engliſh* offer'd [q] one Earl and three Knights in Exchange for him: So that he never had his Liberty more, but was confin'd in Priſon till his Death, which happen'd about four Years after. A Prince worthy of a better Fate and of Immortal Memory; for he yielded to none in that Age for Valour, Courteſie, Piety or Conduct; and as for his Nobility, he was nearly allied to the Kings of *Navarre*, *France*, and *England*, and from his Blood is deſcended the [r] Preſent Royal Houſe of *France*, and the Glorious King LEWIS the Fourteenth.

[q] True Uſe of Armory in the Life of the *Captal p.* 152.

[r] True Uſe of Armory in the Life of the Captal of *Buſche* p. 109 *in Titulo. ex Bibl.* Cottoniana.

XIX. The mean while the Meſſengers that were ſent from the *Poictevin* Lords in *Thoüars*, came into *England*, and there ſhew'd unto the King, and Prince and their Council, the low Condition of *Poictou* and *Saintogne*, and the doubtfull Eſtate of the City of *Thoüars*, and all the Lords and Captains therein, together with the Conditions of their late Agreement with the *French*.

When King *Edward* heard and ſaw, how in a manner without any War he loſt all the

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Lands, Cities and Countries, that had coſt him ſo much to win, he ſaid haſtily, [f] "*How* "*he never knew a King leſs addicted to Arms than* Charles, *who yet had given him* "*more trouble than his Anceſtors, that were Warriers.* And thereupon having ſtudied a little, he proceeded ſaying, [f] "*That he would croſs the Seas ſhortly ſo ſtrong, as to be* "*able to give Battle to the whole Power of* France; *and that as for his part, he would ne-* "*ver return into* England, *till he had reconquer'd what he had loſt, or together with the* "*reſt loſt Himſelf in the Endeavour.* So preſently he commanded the Duke of *Lancaſter* (who was juſt then ready according to former Orders to go to *Calais* with a Conſiderable Army) to attend now a while, for he deſign'd, that he ſhould go along with him into the Parts of *Poictou* and *Saintogne* toward *Rochell*; the greater ſtreſs of the matter being judg'd to lie there. The mean while the King made an extraordinary Summons throughout his Realm, commanding all Men of ſuch and ſuch Age and Degree, to come ready Arm'd to *Sandwich* and thereabouts by a Day appointed, there to take the Seas with Him, and his Sons the Prince and the Duke. None of thoſe, who were concerned, either would or durſt diſobey this General Command of the King's; but drew as faſt as they might to the Sea-ſide, where lay ready for them 400 great Ships, beſides other Veſſels.

[f] *Du Cheſne p.* 709.
[f] *Froiſ. c.* 305. *& Gallicè fol.* 253.

While theſe Preparations were making, the King call'd his High Court of Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, that ſo the Affairs of the Nation might be ſettled before his Departure out of the Realm: Eſpecially the King reſolv'd to let them know his Mind as to the Succeſſion; for before the Meeting of this Parliament the King and the Prince of *Wales* had upon Conſultation agreed, that if either the One or the Other ſhould miſcarry in this Expedition, then *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, the Prince's only Son living, ſhould ſucceed, according to Right, unto the Crown of *England*. For the *Black-Prince*, [u] whoſe Wiſdom fell no way ſhort of his Courage, knowing how apt they are, who ſtand neareſt unto a Throne to ſtep firſt into it, was ſo careſull to prevent any Diſorder of that kind, which might be feared from the Ambition of his Brethren (the Eldeſt of whom had already the Title of a King) that he obliged his Father at this time to declare his Son *Richard* the next Heir to the Crown, after the Deceaſe of the King, and of his ſon *Edward* Prince of *Wales*. And now the Prince himſelf [x] ſhew'd in Full Parliament, that if he ſhould happen to die before the King his Father, then his Son *Richard*, as being next Heir, was to ſucceed to the Crown of *England* after the Deceaſe of the King his Grandfather. And here, beſides the Equity of Law and Nature, and the Unalterable Rule of Succeſſion, never but by Treaſon, Uſurpation and Violence tranſgreſſed in the Kingdom of *England*, the Prelates, Lords, Knights, and all the Commons of the Realm, had ſuch a Veneration for the Prince of *Wales*, becauſe of his many Heroick Vertues, that with one Conſent they all agreed to ſo Reaſonable a Motion, and took it upon themſelves and their Poſterity, that they would always be true to the Right Line, eſpecially to the Lord *Richard*; and this they deſired to be enacted not without apparent Demonſtrations of extraordinary joy. And firſt the King himſelf, then all his Sons, and after that all the Lords of *England* Spiritual and Temporal, ſware to uphold and maintain the Right of the Young Prince *Richard*, in caſe of the Prince his Fathers Deceaſe: And to this Ordinance the Prince of *Wales* cauſed them all to put their Hands and Seals before they went away: The Commons only expreſs'd their Concurrence by Holding up their Hands and Conſenting all together. Nor is this to be look'd upon as a Caſe not before clear enough, or that it was poſſible for the Prince to doubt the Right of his Son; but that it became the Wiſdom and Tenderneſs of a Father by all lawfull Arts imaginable to corroborate the Title of a Preſumptive Orphan, againſt the open or ſecret Attacks of Ambition or Treaſon. Accordingly to ſet an early Mark of Sovereignty upon the Young Prince *Richard*, the King his Grandfather, by Commiſſion [y] bearing Date at *Sandwich* the 30 Day of *Auguſt*, in the 46 Year of his Reign, conſtituted him his *Cuſtos Regni*, or Lieutenant during his Abſence beyond the Sea. And having given Directions, that Publick Prayers ſhould be made in all Churches for his Good Succeſs in this Voyage; that ſame Day, being a [z] *Monday*, about Nine of the Clock he went on Board at *Sandwich*, in a Ship called the *Grace de Dieu*, with as Great a Fleet as ever any King before had carried forth of *England*. There was with the King at this time the Prince of *Wales*, who had as then recover'd to a tolerable degree of Strength, alſo the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Earl of *Cambridge* his Brethren, the Earls of *Saliſbury*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Suffolk* and *Stafford*, with the Lord *Edward Spencer*, then newly return'd out of *Lombardy*, whither he went with Prince *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence* four Years before. There was alſo in this Expedition the Lord *Henry Percy*, afterwards Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *John De la Ware*, Sr. *William Nevile*, younger

[u] *Churchill's Divi Britannici p.* 245.
[x] *Froiſ. c.* 305. *&c.*
[y] *Pat. An.* 46. *Ed.* 3. *pars* 2. *m.* 25. *Vid. Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p.* 191.
[z] *Clauſ.* 46. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 12. *Dorſo.* Lit. Dom. DC. *vid. Aſhmole p.* 667.

younger Brother to the Lord *John Nevile*, Sr. *Ralph Freſcheville* Baron of *Cryche*, Anceſtor to the *Freſchevilles* now Barons of *Stavely*, and ſeveral other Lords, Knights and Eſquires of *England*, to the Number of 3000 Men of Arms, and 10000 Archers on Horſeback, beſides Footmen. This Great Navy ſet Sail for *Rochelle*, coaſting *Normandy* and *Bretagne*, but the Wind was adverſe, and would by no means ſerve them. AN. DOM. 1372. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLVI. *Franciæ* XXXIII.

XX. The mean while the *French* King, who had perfect knowledge of all theſe vaſt Preparations againſt him, had made no ſmall Aſſembly of Men of War from all Parts to reſiſt ſo Conſiderable an Enemy. And as it was ſaid, He himſelf now at laſt intended to have a Pull before *Thoüars* with the King of *England*, all things ſeeming to be laid upon this laſt Stake. On the other hand the Loyal *Gaſcogners* and others, who held in thoſe Parts for King *Edward*, prepared now to joyn him with their utmoſt Forces. And firſt the Lord *Archimbald Greilly*, Uncle to the Captal of *Buſche*, at the inſtance of the Lord *Thomas Felton*, Seneſchal of *Bourdeaux*, came to the General Rendezvous at *Niort* with 300 Spears, among whom were the Lords of *Duras*, of *Courton*, of *Mucidan*, of *Roſan*, of *Languran*, of *Landuras*, and Sr. *Petiton Coutras*, and Sr. *William Ferenton*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman. All theſe went from *Bourdeaux* to *Niort* the place of Rendezvous, where they found Sr. *Thomas Percy*, Sr. *Walter Hewett*, Sr. *John Creſwell* and many more, to the Number of 1200 Spears; and laſtly, Sr. *Richard Ponchardon* came and joyn'd them with 1200 Spears more: So that all *France* was now alarm'd, and ſwarm'd with Souldiers of one part or the other.

XXI. All this while King *Edward* and his Sons with their great Army were on the Sea, not being able by reaſon of Contrary Winds to take Land at *Rochell* or thereabouts, as was deſign'd: And that ſtrange Fortune, which before was always ready to waft that Prince over, but very Difficult to convey him back, was now quite otherwiſe diſpoſed, and became an eminent Hinderer of his Glorious Deſigns: So that for this Succeſs *France* was beholden to the moſt inconſtant of Elements, or rather to the Benign Providence of Him, who governs both the Winds and the Seas. King *Edward* having thus for a Months ſpace ſtruggled to no purpoſe againſt Wind and Fortune, when he ſaw now the Feaſt of St. *Michael* come, and that it was impoſſible for him to keep the Time appointed for the Reſcue of *Thoüars*, was obliged to break up this Expedition, as he did with great Diſpleaſure of Mind, and gave leave to his Men to return home as they pleaſed. But at his Return he had Wind at Will, and immediately after the Wind was favourable for thoſe Parts; ſo that 200 Sail of *Engliſh* Merchants, who traded for Wine, arrived at *Bourdeaux*, whither they were bound the very day after St. *Michael*. King *Edward* for his part, beſides that he was thus ſtrangely hindred from keeping his Day before *Thoüars*, is ſaid to have loſt more than 900000 Marks, or (as one ſays) Pounds, in this Expedition.

XXII. Now about a Week before *Michaelmas*, the Barons of *England* and *Gaſcogne*, that were beyond the Sea, marched from *Niort* toward *Thoüars* in order to joyn the King of *England*; but they were extreamly ſurpriſed, when they ſaw the Day come, and yet heard no News of the King. However to acquit themſelves to their Power, they ſent to the Barons of *Poictou*, that were in *Thoüars*, this Meſſage by certain Knights, "*Right Dear Sirs, we are ſent hither unto you from the Loyal Lords of* Gaſcogne *and of* "England, *who remain under the Obedience of the King of* England, *to let you know,* "*that there are come from* Niort *above twice twelve hundred Men of Arms, ready prepar'd to* "*aid and aſſiſt you in all manner of reſpect: Only Sir, they deſire to know from you, whe-* "*ther in the Abſence of the King of* England *and of his Children, you will accept of* "*their Aſſiſtance or no. As for them they are ready, if ſo it pleaſe you, to adventure* "*their Lives and Fortunes together with you.* The Barons of *Poictou* heartily thanked the Lords of *England* and of *Gaſcogne*, who had made them ſo kind a Proffer; but they deſired time to conſider what in that Caſe was to be done. At firſt they could not agree; for the Lord of *Partenay*, who was a Principal Member among them, would have them accept of the Aſſiſtance of theſe Lords, who as he ſaid, repreſented the King of *England*. But moſt of the other Lords were of a contrary Opinion, ſaying, "How "they had ſealed and ſworn to this Agreement, "that if by ſuch a Day the King of "*England*, or one of his Sons, did not appear there Perſonally in the Field, then they "ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the Obedience of the *French* King. Upon this Reſolution the Lord of *Partenay* went away to his Lodgings in deep Diſpleaſure, but the next Day he was ſo wheedled by thoſe of the adverſe Party, that he alſo became of their Mind. And ſo with one Conſent they returned this Anſwer; "*That they thanked them* "*heartily for their Good-will: Notwithſtanding the King of* England *or one of his Sons* "*muſt needs be there in Perſon, according to the Treaty, whereto they had ſworn and ſea-*

"*led.*

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"*led.* This Answer was no way pleasing to the *English* and *Gascogners* about *Niort*, but they could no ways hope to save them, who were thus disposed not to be saved by them.

XXIII. On the Eve of St. *Michael* there came from *Poictiers* to hold their appointment before *Thoüars*, the Constable of *France*, the Dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, the Lord *Oliver Clisson*, the Vicount of *Rohan*, the *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, the Lord *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, the Lord of *Sully*, and other Great Lords of *France*, to the Number of 10000 Men of Arms; besides others. This vast Army stood ready ranged in Battle Array in the Field before *Thoüars* on the Eve, and all the day long on the Feast of St. *Michael*, and against Night they withdrew to their Tents. But on the Morrow in the Morning the Constable and the Dukes sent to the Knights of *Poictou* within *Thoüars*, demanding of them to deliver up the City according to their Promise and Oaths in that behalf made. To these Summons 'twas answer'd, how they would shortly come to *Poictiers*, and there submit themselves and all their Lands to the Protection of the *French* King. This Answer seeming sufficient to the Lords of *France* they brake up from before *Thoüars*, and the Dukes dismist the greater part of their Army; only retaining such competent Forces, as they had before they expected King *Edward's* Arrival. Among others the Lord *Clisson* was appointed by the Constable to go with 200 Spears, and attempt *Mortaigne* on the *Severe Nantoise*, which as then held for *England*, having within sixty Men of Arms for its Defence under the Command of an *English* Esquire, named *James Clare*. The Lord *Clisson*, being come before the Place, began a fierce Assault, whereat he himself was present; but for all that he wan little or no Advantage: but at Night was fain to retire to his Camp. The Captain within seeing himself thus put to it, sent out secretly to the Lords of *England* and *Gascogne* then at *Niort*, telling them, that if they would send any Troops thither before Morning, he would receive them into his Fortress, whereby they might easily pass thrô the Castle into the Lord *Clisson's* Camp; who had with him but 200 Men of Arms. Upon this Notice certain Lords went that Night from *Niort* with 500 Men of Arms in their Company, and so rode on toward *Mortaigne*, being very desirous to entrap the Lord *Clisson*, if they could. But there was a spy, who knew all their purpose; for he came out of *Niort* with them that Evening; and so rode on upon the spur before, and came to the Lord *Clisson*, whom he found at Supper, and said to him "Sir, "Your Enemies to the Number of 500 Men of Arms have left *Niort*, and are coming "upon you apace. With that the Lord *Clisson* thrust away the Table from him, and arm'd himself with all speed, and mounted his Horse, and rode away hastily with all his Company, leaving the greater part of the Carriages behind, and never stopt, till he came to *Poictiers*: And the *English* having thus failed of their design, return'd to *Niort* in great displeasure. Soon after which, having left Sr. *Dangouses* and Sr. *John Creswell* in garrison there, the other great Lords and Captains, brake up their assembly at *Niort*, Sr. *Walter Hewet* with some few more returning into *England*; and all the rest to *Bourdeaux*: But as they went, they burnt and ravaged in the Lands of the Lord of *Partenay*, who was lately turn'd *French* at *Thoüars*. Thus all the Country of *Poictou* was reduced under the *French*, except a few Fortresses, as *Niort*, *Les Esars*, *Mortimer*, *Mortaigne*, *Lusignan*, *La Motte Achart*, *La Roche Sur Yonne*, *Gauzar*, *La Tour Landry*, *Mexis*, and some others, which made divers Excursions and Inroads among their Neighbours, sometimes chacing, and sometimes being chaced themselves.

[a] *Froiss. c.* 306. *f.* 186. *sed Gallicè f.* 254.

XXIV. Now the [a] Lord *John* of *Monford*, Sirnamed the *Valiant*, who had hitherto full and quiet Possession of the Dukedom of *Bretagne*, his Competitor *Charles* of *Blois* being slain, as We have shewn, was infinitely displeased at these Losses of his Old Friends the *English*. Both Gratitude and Honour made him rather love their Interest; since it was truly said, that the King of *England* had advanced him to what he was; and that he had had nothing, had it not been for Him; who all along had made Powerfull War in his behalf, and had lent him vast Sums of Silver and Gold, and given him his Daughter also in Marriage. Wherefore the Duke himself would rather have held his Lands of King *Edward*, than of the *French* King: But the Major part of the Lords, Knights, and Esquires of that Country were for *France* in their hearts; especially the Lord *Clisson*, the Lord *de la Val*, and the Vicount of *Rohan*, who were the Chief Lords of all that Country; and these doubted not to assure the Duke to his Face, that he must expect no service of them, unless he continued true to *France*, "*Sir* (said they) *as soon* "*as We shall once perceive, that You resolve to take part with the King of* England *a-*"*gainst our Sovereign Lord the* French *King, We will all forsake your service, and*

"*take*

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"*take our leave of* Bretagne. But for all this Declaration of theirs, the Generous Prince could not conceal the Courage of his heart; but told them plainly, they did wrong both to him and to the King of *England*; and that if they ſhould continue to forget their Country and Him, he hoped to bring it again to their Remembrance, and other high Words he ſpake unto them, which they reſolved to take no notice of, till they ſhould find him acting againſt *France*. And the *French* King, who by his Arts had debauched the Faith of all the Lords of *Bretagne*, and other the Duke's Friends, except that of Sr. *Robert Knolles*, who continued firm and unſhaken, had inſtructed them, that as ſoon as ever they ſhould ſee the Duke begin to take Arms, they would ſend him word thereof, and he would provide a Remedy. But the Duke, who ſaw by theſe Words of his Lords, and other evident Circumſtances, how they ſuſpected him, and had a conſtant Eye upon all his Actions, began to doubt, leſt ſome of them ſhould proceed to ſeiſe upon his Perſon, and ſo ſend him to be a Priſoner at *Paris*, as his Father had been before. Wherefore he ſent ſecretly to King *Edward*, repreſenting the Danger he was in from his own Subjects, and deſiring him, that he would ſend him ſome Troops for his Defence upon occaſion. The King, who always lov'd him entirely, ſent him 400 Men of Arms, and as many Archers, under the Command of the Lord *John Nevil*, who arrived at St. *Mahè de Fine poterne*, and lodged there in the Town without doing any Injury or Violence, for they all lived regularly, and paid juſtly for what they had: And the Duke never offer'd to put them into any Fortreſs, but let them Quarter there all that Winter. The Lords of *Bretagne* however took great Indignation at this Action of their Lord's, that in ſpite of them he had brought *Engliſhmen* into their Country; wherefore they fortify'd their Caſtles, and began to ſtand upon their Guard, breathing nothing but War and Defiance againſt the Duke and his Adherents, and in this tickliſh Poſture ſtood the Affairs of *Bretagne* all this Winter.

Before this, [b] namely on the 25 of *June*, *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, had reſign'd into the Hands of the King, his Father, his Earldom of *Richmond* with all the Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, and other Perquiſites thereto belonging: In lieu whereof he had a Grant in general tail, bearing Date the ſame Day, of the Caſtle, Mannor, and Honour of *Cykehill*, and ſeveral other Caſtles, Mannors, Advouſons, Free-chaſes, Bayliwicks, and Privileges mention'd in the Patent, beſides the yearly Farm of 200 Marks, which the Abbot and Covent of St. *Maries* at *York*, ought to pay for the Mannor of *Whitgift*. And this Exchange and Reſignation was made for the ſake of the Duke of *Bretagne*, whoſe [c] Anceſtors had been Earls of *Richmond* from the time of *William* the Conquerour, and *Alan Fergaunt* Earl of *Bretagne*. For as it appears, that the Year [d] foregoing upon a certain Agreement then made between King *Edward* and *John* Duke of *Bretagne*, the King had granted unto the ſaid *John* in general tail divers Lands and Caſtles in *Aquitain*, to be held of the Prince of *Aquitain* by Homage, as alſo the whole Dukedom of *Bretagne*, to be held of the King himſelf, as King of *France*, by Homage, he rendring unto the King divers Lands and Caſtles: So now upon a [e] further Agreement betwixt the King and Him, for the ſpecial Affection, which the King bore unto him (as the Words of the Patent do import) and to the end, that He and the Heirs of his Body ſhould keep thoſe Covenants, which were then newly made betwixt them; the King gave unto him and to his Lady and their Heirs lawfully begotten, the Caſtle, Town, and Honour of *Richmond* in *Yorkſhire* with all the Caſtles, Mannors, and Lands thereto belonging, as alſo the Earldom of *Richmond*, which *John* of *Gaunt* had now reſign'd.

[b] *Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p. 243. Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 115. ex Pat. 46. Ed. 3. m. 35.*

[c] *Vid. Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 46. & Catal. Hon. p. 588.*

[d] *Rot. Franc. 45. Ed. 3. m. 7.*

[e] *Pat. 46. Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 33. Vid. Sr. Will. Dudg. Bar. 1 Vol. p. 52.*

XXV. But the moſt Heroick Prince of *Wales*, thô not yet brought to extremity, perceiving by this time that it was hardly poſſible for him to recover any tolerable Degree of Health again, [f] ſurrendred up into his Fathers Hands his Principality of *Aquitain*, with all his Right and Title thereto; the Surrender bearing Date V *Octobris*, in the Fourty ſixth Year of the King his Fathers Reign, and the Year of our Lord MCCCLXXII. From which time the King govern'd thoſe Countries again by Lieutenants, as he had before he gave it to his Son the Prince.

[f] *Selden's Titl. Hon. p. 493. ex Rot. Vaſc.*

This Year there deceaſed Three Famous *Engliſh* Gentlemen, the One was the good Old Warrier, *Ralph Stafford* Earl of *Stafford*, and Baron of *Tunbridge*, who died on the laſt of *Auguſt*, having arrived to the Age of Threeſcore and Ten: For he was [g] found to be one and twenty in the Seventeenth Year of King *Edward* the Second, or the Year of our Lord 1323. He was an Eminent Commander of approved Valour and Conduct, and now dropt into the Grave full of Age and Glory, being Honourably interred in the Priory of *Tunbridge* in *Kent*. He left behind him *Hugh* Lord *Stafford*, his Son and Heir, who being [h] at that time 28 Years of Age, but long before in Action, follow-

[g] *Dugd. 1 Vol. p. 159. a.*

[h] *Dugd. ibid. p. 161.*

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followed the ſteps of his Noble Father in his Valiant Exploits againſt the Enemies of his King and Country.

The other was [i] Sr. *William Molineux*, who had done Valiantly in *France*, and elſewhere, and was made Knight Banneret by the *Black-Prince* at the Battle of *Najara* in *Spain*. He died this Year at *Canterbury*, being then newly come out of *France*, about the Feaſt of St. *John Baptiſt*.

The laſt was Sr. *John de Magnavillâ*, commonly called Sr. *John Mandevil*, Knight, and Doctor of Phyſick, a Man Worthy of Immortal Memory. He was [k] of an Ancient and Honourable Family, born at St. *Albans*; but from his tender Years did ſo addict himſelf to Study, that he ſeem'd to have no taſte for any thing, but Learning and Experimental Knowledge, as well Divine as Humane. He ſet not any Value upon his High-Birth or Alliance (for [l] ſome ſay, He married a Couſin of King *Edward's*) but reſolved to Cultivate his Mind, and to ennoble his more precious Part with Wiſdom.

[i] *Weever's Fun. Mon. p.* 234 & *Stow p.* 269.
[k] *Sr. Richard Baker & Pitzæus p.* 511.
[l] *Warner's Albions* England *p.* 267.

Having therefore as the beſt Preparative furniſh'd himſelf with a Competent Knowledge in the Scripture, he directed his Study to *Phyſick*, as being an Art moſt Worthy of a Gentleman, and a Candid Nature; whereby he ſhould be enabled to do good to the afflicted Bodies of his Fellow-Creatures. But above all his Inclination prompted him to Travel, eſpecially into *Aſia* and *Africa*, two vaſt Portions of the World, which together with *Europe*, made up the whole Terreſtrial Habitation; for in thoſe days the Newfound World of *America* was not known. Being therefore well provided with Neceſſaries, and having taken Care for Bills, that would paſs among Merchants of moſt Nations, he ſet forward, reſolving with *Ulyſſes* to diſcover the Government and Manners of many Nations. Thus having with much labour carefully ſurvey'd the Greater and the Leſſer *Scythia*, *Armenia*, *Tartaria*, both the Countries of *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Perſia*, *Media*, *Meſopotamia*, *Illyria*, *India*, *Græcia*, *Egypt*, and other Kingdoms, and not only informed his Mind with many Curious and notable Obſervations, but alſo with the Knowledge of ſeveral Languages; leſt all this ineſtimable Treaſure ſhould periſh together with his Life, he wrote exactly, in the *Latine*, *French*, and *Engliſh* Tongues, his *Itinerary* of Thirty Three Years, a Book of the *Wonders* of the *World*; and a Deſcription of the ſeveral Countries he had ſeen. And at his Return into *England*, as he ſeriouſly noted the Abuſes of the times, the Pious Gentleman would ſay, *In theſe our "days We may ſay more truly, than ever*, That Vertue is neglected, the Church is "trampled on, the Clergy is led away with Errour, the Devil reigneth, Simony beareth "ſway, Greatneſs is abus'd by Flattery, Diligence, Learning, and Vertue are deſpiſed, "Vice and Impudence are exalted, *&c.* At laſt he departed this Life at *Liege*, a City in the Biſhoprick of *Liege* in *Germany*, and lies buried in St. *William's* Convent without the Gate of the ſaid City, with this [m] *Latine* Inſcription, "Here lies the No-"ble Gentleman, Sr. *John Mandevil*, otherwiſe ſirnamed Knight of the *Beard*, Lord "of *Kempten*, born in *England*, a Profeſſor of Phyſick, very Devout in Prayer, a moſt "Bountifull Beſtower of his Goods to the Poor, who after he had travelled almoſt over "the whole (*known*) World, ended his Life at *Liege* in the Year of our Lord 1372 the "17 of *November*. Beſides which Inſcription there was engraven on the Stone, the Image of an Armed Man with a Forked Beard, a Lion at his Feet, and at his Head an Hand bleſſing with theſe Words in *French*,

[m] *Ortelius in Itiner. & Pitſæus p.* 511. & 512.

Mos ki paſſeis ſor mi,	*All you, that paſs by*
Pour l' Amour Deix Proiez por mi.	*Pray for me of Charity.*

The ſhield of his Arms, thô void of late days, is ſaid to have been cover'd with a Plate, whereon his Arms were depicted, being *Azure*, with a Bordure indented *Or*, a Lion Rampant *Argent*, with a Creſcent Gules on his Breaſt. Formerly there were to be ſeen the Knives, Spurs, and the Horſe-Furniture, which he us'd in his Travels thrô the World. It ſeems he was a Perſon of much more Credit with the *Germans* and *French* (who have many Years perus'd his Writings in their own Languages) than here in *England* among his Countrymen. 'Tis ſaid of him, [n] that after he had ſeen moſt of the Cities in the World, he prefer'd *Liege* to whatever he had before met with, and reſolv'd, as he did, to ſpend the Reſidue of his Life in that Place. But ſurely, thô vulgarly the Books, that go under his Name, are reckon'd full of Incredible Stories, either We muſt look on them, as greatly falſified and differing from the Original, or if once convinced of their Authority, ought to be careſull in cenſuring raſhly: For this Man had the Reputation of being as Eminent for Piety and Integrity, as for Knowledge.

[n] *Engl. Atlas Vol. p.* 302.

CHAP-

CHAPTER the TENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *The Conſtable of* France *lays Siege to* Sivray: *An Army of* Engliſh *comes to raiſe it, but are beaten.* II. *Hereupon the Conſtable takes* Sivray, *and after that* Niort *and* Luſignan: *But* Chaſtellacher *obtains a Reſpite at the Requeſt of the Lady thereof, after that taking in* Mortimer *and* Didonne, *he returns to* Paris, *and is highly careſſed by the King.* III. Becherel *in* Bretagne, *and St.* Saviour le Vicount *in* Normandy *beſieged by the* French. IV. *King* Edward *ſets forth a Fleet, which burns a part of the* Spaniſh *Fleet.* V. *King* Charles *confiſcates the Dutchy of* Bretagne, *becauſe the Duke adher'd to* England, *and ſends the Conſtable to take Seiſin thereof.* VI. *The Duke of* Bretagne *thrô diſtruſt of his People, retires for* England, *leaving Sr.* Robert Knolles *behind as his Lieutenant.* VII. *The Conſtables Conqueſts in* Bretagne. *Sr.* Robert Knolles *puts himſelf into* Breſt. VIII. *The Conſtable comes before* Breſt, *and the Lord* Cliſſon *lays Siege to* la Roche ſur Yon *in* Poictou; *a Detachment at the ſame time being ſent to take in* Derual, *which was the Inheritance of Sr.* Robert Knolles. IX. La Roche ſur Yon *yielded*; Derual *compounds and gives Hoſtages.* Nantes *recieves the Conſtable on certain Conditions.* X. *Sr.* Robert Knolles *compounds for* Breſt, *that it ſhall be reſcued in* 40 *Days or yielded.* XI. *The Earl of* Salisbury *being reinforced, reſolves to ſuccour* Breſt *by the Day appointed, and to give the Conſtable battle, but the Conſtable deceives him.* XII. *Sr.* Robert Knolles *goes to* Derual. XIII. *The Duke of* Lancaſters *Expedition and March thrô* France. XIV. *Sr.* Robert Knolles *refuſing to hold the Agreement made by his Men about yielding up* Derual, *the Duke of* Anjou *ſtrikes off the Heads of the* Engliſh *Hoſtages; in revenge whereof Sr.* Robert Knolles *ſtrikes off the Heads of* 4 French *Priſoners in ſight of the Duke.* XV. *Pope* Gregory XI, *having obtain'd a Treaty to be held at* Bruges, *writes unto the Commiſſioners of both Kings to prepare them, and ſends two Legates to compoſe Matters between the Duke of* Lancaſter *and the* French *King.* XVI. *The Difficulties of the* Engliſh *Army; the Duke arrives at* Bourdeaux. XVII. *A Parliament at* Weſtminſter. XVIII. *A Prodigious Malady call'd St.* John's *Dance.* XIX. *The Death of ſundry Great Perſonages.*

I. NO [a] ſooner was the unactive ſeaſon of Winter paſt, but Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*, Conſtable of *France*, began to take the Field, marching from the City of *Poictiers* with 14000 fighting Men, whoſe Chief Captains beſides the Conſtable were Sr. *Alan de Beaumont*, Sr. *John de Beaumanoir*, Sr. *Arnold* of *Limoſin*, Sr. *Geoffry* of *Ricon*, Sr. *John du Lanconet*, Sr. *Geoffry* of *Carnuel* and others. With this Army the Conſtable went and laid Siege to [b] *Sivray*, encloſing his Camp with Pales and a Ditch, to avoid being troubled by Excurſions in the Night. During this Siege Sr. *Robert Mico* and Sr. *Robert Scot*, who were Captains of the Place, and had defended themſelves with great Valour againſt the Attacks of the *Frenchmen*, ſent ſecret Word of their Condition to Sr. *John Vbrues*, and to Sr. *Dangouſes* Captains of *Niort*: Who ſending alſo to thoſe of the Garriſon of *Luſignan*, and of *Dangouſay* to come and joyn them, they went all together from *Niort* to the number of 607 Spears, all good Men of War, beſides Footmen and others. Being come near to *Sivray* (for it was diſtant but four Leagues from *Niort*, they made an Halt to be the more freſh and ready: But it had been better for them to have made a ſudden Attempt upon the Conſtable in his Entrenchment: For upon this their Demurr, he had perfect knowledge of their Coming, and that they were ranged in the Field ready for an Onſet. He was not much diſturbed at the Report, but forthwith commanded his Men to be armed, and to repair to their Colours, which being done he ſaid, "*Gentlemen, how ſay* "*you? Are you really diſpoſed to fight? For I verily believe it will behove us to fight.* They all anſwer'd with one Voice, "*Sir, we thank God, a Battle ſhall be welcome to us.* Then Sr. *Bertram* order'd an Ambuſh of 200 Choſen Men to receive thoſe of the Garriſon, if they ſhould offer to make a Sally, as he verily believed they would, and at the

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 306. *f.* 186. *b. ſed Gallicè f.* 255.

[b] Sireth *Froiſ.* Tizeth *Du Cheſne, &c.*

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same time he caused the most part of the Pales, that were about his Camp to be cast down, lest they should create any Hindrance to him, when he should resolve to come forth. And so he stood still ready ranged in three Battalia's, two of them being as Wings to the Third, which himself lead, and one Wing was governed by Sr. *Alan* of *Beaumont*, and the other by Sr. *Geoffry* of *Carnuel*; Command being given that none should pass before the Constable's Banner without a special Licence, but that all should keep their Places still within the Entrenchment. The mean while Sr. *Robert Mico* and Sr. *Robert Scot*, when they saw from the Walls and Battlements of their Fortress, how their Friends the *English* were ready ranged in the Field, said to one another, "*Let* "*us now arm our selves, and make a brisk Sally: We shall soon pass thrô these* Bretons, "*and when our Friends find that we are engaged, they will come on to our Rescue, and* "*utterly spoil the Enemy: Before they can tell who hurts them.* With that they sallied out on Horseback to the number of Fourty Spears well armed, thinking to skirmish with the Host: But they were suddenly entrapped by the Ambush which was laid for them, and there arose a smart Skirmish. But the *English* were overmatch'd, and so enclosed on all sides, that being neither able to retreat, nor to go forward, they were all either taken or slain, not a Man of them escaped: The two Captains were taken alive.

All this while the *English* stood ready ranged in the Field, and the Constable in his Enclosure; from whence he stirred not: For he feared that the *English* had some great Ambush for him in the Wood behind. In the *English* Army there were 200 *Poictevins* and *Bretons*, Robbers and Pillagers, that fought for Spoil and lived by Rapine. These Men being sent beforehand to skirmish with the *French*, and to provoke them forth of their Hold, as soon as they came to the Constable's Battail, turned to him saying, "*How* "*their Hearts were good* French, *and they would be on the Constable's side if it pleased* "*him.* The Constable said, he was content to receive them, and so set them in a Wing on one side, having first learned of them all the Behaviour, Number and Quality of the *English*, and that they had no manner of Ambush or Reserve behind them. With this Discovery Sr. *Bertram* was extreamly satisfied, and so drawing all his Men together, the Pales were all cast down, and he caused his Banner to advance forward, and went forth on Foot, with the two Battalions for Wings, and crying out, *Our Lady of* Clequin. When the *Englishmen* saw their Enemies to issue forth of their Enclosure, they advanced themselves forward with much Courage to receive them. At the first joyning they encountred the Constable's Battail, and fought there so furiously, that they passed clean thrô, reversing and spoiling many a Man, as they made their way along. But then the *Bretons* who had wisely order'd themselves in a Wing on each side, being all Fresh and Lusty, returned all together upon the *English* who were now wearied, and dash'd in among them with such Fury, that they were all mightily shaken. The mean while the Constable's broken Battail was repairing it self, and began to rally and recover its former Order. However still the *English* fought most valiantly, like Persons of Courage and Honour, with good Axes and Swords of *Bourdeaux*, wherewith they gave many fatal strokes that Day. There were on both sides many Valiant Knights and Esquires, who freely adventur'd their Lives to purchase Honour: So that this Battle was fought as well, and as many gallant Actions were then done in Taking and Rescuing again, as had been seen of many a Day before in plain Field, without any material Advantage on either hand, saving that the *French* and *Bretons* did more than twice exceed the *English* in Number, besides that Accession of 200 Fugitives before the Battle. However the matter was disputed on both sides with great Obstinacy, every Man setting himself forth to do his utmost: So that many a Valiant Knight was sore hurt, and not a few slain and trod to Death. But in the end the Victory abode with the *French*, and the *English* and *Poictevins* were utterly discomfited, most of them being either taken or slain; but a very few escaped, they tarried so long contending in Battle. There were slain two Gallant Esquires of *England*, *Richard Meinil* and *William Vrsewell*, and *James Willoughby* was grievously wounded. Sr. *Dangouses* escaped away, but there were taken Sr. *John Vbrues*, Sr. *Emery* of *Rochechoüart*, *David Holcroft*, *Richard Oliver*, *John Cresswell*, and many more both of *England* and *Poictou*. This Battle was thus fought near *Sivray* on the twenty second Day of *March* in the Year of our Lord God [c] MCCCLXXIII.

[c] 137$\frac{2}{3}$. *Vid. Froiss.* c. 306. & *Du Chesne* p. 710.

II. The Victory being thus obtained, the Constable returned to his former Camp, where having taken Care of his Wounded and Prisoners, of both which sort he had Plenty, he sent Sr. *Alan de Beaumont* to denounce against those that remain'd in *Sivray*, that if they held out till they were taken by Force, they should all die without Mercy. Upon this terrible Threat (which was the usual way with the Constable) especially

ſpecially becauſe of their late Loſs, and that their Succours were overthrown, the Garriſon ſubmitted, and had the favour to go off without ſuffering any Harm either in their Goods or Perſons, the Conſtable allowing them a Convoy to *Bourdeaux*. Thus this Fortreſs, and all the Land pertaining thereunto returned to the Obedience of the *French* King. AN. DOM. 1373. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLVII. *Franciæ* XXXIV.

After this the Conſtable went with his *Bretons* and *Frenchmen*, and came before *Niort* in a great Heat: This was a ſtrong Town in *Poictou*, ſtanding on the *Sevre*, which had held for the *Engliſh*, while they had a good Garriſon among them. But now that the Flower of the *Engliſh* Forces was loſt before *Sivray*; when the Inhabitants heard, that the Conſtable himſelf was coming againſt them, they went out to meet him with the Keys of the Town in their Hand, and ſo conducted him into the Walls with great joy. Having tarried here four Days to refreſh his Army, he went thence in great Array, his Forces conſiſting of 1400 Spears, beſides others, and preſented himſelf before the Caſtle of *Luſignan*, which yielded unto him upon Compoſition, thoſe of the Garriſon being permitted to go off with their Lives ſaved, and of their Goods as much as they could carry on their Horſes before them, and ſo to be ſafely conducted to *Bourdeaux*. And thus was this ſtrong Place alſo reduced to the *French* King's Devotion.

From hence the Conſtable rode to *Chaſtellacher*, and ſummon'd the Lady thereof, which was Madam[d] *Conſtance*, Wife to Sr. *Guiſchard* of *Angouleſme*, to yield up the Caſtle unto him. But ſhe only deſired of the Conſtable his ſafe Conduct, that ſhe might go to *Poictiers* to ſpeak with the Duke of *Berry*, which requeſt Sr. *Bertram* granted, and cauſed her to be attended thither with one of his own Knights. Being come before the Duke ſhe kneeled down, but the Duke preſently took her up, demanding what her Pleaſure was. "*Sir* (ſaid the Lady) *I am ſtrictly ſummon'd by the Conſtable of* France *to* "*ſubmit my ſelf, my Lands and Caſtle to the Obedience of the* French *King. And Sir,* "*your Royal Highneſs knows very well, how my Lord and Husband lieth as yet a Priſoner* "*in* Spain, *his Lands being left to the Government of me, a weak helpleſs Woman. Sir,* "*I may not diſpoſe of mine Husbands Inheritance after my Pleaſure, for if I ſhould do* "*any thing of ſuch high Moment without his Knowledge, he would ſurely give me no* "*Thanks therefore; and ſo I might incurr blame, which God forbid, I ſhould ever juſtly* "*deſerve from my Lord and Husband. But Sir, to ſatisfie Your Highneſs, and to pre-* "*ſerve my Lands in Peace, I ſhall compound with You for my ſelf and all mine; that* "*You ſhall make no War upon Us, nor We upon You, till my Husband be releaſed out of* "*Priſon: At which time, I believe he will make for* England. *And then I'll ſend him* "*word of this our Compoſition, and he will moſt ſurely let me hear, whether he will agree* "*thereto or no: And ſo your Highneſs ſhall have a final Anſwer.*

[d] *Mill's Catal. Honor. p.* 918.

To this the Duke reply'd, "*Fair Madam, I am well content to grant your Deſire on* "*this Condition, that neither You, nor any Captains of your Fortreſſes make any greater* "*Proviſion of Men, Victuals or Artillery during this Ceſſation, than you have at this pre-* "*ſent time.* And this alſo being agreed to by the Lady, ſhe return'd to her Caſtle, where ſhe cauſed the Siege to be raiſed, by ſhewing unto the Conſtable the Duke of *Berry's* Letters to that Effect. From thence the Conſtable went before *Mortimer*, the Lady whereof ſubmitted her ſelf, and her Lands to the Obedience of the *French* King, and ſhe alſo deliver'd up the Caſtle of *Didonne* which belonged to her. Thus was all *Poictou*, *Sainctogne* and *Rochellois*, quite rid of the *Engliſhmen*: Whereupon the Conſtable having ſet good Garriſons in all Places, when he ſaw no ſign of Reſiſtance in thoſe Marches, even as far as the River *Garonne*, returned homeward into *France*, as alſo did the Dukes of *Berry*, *Bourbon* and *Burgundy*, and moſt of the *French* Barons, who had been concern'd in thoſe Parts. All theſe were highly feaſted and entertain'd by the King at *Paris*, but none ſo much as Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin*; the reſt were no more than Shadows to him, his Glory eclipſed them all, and when he came to *Paris*, the King thought he could not honour and careſs him ſufficiently.

III. Now[e] while the Conſtable remain'd with the King at *Paris* in much Honour, the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, the Lord *de la Val*, the Lord of *Vangoure*, the Lord of *Tournemine*, the Lord of *Rieux*, and the Lord of *Rochefort*, with the Vicount of *Rohan*, Sr. *Charles* of *Diguier*, Banneret of *Bretagne*, the Marſhal of *Blaroville*, the Lords of *Hambie*, of *Ruille*, of *Fonteville*, of *Granville*, of *Farnville*, of *Dennevalle* and *Des Cleres* Bannerets of *Normandy*, went with a great Army of *Bretons* and *Normans*, and laid ſiege to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Becherel* in *Bretagne*, which they very much ſtreightned by their continual Aſſaults. But there were two Valiant *Engliſh* Captains within, namely Sr. *John Cornwall*, and Sr. *John Appleyard*; who with certain Choice Troops defended the Place couragiouſly, and made many Sallies and Skirmiſhes, and endured ma-

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 307. *f.* 187. *b. ſed Gallicè f.* 256. *b.*

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ny warm Attacks to their Honour. In *Normandy* the *Frenchmen* maintain'd at the ſame time another Siege before St. *Saviour le Vicount*, wherein were Captains Sr. *Thomas Tribles*, Sr. *John de Burgo*, Sr. *Philip Picard*, and the Three *Mauliverers* Brethren. And it is to be noted, that theſe two Garriſons before they were now beſieged, had overran all the Country of Baſe *Normandy*; ſo that nothing could be ſecure from them, but what was in ſtrong Fortreſſes. Beſides which they ranſom'd and took Priſoners, as well in the Biſhoprick of *Bayeux*, as in *Eureux*, the King of *Navarre* himſelf conniving thereat, nay, and ſometimes aſſiſting them with Victuals and Men, ſuch as he had diſpoſed about in Garriſons in the Country of *Eureux*. For as then he was not agreed with the *French* King: So that the Garriſons of *Cherbourg*, of *Conches*, of *Bretevil*, of *Eureux*, of *Cocherel* and others, under the Obeiſance of the King of *Navarre*, had made great Havock in *Normandy*, as well as the *Engliſh* themſelves. But as [f] we ſhew'd before, there had lately ſuch Means been made between the two Kings of *France* and *Navarre*, eſpecially by the diligent Promotion of the Earl of *Salebruſe* and the Biſhop of *Eureux*, that they came to an Accord, and ſo met together in Friendly manner at the Caſtle of *Rohan* on the River of *Seyne*. And there beſides the two Kings, many Great Lords on both Parts were ſolemnly ſworn, to cultivate a mutual Peace, Friendſhip and Unity for ever. After which Aſſurance thus given and taken on both Sides, the King of *Navarre* went along with the *French* King, as we ſhew'd, to *Paris*, where He and all His were received with much Honour and Royal Magnificence. And then and there the King of *Navarre* put all his Lands, which he held in *Normandy*, into the Hands and Diſpoſal of the *French* King, he undertaking their Protection, and that the Propriety ſhould remain entire to the King of *Navarre*, but the Uſe of them to the *French* King during the Wars with *England*. This done, the King of *Navarre* left his two Sons *Charles* and *Peter*, with their Uncle the *French* King, and ſo took his leave of *Paris* and returned into *Navarre*. And this Peace indeed he kept, and upheld beyond his uſual Cuſtom for the ſpace of five or ſix Years; at which time there fell a new Occaſion of Diſſention, and ſo the War began again as violently as ever: But nothing of this will fall within the Compaſs of our Hiſtory, which is to end with the Life of King *Edward*.

[f] *Vid. hujus Hiſt. Lib.* 4. *c.* 7. §. 10. *p.* 795.

IV. Now while the two Sieges were held by the *Frenchmen* before *Becherel* and St. *Saviour le Vicount*, there being a ſtrong Report, how *Owen* of *Wales* was coming by Sea with 6000 Men of Arms, deſigning to take Land in *England*, and to burn and deſtroy about in the Country; King *Edward* [g] appointed the Noble Earl of *Salisbury*, *William Montagu*, to guard the *Engliſh* Seas, he himſelf being at that time [h] retain'd by Indenture to ſerve the King with no leſs than 300 Men of Arms, whereof 20 beſides himſelf were Knights, and 279 Eſquires, and 300 Archers: Not to mention the ſeveral Retinues of the other Lords and Captains with him, as Sr. *John Montacute* Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*, [i] Sr. *William Nevil*, Sr. *Philip Courtney*, Sr. *William Lucy*, Sr. *Brian Stapleton* and others. This Fleet [k] conſiſting of Fourty Great Ships beſides Barges, and of 3000 Men of Arms beſides Archers, ſet forth from the Coaſts of *Cornwall*, and made directly for the Port of St. *Malo* in *Bretagne*. Being arrived and finding in the Haven ſeven huge *Spaniſh* Carracks, they burnt them all; whereat all the whole Country was ſurpriſed, verily believing, that the *Engliſh* had had their Intelligence and Direction from the Duke himſelf. Hereupon in all Towns, Caſtles and Fortreſſes, the *Bretons* held their Duke in great ſuſpicion, and had a ſtricter Eye to their own Defence than formerly.

[g] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 647.
[h] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 648.
[i] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 649.
[k] *Dugd. ibid. p.* 647. *& Froiſ. ut ante.*

V. Now the Duke's moſt ſecret Intentions had before this been fully diſcover'd to the *French* King by certain of his own Knights, to whom he had let fall ſome Words in Favour of the King of *England* and his Title. Whereupon he commanded his Conſtable to undertake an Expedition into *Bretagne*, enjoyning and empowering him to take into his Hands all Towns, Cities and Fortreſſes, and to ſieſe on the Bodies and Goods of all that ſhould reſiſt. For the [l] King and his Council had already agreed, that the Duke had now forfeited all his Lands, as having received his Enemies, the *Engliſh*, into his Towns and Caſtles, and he alſo himſelf took Part with the King of *England*, and had entred an Alliance with Him againſt the Crown of *France*, of which he held his Dutchy of *Bretagne* by Faith and Homage. So the Conſtable went from *Paris* to *Angiers*, where he made his Rendezvous, and there came to him thither the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Alenſon*, the Earl of *Perche*, the Earl of *Porcien*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, the Vicounts of *Meaux* and of *Aunay*, Sr. *Ralph de Coucy*, Sr. *Robert de St. Pol*, Sr. *Ralph de Ravenal*, Sr. *Lewis* of *Sancerre*, Marſhal of *France*, and a great Number of the Barons and Knights of *Vermandois*, *Picardy* and *Artois*,

[l] *Froiſ. ibid. f.* 188. *b. ſed Gallicè f.* 257. *&c.*

tois, beſides thoſe that came thither from the Marches of *Anjou*, *Poictou* and *Touraine*. AN. DOM. 1373.

On the other ſide the Earl of *Salisbury*, who lay with his Fleet in the Port of St. *Malo*, was well enformed of theſe mighty Preparations of the Conſtables, and how in a manner all the Dutchy of *Bretagne* was ready to revolt from the Duke: Whereupon he ſailed thence, till he came to *Breſt*, which was one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the World, but threatned, as he heard, to be beſieged by the *French*: Wherefore he reinforced the Place with Men and Victuals. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLVII. *Franciæ* XXXIV.

VI. A little before this the Duke of *Bretagne* was gone for *England*: For when he heard, how the Conſtable was coming with ſuch a Power againſt him, He durſt not repoſe any Confidence in the ſtrength of *Vannes*, or of *Dinant*, nor indeed in the ſtrongeſt Fortreſs of *Bretagne*; leſt the Inhabitants ſhould deliver him up to the *French*, as they had done to his Father before him. Wherefore he reſolved for *England*, as well to avoid the impending ſtorm, as to haſten Succours; but firſt having conſtituted Sr. *Robert Knolles*, his Deputy Governour of all *Bretagne*, during his Abſence; he went to viſit his Caſtle of *Auray*, between *Vannes* and *Hennebond*, which held firm to him ſtill: An *Engliſh* Knight, named Sr. *John Auſten*, being Captain thereof under Him. With this Knight he left the Lady, his Wife, deſiring Him to keep her well, which he promiſed to do againſt all the World to his Power. From *Auray* the Duke rode to St. *Matthew du Fine-poterne*, which undutifully cloſed her Gates againſt him; wherefore he paſſed on to *le Conquet*, and there took ſhipping for *England*.

VII. The mean while the Conſtable was come into *Bretagne* with a great Army, to whoſe Banners there reſorted all thoſe Lords and Knights of *Bretagne*, who had been at the Siege before *Becherel*, leaving that affair to be carried on by the Lords of *Normandy*. When the Conſtable was thus reinforced, he went firſt to *Rennes*; the Inhabitants whereof, knowing how their Lord was adjudged by the Peers of *France* to have forfeited all his Lands, and that theſe Forces were accordingly ſent to take them in, reſolved by no means to ſtand out againſt the Conſtable; but without any further Scruple received him peaceably, acknowledging him for their Sovereign Lord in the Name of the *French* King, whoſe Perſon he now repreſented. Having thus taken Poſſeſſion of *Rennes*, He preſently rode before *Dinant*, which alſo ſubmitted in like manner; ſo did afterward the Great City of *Vannes*: But *Luzemont* (after a bold Reſiſtance) being taken by Force, all within were put to the Sword. Thence the Conſtable went to *Jugon*, which yielded unto him; ſo did *Gony en la Foreſt*, ſo did *la Roche D' Arien*, and the Town of *Guingand*, St. *Matthew du Fine-Poterne*, and St. *Malo* in the Iſle. After this he took in *Quimpercorentin*, alias *Cornovaille*, then *Quimperlay*, and other Fortreſſes thereabout, all which yielded without a ſtroke, except *Quimperlay*, whereof *John Rous* an *Engliſh* Eſquire was Captain, who when the Town was taken, was ſlain by the hands of Sr. *Oliver Cliſſon*, who for all the Benefits he had formerly received from *England*, did now ſo hate all *Engliſhmen*, that he hardly took any to Mercy, that once fell into his Hands. It was the Conſtables Reſolution firſt to reduce *Bretagne Britonant*, becauſe that part was always more inclinable to Duke *John's* Intereſt, than *Bretagne Gallicant*; and therefore he chiefly beſtirr'd himſelf in theſe parts.

But now 'tis time to ſee what became of Sr. *Robert Knolles*, who had been made the Duke's Lieutenant of all that Country. His Courage was ſo notable, and his Conduct ſo good, that there is no doubt to be made, but he would have given the Conſtable Battle before this, had he but had the Hearts of the People: But alas! His own *Engliſh* Forces were but ſmall, and he had not many of the Great Men of that Country, that would obey him. However he took what Care he could, and had made all his Garriſons, as Defenſible as he might; and particularly having well furniſh'd his own Caſtle of *Derval*, and committed it to the Cuſtody of Sr. *Hugh Bright*, his Couſin, he himſelf went to *Breſt*, ſetting all his Fortune upon the ſtrength of that Place.

About the ſame time the Conſtable, who had by his Detachments taken in moſt part of the ſmall Towns, as *Crodon* and *Callac*, and the like, came in Perſon, and laid his Siege to *Hennebond*, the Captain whereof under the Duke was an Eſquire of *England*, named *Thomas Wiche*, to whoſe aſſiſtance Sr. *Robert Knolles* had lately ſent a Valiant Knight, called Sr. *Thomas Prior*; ſo that they made Fourſcore Men of Arms, beſides others. As ſoon as ever the *French* Army was come thither, they began to aſſail the Caſtle, having brought with them certain Engines and Great Guns, wherewith chiefly they had won divers Caſtles and Fortreſſes, eſpecially that of *Quimperlay*. When theſe Engines were ready planted againſt the Town and Caſtle, the Conſtable ſware aloud, that

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that he would ſup that Night in the Caſtle, and ſo the Aſſault was began on all ſides: But the Townſmen Defended themſelves Valiantly; ſo that there was yet no likelihood, that the *French* would prevail. Then the Conſtable commanded, that theſe Words ſhould be loudly proclaim'd in his Name to the Inhabitants of the Town, "*Hear you* "Bretons, *that are Townſmen, thus ſaith our Lord the Conſtable of* France; *it is cer-* "*tain, that We ſhall Conquer You; for We have made an Oath to ſup this Night with-* "*in Your Walls. Know You therefore for a truth, that if any one of You ſhall henceforth* "*caſt but a ſtone, or a Quarrel, whereby the leaſt of our Company may be hurt, I make a* "*Vow to God, You ſhall all looſe your Lives therefore.* At this Proclamation the Townſmen were ſo diſheartned, that they all ſhrunk away from their Walls into their Houſes, and left the *Engliſh* Garriſon to make good the Place by themſelves: Which notwithſtanding they did with great Courage, as long as they were able to hold. But the Town was ſo large, that it was impoſſible for ſo few Hands to ſuffice for all Places; wherefore after a briſk Aſſault, the *Frenchmen* entred the Town by *Scalado*, and put all the *Engliſhmen* to the Sword, except the two Captains, who only were taken to Mercy. But as for the Townſmen, becauſe they had ſo carefully obey'd the Conſtable's Command, he now gave an eſpecial Charge, that none ſhould be ſo bold, as to do the leaſt injury to any one of them. Here the Conſtable tarried 15 days to ſtrengthen the Town and Caſtle, and to ſet things in Order; the mean while he ſent a great part of the Army to *le Conquet*, a Port-Town, which he reſolved alſo to reduce. This Place after a ſtout Reſiſtance was taken likewiſe by Aſſault, and every ſoul within put to the ſword, except only the Captain, Sr. *John Langley*, an *Engliſh* Knight, who was received to Mercy.

VIII. *Le Conquet* being thus won, the Conſtable took Care to repair it, and ſet it in good Order, and then reſolved to go before the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Breſt*. The Earl of *Salisbury* had lately been there, and when he had very well ſupply'd the Place with Men of Arms, Archers, Artillery, and Victuals, he took ſhipping again, and coaſted about the Country, if he might happily find the *Frenchmen*; for as yet he knew not where they were, nor whither they would go. Soon after his Departure the Conſtable came and ſat down before *Breſt*, wherein at that time was Sr. *Robert Knolles* himſelf, and Sr. *William Nevil*, with an 100 Men of Arms, and as many Archers; beſide the Inhabitants, who were all Loyal to their Lord, the Duke, and well provided of all things. However here the Conſtable laid his Siege with more than 6000 Fighting Men; for as ſoon as ever he had perfected his Siege there, he ſent Sr. *Oliver Cliſſon* with the reſt of the Army, to go, and in the Duke of *Anjou's* Name lay Siege to *la Roche Sur Yon*, on t'other ſide the *Loire* in *Poictou*; which was then in *Engliſh* Hands.

But now the Lord *Cliſſon* inveſted it Round about, and raiſed up Engines againſt the Town, which were brought thither from *Angiers* and *Poictiers*; and here the Lord *Cliſſon* was joyn'd by ſeveral Noblemen and Knights from *Anjou* and *Poictou*, who all vow'd not to riſe, till they ſhould have the Place at their Devotion. And all the while they lay there, the Duke of *Anjou* ſent them ſtore of Victuals, and other Neceſſaries for carrying on the Siege. And ſtill the Conſtable lay with his Men before *Breſt*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Alenſon* and *Perigort*, the Dauphin of *Auvergne*, and divers other Great Lords, being in his Company. But here they wan little or nothing; for *Breſt* was one of the ſtrongeſt Caſtles in the World, and Sr. *Robert Knolles* and Sr. *William Nevil*, were no Children in Matters of War. However the Conſtable, who was ſubtle, in hopes to divert or diſtract Sr. *Robert Knolles* his Mind, order'd another Detachment of 400 Fighting Men, with ſeveral Lords of *Bretagne* and *Touraine* to go now and lay Siege to the Caſtle of *Derval*, which was Sr. *Robert's* own, being given unto Him by the Duke, for him and his Heirs for ever.

[n] *Froiſ. c.* 309. *fol.* 189. *ſed Gallicè f.* 258.

IX. Thus [n] at one time the *French* Lords laid Siege to Five ſeveral Places, the One before *Becherel*, the other before *Breſt* in baſe *Bretagne*, a Third before *Derval* in *Bretagne* alſo, a Fourth before St. *Saviour* in *Normandy*, and the laſt before *Roche Sur Yon* in *Poictou*, which belonged to the Duke of *Lancaſter*: And to each of them were given many ſhrewd Aſſaults. But thoſe of *Roche Sur Yon*, who were fartheſt off from any Succour, were firſt obliged to come to a Compoſition: Which was, that unleſs they ſhould be relieved within the ſpace of a Month, they would leave the Place to be diſpoſed of at the *French* Kings Pleaſure. At the end of the time limited the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon* return'd thither with his Troops, and no Reſcue being come, or likely to come, the Caſtle was given up according to Covenant, and the *Engliſhmen* were ſafely convey'd to *Bourdeaux* by the Lord of *Pons*. After this Succeſs the Lord

Cliſſon

Cliſſon went to reinforce the Siege before *Derual*, carrying along with him his Great Engines; and thither alſo ſhortly after came the Conſtable himſelf with the Dukes of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Alenſon* and *Perche*, and a great many other Barons and Knights of *France*: For they found by this, that they did but loſe their time in lying before *Breſt*; however they had left behind them 2000 Men, who were ſtrongly encamped in places which commanded the Avenues; ſo that none could go in or out at *Breſt* without their Leave.

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When Sr. *Hugh Bright* and the Garriſon of *Derual* ſaw themſelves beleaguer'd by ſo great an Army, they doubted very much, that they ſhould not be able to make good the Place; but that at laſt they ſhould miſcarry, and ſo be ſlain every Man. Wherefore by a Treaty they obtain'd a Reſpit for two Months, on this Condition, that unleſs they ſhould be Reſcued by that time, either by the Duke of *Bretagne*, or ſome other able to keep the Field againſt them, and to raiſe the Siege, they would yield up the Caſtle to the Duke of *Anjou*, or to the Conſtable. And if Men of Arms ſhould be ſent from the Duke of *Bretagne*, who could only coaſt the *Frenchmen*, but not be able to give them Battle, then the Beſieged ſhould take no notice of them, nor ſeek any Aſſiſtance from them. This Treaty being ſhew'd to the Duke of *Anjou*, he agreed unto it, on Condition, that thoſe within the Caſtle ſhould not, during the ſaid term, take into their Fortreſs any more Aid or Succour. For the true keeping of all which Covenants Sr. *Hugh Bright* deliver'd up unto the *French*, as Hoſtages, Two Knights and an Eſquire, and gave his Oath alſo to be true and punctual. So the Conſtable brake up from before *Derual*, and rode to *Nantes*; where he found the Gates ſhut againſt him, becauſe he came with ſo great an Army; wherefore alſo they ſent out unto him, to enquire what he intended or deſign'd to do. The Conſtable anſwer'd, how he was ſent by the *French* King, their Sovereign Lord, to take Poſſeſſion in his Name of the Dukedom of *Bretagne*, which Sr. *John* of *Monford*, who calls himſelf Duke (ſaid he) hath forfeited by his Diſloyalty. The Burgeſſes deſired time to conſider of theſe things in Council, that they might know what anſwer to make him. This being granted they return'd to the City, and after a long Debate held in the Common-Hall, they came forth again to the Conſtable, and ſaid, "*Sir, it ſeems very ſtrange unto Us, and thoſe* "*that ſent Us, that You are thus come to ſeiſe the Inheritance of our Lord, the Duke,* "*for the French* King, *who yet himſelf commanded Us to receive him as our Duke and* "*Lord: So that to Him We have ſworn Fealty and Homage, and he alſo hath ſworn* "*to govern Us as his Subjects. Thus We have accepted of each other; and ſince We* "*know nothing to the contrary, but that hitherto he hath been a Gracious and good Lord* "*unto Us; We ſee not how either in Honour or Conſcience We can offer to withdraw our* "*Faith from him. But if You ſay, You come as Procurator General from the* French "*King, We will allow You to enter our City on this Condition, that if upon the Return* "*of our Lord, the Duke, he will own the* French *intereſt; then all the Prelates, Ba-* "*rons, Gentlemen, and all the Good Towns of* Bretagne *ſhall own and acknowledge him* "*for their Lord, as before; and yet be wholly acquitted by You of all Damage, or any ob-* "*ligation, either now, or at any other time. And that the mean while You will forbear* "*to take up any Rents, or Revenues belonging to the Duke of* Bretagne, *and let them* "*lie ſtill in our Hands to be reſerved for our Lord; till We hear other News, than You* "*bring Us.* All this the Conſtable ſware to fulfill without fraud, as being the *French* Kings Procurator in that Caſe, and ſo was admitted into the City of *Nantes* (which in thoſe days was the Metropolis of all *Bretagne*) both He and the Chief Lords and Captains, as many as he would.

X. When Sr. *Robert Knolles*, the Duke's Lieutenant, who was now in *Breſt*, underſtood, how his Couſin Sr. *Hugh Bright*, had made a Compoſition with the Duke of *Anjou* and the Conſtable, and ſaw, that he could not by any other means leave *Breſt*, to go and ſave his Caſtle of *Derual*, he reſolved rather than to loſe ſo important a Place, to enter himſelf into certain Covenants with thoſe, who beſieged him. Upon the firſt offer they return'd him anſwer, how they could do nothing without the Conſtable; ſo they ſent to know his Pleaſure. They found him before *Nantes* with a great Army of *French* and *Bretons* ſpread along by the Famous River of *Loire*. In ſhort the Conſtable gave them a Commiſſion, and this Treaty took ſuch effect, that the Garriſon of *Breſt* was to have Reſpit for Fourty Days; ſo that if by that time they were not relieved by an Army able to fight the Conſtable, then they ſhould forthwith yield up their Fortreſs. And the Garriſon was to remain all that while, as now they were, without revictualling, or taking in any New ſupply of Men or Ammunition, or any ſort of Proviſion, beyond what they had already. With this Agreement Sr. *Robert Knolles* his Negotiators return'd back unto him; whereupon he ſent ſufficient Hoſtages, both

Knights

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Knights and Eſquires to the Conſtable; thereby to ſecure him, that there ſhould be no default on his part. The Conſtable put the Hoſtages in Cuſtody, and gave Licence to thoſe Troops, that lay before *Breſt* to break up, and he ſent them with the One half of his Forces towards *Paris*, the *French* King having lately remanded them home, that now he might reinforce his Garriſons in *Picardy*: For it ſeems the Duke of *Lancaſter*, [o] being made the King his Fathers Lieutenant of *Aquitaine*, and General of all his Forces on that ſide the Sea, was then newly arrived at *Calais* with an Army of more than [p] 30000; of whoſe Succeſs we ſhall ſpeak by and by.

[o] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol.* p. 115.
[p] *Mezeray, &c.*
[q] *Froiſ. c.* 309.

XI. Now the Earl [q] of *Salisbury*, who was at Sea, having all this while cruiſed up and down by the Frontiers of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, received at the ſame time a ſtrong Reinforcement from *England* of a 1000 Men of Arms, and 2000 luſty Archers. Wherefore when he heard of the Compoſition of the Garriſon of *Breſt*, he ſaid, that by the Grace of God he would go and fight the Conſtable of *France*, and relieve the Fortreſs, and ſo he directed his Courſe to *Breſt*, where he took land, and ranged his Men in Battle Array, and ſtood for ſeveral Days in that Manner before the Place, and at Night he returned to his Ships: But every Day he drew out thus into the Field ready to fight, if the *Frenchmen* ſhould come thither. The Conſtable, who had now ſent a good part of his Men into *Picardy*, and with others maintained a ſiege before *Becherel* in *Normandy*, as one who little thought, that the Earl of *Salisbury* could ſo quickly come thither ſtrong enough to give him Battle, thought to depart however from *Nantes* with ſuch Forces as he had; when the time drew near that the Buſineſs of *Breſt* was to be decided. But now when he underſtood, that the Earl of *Salisbury* was there ready to give him Battle, he made an Halt, and reſolved to practiſe another way, which indeed was more agreeable to the cauteous Counſels of the *French* King, than to the Fame of the Conſtable, who was called the RESTORER OF *FRANCE*; unleſs perhaps he had Command from the King ſo to do, which is not unlikely. However the Earl of *Salisbury* having taken a convenient Plat of Ground before *Breſt*, when he ſaw that the *French* and *Bretons* moved not forward, ſent an Herald to the Conſtable, who being brought before him ſaid, *Sir, my Lord the Earl of* Salisbury, *and the other "Lords of* England *ſend you Word by me, who am an Herald of Arms, how they under- "ſtand, that ſome while ſince you laid ſiege to the Caſtle of* Breſt, *and how certain Trea- "ties and Compoſitions were made between you and thoſe of the Garriſon, importing, that "if they were not relieved by ſuch a Day, which is now at hand, then they ſhould deliver "up the Town and Caſtle into your Hands. Wherefore Sir, may it pleaſe you to know, "that they are now come before* Breſt *to keep their Day, and to defend the Place. And "for your part they expect you ſhould repair to meet them, which if you ſhall do, they "promiſe you Battle without fail: But if you refuſe thus much, then they require you to "ſend them again ſuch Hoſtages as you have upon this Account.* The Conſtable anſwer'd ſubtlely, " *Herald, whereas you tell us, how the* Engliſh *are come to give us Battle, you "bring us good News, and are therefore Welcome: You ſhall tell your Maſters alſo, that "we are more deſirous to fight with them than they can be with us; but yet they are not "in that Place, where the Treaty was confirmed and authoriſed. Therefore let them "know, that if they will come hither, without fail we will preſent them with Battle.* This the Politick Conſtable ſpake, becauſe he knew it impoſſible for them to go as far as *Nantes*, where the Treaty was made, on Foot, ſince it was more than 40 leagues off from *Breſt*. With this Anſwer the Herald return'd to the Earl of *Salisbury*, who thereupon ſent him back again with another Meſſage, which he thus deliver'd; " *Sir, I am "come again to you from my Lords and Maſters, to whom I have related your firſt An- "ſwer from Point to Point: But Sir, they ſay, how they are Men of the Sea, and being "lately come thence have no Horſes with them, and that they are not accuſtomed to travel "far on Foot. But this they ſay, that if you will ſend them your Horſes, they will come "to what Place you will appoint, and give Battle, to keep touch with you.* " No more " haſte than good Speed (reply'd the Conſtable) *we are not in the humour to do our "Enemies ſuch a Kindneſs as to ſend them our Horſes, it would ſurely be a ſmall piece "of Wiſdom ſo to do. And yet if we had ſuch a Purpoſe, we ſhould demand good and "ſufficient Hoſtages, which ſhould be reſponſible for our Horſes again. Sir* (ſaid the He- "rald) *I have no Orders to ſay any thing as to that Matter: But this Sir, they comman- "ded me to tell you, that if you will not yield thus much you cannot lawfully detain the Ho- "ſtages, which are in your Hands. Wherefore Sir, in ſending them back you will do ho- "nourably as you ought to do.* The Conſtable ſaid, he was not advis'd to do any ſuch thing; and ſo the Herald return'd to the Earl of *Salisbury* before *Breſt*. When he heard, that the *French* would neither give him Battle, nor reſtore the Hoſtages, he was extreamly

extreamly diſpleaſed, but however there he tarried till the Day was expired, and he found that the Conſtable did but dodge with him. The next Day following the limited time he entred *Breſt*, and revictuall'd the Town, and reinforced the Gariſon greatly; after which he return'd to his Ships, to keep the Marches and Frontiers on the Sea-coaſts, as he had been commanded by King *Edward* to do. AN. DOM. 1373. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLVII. *Franciæ* XXXIV.

On the other ſide, when the Conſtable ſaw that the *Engliſh* came not forward to fight him, which indeed he never thought they could do, he ſaid the Hoſtages were all his Priſoners, becauſe the Appointment was not truly kept; for the Earl of *Salisbury* had newly reinforced and victuall'd the Garriſon; and ſo he ſent the Hoſtages to Priſon: Which Procedure of the Conſtable's was certainly more full of *French* Fineneſs, than of any True Honour or Heroick Courage. When the Earl of *Salisbury* was gone, and *Breſt* fully ſecured, Sr. *Robert Knolles* rode away from *Breſt* with certain Good Men of Arms, and went ſtraight to his own Fortreſs of *Derual*. News thereof came preſently to the Conſtable and the Duke of *Anjou*, who were then at *Nantes*; whereupon they ſuppoſed as indeed it happen'd: For ſoon after Sr. *Robert* ſent them word, that he would keep no ſuch Agreement as his Men had made in his Abſence without his Leave, ſeeing they had no ſufficient Authority ſo to do. When the Duke of *Anjou* heard this, he reſolved to go Perſonally and beſiege *Derual*, but the Proſecution of this we ſhall refer to another more proper Place, and ſpeak now of the Duke of *Lancaſter*.

XIII. This Valiant Prince [r] with the Duke of *Bretagne* in his Company, and an Army of above 30000 Men, whereof there were 3000 Men of Arms and 10000 Archers, landed ſafely at *Calais* about the beginning of *July*, the ſame Expedition being deſign'd the Year before; but that it was put off for that time by reaſon of the Buſineſs of *Thoüars*. In this Army beſides the two Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Bretagne*, there were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Stafford* and *Suffolk*, the Lord *Edward Spencer*, one of the Greateſt Barons of the Realm, at that time Conſtable of all the Hoſt, the Lord *Robert Willoughby*, the Lord *Michael de la Pole*, the Lord *Ralph Baſſet* of *Drayton*, the Lord *Ralph Baſſet* of *Sapcote*, the Lord *Thomas Holland*, the Canon *Robſart*, the Lord *Henry Percy*, the Lord *Lewis Clifford*, the Lord *William Beauchamp*, the Lord *John Falveſle*, the Lord *John Burwaſh*, the Lord *John Mohun*, Sr. *Richard Ponchardon*, Sr. *Walter Hewet*, Sr. *Stephen Coſſington*, Sr. *John Bourchier*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *John Harpedon*, Sr. *Robert Twyford*, Sr. *Matthew Redmayne*, Sr. *Geoffry Say*, Sr. *Thomas Spencer*, Sr. *Thomas Fowkes*, Sr. *Hugh Brudnel*, Sr. *Nicolas Gaſcogne*, Sr. *Geoffry Werkeſly*, Sr. *Thomas Emerton*, Sr. *John Chandler*, Sr. *Philip Cambray*, Sr. *Lionel Dautrey* and many Others, whoſe Names at this Diſtance are not eaſily recoverable. The *French* King, who knew beforehand of all this mighty Preparation againſt him had provided ſufficiently for the Defence of his Cities, Towns, Caſtles and Fortreſſes in *Artois*, *Picardy* and *Vermandois*, having well ſtock'd them with Souldiers, as *Frenchmen*, *Bretons*, *Burgundians*, *Picards*, *Normans* and divers that belonged to the Empire. The Duke of *Lancaſter* having ſtaid a while at *Calais* to refreſh his Men, and to fit the Carriages, whereof there was in Abundance, began on the 20 of *July* to march from *Calais*, in three Great Bodies, as well order'd as poſſibly could be deviſed. Firſt went the Battails of the Marſhals, who were the Earls of *Warwick* and *Suffolk*: Then came the two Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Bretagne*, and with them a Noble Company of Men of Arms, Bow-men and others: And laſtly, the Third Battail was lead by the Conſtable the Lord *Edward Spencer*; all Three marching forward in good Order, ready arm'd and accoutred at all points, as if they expected every Moment to give or receive an Onſet. And none were permitted to go before the Marſhals battail without ſpecial Licence, it being their Uſe not to march above three or four Leagues a Day, and at Night to lie all together in one Field, keeping good Watch, like expert Men of War. In this manner they paſſed by *Montrevil*, whereof the Lord of *Hambour* was Captain, but they gave no Aſſault there, as neither had they done to St. *Omers* nor *Terroüenne*: But their Van-Currours burnt and ravaged in the Earl of St. *Paul's* Lands, and ſo came near to *Arras*, the two Dukes being lodged in the Abbey of Mount St. *Eloy*, where they tarried two Days. Paſſing thence they coaſted *Arras*, but attempted it not; for they thought it would be but loſt Labour ſo to do. Thence they went to *Bray* on the *Somme*, and there the two Marſhals made a fierce Aſſault before the Gates: Among others that behav'd themſelves notably at that time, the *Canon Robſart* fell'd three Valiant Men to the Earth with his good Sword; for the Skirmiſh was exceeding hot: But the *Frenchmen* behav'd themſelves manfully, and loſt little or nothing, there being in the Town many choſen Knights and Eſquires of *Picardy*, whoſe Chief Captains were the Vicount of *Meaulx*, and Sr. *Ralph de Menac*. Wherefore the *Engliſh* Army paſſed on ſtill coaſting the River of

[r] *Froiſ. c.* 310. *f.* 190.

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Somme, with Design to get over at *Ham* in *Vermandois*, and at St. *Quintins* four leagues off. While thus the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who was King *Edward's* Lieutenant, marched along with his Army, the Lord of *Boſſut* in *Heinalt* being come into *France*, chanced to paſs by the Bridge of *Ham*, where he was earneſtly requeſted by the Inhabitants to accept of Wages from them, and to ſtay and help to defend them from the *Engliſh*. He condeſcended to their requeſt, and tarried there two Days, till the Duke of *Lancaſter's* whole Army was gone by; for they took their way higher to enter into *Vermandois*, and to get over the River at a ſtraighter Paſſage. But when the Lord of *Boſſut* ſaw and knew, that the *Engliſhmen* were all gone by, and that they drew toward St. *Quintins* and *Ribemont*, where his Father-in-Law the Lord of *Chinon* was at that time, the ſaid Lord, and himſelf alſo in Right of his Wife, holding fair Lands and Inheritance thereabout, upon theſe Accounts, and becauſe he knew *Ribemont* was but indifferently provided of Men of War, he now took his leave of the Inhabitants of *Ham*, from whom he received many tokens of their Thanks, and rode thitherward with that ſmall Company which he had. He was certainly in no ſmall Danger all the way, for the Land was full of *Engliſhmen*; ſo that he was but hardly got into St. *Quintins*, when the *Engliſh* Currours were at the Gates after him. There the Lord of *Boſſut* found Sr. *William* of *Bourdes*, who made him very welcome, and deſired him to ſtay there with him; but the other ſhewed ſuch good Reaſons, that he obtain'd not only free leave to paſs on to *Ribemont*, which he ſaid was deſtitute of a Captain, but alſo twelve Croſsbows out of St. *Quintins*, beſides thoſe few with him. He had rode but little way in the head of this Company, when he eſpied afar off a great Body of *Engliſh*, whom nevertheleſs he eaſily avoided by taking a lower way on the one ſide of them; for he was well acquainted with the Country. As he rode thus in danger enough towards *Ribemont*, he luckily encountred with a Knight of *Burgundy*, called Sr. *John Bull*, who was riding toward St. *Quintins*, but being perſwaded by the Lord of *Boſſut*, he reſolved to go along with him for *Ribemont*, when both together they made up about fourty Men of Arms and twenty Croſsbows. As thus theſe two Captains rode toward *Ribemont*, and had ſent one before them to give warning to the Townſmen of their coming, they ſaw another Troop of *Engliſh* conſiſting of about fourſcore Men, but they all out of Order and ſtraggling, as Men that had been ſcatter'd abroad to find Forage; then the *Frenchmen* cry'd to one another, "*See yonder are our Enemies laden* "*with Plunder, let us make haſt and partake with them.* And with that they clapt Spurs to their Horſes, and ſet forward a good Gallop crying out, "*Our Lady of* Ribe- "mont *to the Reſcue*; and ſo ſtrack in ſuddenly among the *Engliſh*, whom they eaſily diſcomfited, and ſlew the moſt part; happy was he that could get away. Having given this Overthrow to the *Engliſh* they preſently came to *Ribemont*, where they found the Lord of *Chinon*, who was newly come thither with fourty Spears, and twenty Croſsbows too. As theſe three Captains ſtood Complementing before the Caſtle, their Men being retired to their Lodgings to unarm, they ſuddenly heard the Watchman crying out, "*To Arms, to Arms! the Enemy is coming.* At this they drew their Men together again and demanded of the Watchmen, what Number he thought they might be? He anſwer'd, that according to his judgment they were about Fourſcore Men of Arms. Then ſaid the Lord of *Boſſut*, "Gentlemen, 'tis fit we go forth and fight them; for 'twould reflect upon us, to permit them to come ſo near to our Fortreſs, without calling them in Queſtion. "Well ſaid, my Fair Son, quoth the Lord of *Chinon*, "cauſe our Horſes to be brought forth there, and diſplay abroad my Banner. My Lords "(ſaid Sr. *John Bull*) you ſhall not go without me: But however my Advice is, that we "be not too raſh: For perhaps theſe are but Forerunners of the *Engliſh* Marſhals, or the "Conſtable's Battail, to entice us from our Hold; and if ſo, our Sallying forth may "turn to our Diſadvantage. Said the Lord *Boſſut*, if You'll follow my Counſel, we will "go forth and fight, that briefly! Fall out what will! I am reſolved to meet them. With that they all Three clapt on their Helmets, mounted their Horſes, and ſallied forth with [f] Sixſcore Men in their Company; the *Engliſh* being about [f] Fourſcore, all of Sr. *Hugh Calverley's* Troops, but Sr. *Hugh* himſelf was not there, he rode with the Duke of *Lancaſter*; however there were about ſix Knights and many Eſquires among them, all who came thither to revenge their Fellows, that had been overthrown a little before by the Lord of *Boſſut* and Sr. *John Bull*. As ſoon as e'r the *Frenchmen* were out of the Gate, they met with the *Engliſh*, who couching their Spears ran in among them, but the *French* readily open'd to the Right and Left, and ſo gave them free Paſſage: Whereupon with the quick Motion of their Horſes feet there aroſe ſuch a Duſt, that for the preſent they could hardly ſee or know one another. The mean while the *Frenchmen*

[f] *Froiſ. c.* 310. *fol.* 191.

men wiſely cloſed themſelves together, and crying out *our Lady of Ribemont*, return'd again upon them, and then there began a fierce Medley, many being overthrown on both ſides. The Lord of *Chinon* had in his hand an heavy Plummet of lead, wherewith he batter'd Helmets, and fell'd to the Earth ſuch as he could light on: For he was a big and ſtrong Knight, and well-form'd of his Limbs. But at laſt he himſelf receiv'd ſuch a ſtroke on the Helmet, that he had fallen to the ground, had he not been held up by an Eſquire next unto him: But the Blow grieved him while he liv'd, which was not long after. Several *Engliſh* Men wondred to ſee the Lord of *Chinon's* Banner: For it was [t] of ſix Barrs Varry and Gules; ſo that it ſeem'd the ſame with the Lord of *Coucy's* Earl of *Bedford*, for he bare Barry of Viverry and Gules, which made the *Engliſh* ſay to one another; "*How is this, that the Lord of* Coucy *hath ſent Men hither* "*againſt us, ſince he ought to be our Friend?* This was an hard Rencounter, and fiercely fought on both ſides, but at laſt the *Engliſh* had the worſt, moſt of them being taken or ſlain; but a few eſcaped back again. The Lord of *Boſſut* took two Brethren, a Knight and an Eſquire named *Pennenorts*, Priſoners; and Sr. *John Bull* had two more, with whom they returned. Preſently after, the whole *Engliſh* Army marched by *Ribemont* without any Aſſault or Skirmiſh: And by the Duke of *Lancaſter's* Order they forbare to commit any Hoſtility in the Lands of the Lord of *Coucy*, becauſe he was then in *Lombardy* fighting for the Church againſt Duke *Bernabo* of *Milain*, and concern'd himſelf nothing with the Wars of *France*. Thence the *Engliſh* Army went and encamped in the Valleys of *Laon* and thereabouts, between *Bruyeres* and *Creſpy*, having done much harm in the Lands of *Laonnois*: Thô indeed the *French* King had beforehand cauſed all the Moveables and Proviſion in the Plain Country to be withdrawn into ſtrong Fortreſſes, moſt whereof were ſo well defended, that the *Engliſh* could expect but little Advantage in Aſſaulting them. Nor did the Duke of *Lancaſter* much care to buſie himſelf and loſe his time in Attacking of Paltry Towns, which would revolt as ſoon as ever they were won: He rather deſired that the *French* King would ſend out an Army againſt him, that ſo the Fate of the two Kingdoms might be fairly decided in open Field. But that Politick Prince ne'r intended any ſuch matter, but gave ſtrict Command to the Conſtable and all his other great Captains, that they ſhould not upon any account adventure to engage with the whole Power of the *Engliſh*; but only follow them cloſe at the Heels, and to keep them as ſhort as might be. And thus it was done, the *Frenchmen* lying in ſtrong Fortreſſes at nights, and ever in the Day-time following the *Engliſh* Army aloof; but they knowing, how narrowly they were watched on all Hands, rode cloſe together, the Conſtable of the Hoſt with a good Number of Choſen Men ſecuring the Reer.

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[t] True Uſe of Armory in the Life of the Captal of *Buſche* p. 151. *Vid. Aſhmole's Garter* Plate 39. & *Mill's Catal. Honor.* p. 440.

One Morning the *Engliſh* Army having paſs'd *Soiſſons*, a City between *Picardy* and *Champaigne*, there were ſixſcore *Engliſh* Spears forerunners of the Army, that in ravaging about the Country, fell ſuddenly within the Danger of an Ambuſh of *Burgundians* and *Frenchmen*, the Captains whereof were Sr. *John de Vien* the Younger, Sr. *John Bull*, Sr. *William Bourdes*, Sr. *Hugh Porcien*, Sr. *John* of *Coucy*, the Vicount of *Meaulx*, the Lords of *Ravenal* and *Bonne*, and others, who with 300 Spears had all along coaſted the *Engliſh*, watching to find ſome Advantage againſt them. And that Night they lay in the Field, where they made an Ambuſh in a little Wood hard by *Soiſſons*; near which the ſixſcore *Engliſhmen* aforeſaid paſs'd early next Morning to ſeek for Prey and Plunder; the Main Army being lodged a little behind them. As ſoon as they were paſs'd this Wood, the *Frenchmen* came forth of their Ambuſh, and diſplay'd their Banners and Penons, preparing to engage them. When the *Engliſh* ſaw ſo conſiderable a Body of the Enemy ſo near unto them, they faced about and ſtood ſtill, to conſider what courſe to take; but firſt of all they ſent Advice to the Army, which was not far behind. Now there was a very conſiderable Captain among the *Engliſh*, whoſe Name in *Froiſard* is corruptly written Sr. *Walter Manny*, whereas by [u] his own Confeſſion, that Noble Lord died at *London* the Year before. This Gentleman, whatever his true Name was, being not far thence, as ſoon as he heard of the Matter, leap'd ſuddenly on his Horſe, with Spear in Hand, but thrô haſte without either Helmet or Viſor, and ſo rode thither raſhly and without conſideration, his Men following as faſt as they could; but there in the heat of the Fray this Knight was ſtricken thrô the Neck, and fell down Dead, the other *Engliſh* fought Valiantly; but they were overpower'd, and all taken or ſlain, except a few, that very hardly eſcaped. Theſe *Engliſh* Knights were there taken Priſoners, Sr. *Matthew Redmayne*, Sr. *Thomas Fowkes*, Sr. *Hugh Brudnel*, Sr. *Thomas Spencer*, Sr. *Thomas Emerton*, Sr. *Nicolas Gaſcogne*, Sr. *John Chandler*, Sr. *Philip Cambray*, Sr. *John Harpedon*, Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *Robert*

[u] *Vid. Lib.* 4. *c.* 9. §. 1. *p.* 827. *&c.*

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bert Twyford, Sr. *Geoffry Say*, Sr. *John Bourchier*, Sr. *Geoffry Werkesley*, Sr. *Lionel Dautrey*, and of Esquires *William Dautrey*, *John Galliard*, *Thomas Bradley*, *Henry Monford*, *Guy Hewet*, *John Meinil*, *William Gostwick*, *John Flamstead*, *Thomas Solerant*, *William Quintin*, *Robert Boteler*, *Robert Audeley*, *Ralph Stanley*, and *Thomas Archer*. When News came to the *English* Host how their Forerunners were engaged, the Marshals made haste to send them a Reinforcement, they themselves moving after with a strong Battalion: But all was too late, the Matter by this time was wholly over, and the *French* and *Burgundians* had quitted the Field with all their Prisoners, so that the *English* knew not where to find them. This was the Issue of that Rencountre which happen'd near to *Ouchy le Chasteau*, not far from *Soissons*, on the 20 day of * *October* in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXXIII.

* *Nà substituo pro* Froisardi Feurier, *quia Dux* Lancastriæ *hanc expeditionem Julio mense aggressus finierat eandem ante Natalem Domini: Quare corruptio sit necesse est.*

After these two Losses at *Ribemont* and *Ouchy le Chasteau*, there fell no other adventure to the Duke of *Lancaster* worth the mention: For thô still the Army was fain to go thrô many a straight and hazardous passage; yet ever afterwards they rode all together, or at least in stronger Parties, when they went to Forage: The Duke of *Burgundy* and other Lords of *France* watching all Opportunities to cut them off. And still as the *French* King shew'd any Discontent, when he heard of the Havock they made about in the Country, his Council would say unto him; "*Sir, suffer a little longer* "*and let them go on in Gods Name: for thus they will never be able to wrest your King-*"*dom from You: They will weary and spend themselves to no purpose; but long they* "*cannot subsist. For behold, when a Storm or Tempest ariseth; if Men will but keep* "*within Doors, it wasteth away of it self, without much harm doing; and thus you shall* "*see it will happen to these* Englishmen. And here we shall take our leave for the present of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and what remains of this Expedition, till we have Dispatched other Matters that fall in this place.

[y] *Froiss. c.* 311. *fol.* 191. *b.*

XIV. It may be remembred, [y] how we spake lately of Sr. *Robert Knolles*, that he came to his Castle of *Derval*, which was his Inheritance, and that he wholly cancell'd and brake off the Treaty made between his Men and the Duke of *Anjou*, who also laid claim to the same Castle, as which had been formerly given unto him by the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, when he took to Wife the said Lord *Charles* his Daughter: Thô after the Death of the said Lord *Charles*, *John* of *Monford*, the true Duke of *Bretagne*, gave it to Sr. *Robert Knolles*, a Knight of *England*, to him and his Heirs for ever, in Requital of his many signal Services done unto him in all his Wars. Therefore now the Duke of *Anjou* went in Person before *Derval*, resolving by Siege or Assault to win the Place: But about the time he first came thither the *French* King sent hastily unto him, to the Constable, to the Lord *Clisson*, and all the Knights of *Bretagne*, *Poictou*, and the low Marches, and the rest, that lay with the Duke before *Derval*, commanding them to return with all their Power into *France*, to assist his Brother, the Duke of *Burgundy* in coasting and cutting short the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was then marching thrô *France*. Upon this the Duke of *Anjou* sent to those within *Derval*, urging them to make haste and yield up their Castle, as they had promised. But when the Day was come and past, whereon it was to be deliver'd, and yet no such thing once offer'd, the Duke began to wonder what they meant; for thô he knew how Sr. *Robert Knolles* was got in with some Succour both of Men and Provision, yet he hop'd, they would not break the Obligation, to which they were bound, and thereby expose the Lives of their Hostages. However not daring to linger much here because of the *French* Kings Letters, he sent an Herald to Sr. *Robert Knolles*, and especially to Sr. *Hugh Bright*, who had made the Agreement with him, which Herald being admitted into the Castle, said, "Gentlemen, my Lords have sent me hither, to "know the Reason, why you don't take care to acquit your Hostages, and deliver up "the Castle, according to Covenant, to which, Sr. *Hugh*, you are bound by Oath. To this Sr. *Robert Knolles* answer'd, "Herald, tell your Masters, that without my leave "my Men could make no Composition concerning the Delivery of what was not their "own: Go to them again, and tell them so from me. The Herald return'd with this Answer, and was sent back again with this Message; "Gentlemen, my Lords send you "once again word by Me, how the Composition was, that you should not receive any "one into your Fortress, till the day prefixed; and yet since that Agreement was made, "and before the appointed term of two Months was ended, they have admitted you, "Sr. *Robert Knolles*, into their Fortress, which they ought not to have done. Where-"fore, Sir, know for certain, that unless you yield up the Castle forthwith, your Ho-"stages shall lose their Heads. "Herald, answer'd Sr. *Robert*, for all the Menacing of "your Masters, I will not lose my Castle so, by God! Tell them they may do their

"worst

"worst; but if so be that the Duke put my Men to Death, let him know, that I shall serve "him like for like: For here within I have both Knights and Esquires of *France* my Prisoners; and thô I might have an 100000 Franks for their Ransom, yet they shall surely "die every Man of them, if he offers to do so to the Hostages. With this Answer the Herald went his way, and reported what he had heard: Presently whereupon the Duke of *Anjou*, all enflam'd, as he was, with Anger, call'd for the Executioner, and caused the Hostages, being two Knights and an Esquire of *England*, to be brought before the Castle, whose Heads were all immediately struck off in sight of Sr. *Robert* and his Men. Then the enraged Sr. *Robert Knolles* caused a broad board to be thrust out at one of the Hall Windows, and four Prisoners, which he had there with him, Three Knights, and One Esquire, for whom he might have had a great Ransom, all these he order'd to be brought thither, and so the Executioner struck off their Heads, flinging down their Bodies one way and their Heads another into the Ditch.

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After this unhappy sight the *Frenchmen* brake up their Siege, and went all into *France*, the Duke of *Anjou* returning to *Paris* to the King, his Brother. But the Constable, the Lord *Oliver Clisson*, and the rest rode toward the City of *Troyes* in *Champaigne*; for the *English* were then in the Marches thereabout having passed the *Marne*, and directing their Course toward *Auxerre*.

XV. Now since the *Christian* Religion, which might chiefly expect to be Defended by the Arms of the *French* and *English*, being destitute almost of all Aid, was in a manner overwhelmed by the Victories of the Infidels; it is to be remembred, that Pope *Gregory* XI, had the last Year induced the Two Kings to hold a Treaty at *Calais*: But that being dissolved without any good effect, he again prevail'd with them to hold another at *Bruges* this Year, and therewithall [z] sollicited both *Edward* and *Charles* to embrace peaceable Counsels: To which that he might prepare the Minds of those Nobles, who were to be on both sides at this Treaty in the Names of the Two Kings, he directs his Letters also to them; wherein having set forth the Miseries of *Christendom* in General, arising from this Discord, he gives them a shrew'd *innuendo*, that those of them, who shall be found to be in Fault, if Peace doth not ensue, are to expect no less then the Utmost the Church can inflict.

[z] Greg. XI. *Tom. 2. Epist. sec. p.* 237, 238, 239. *Vid. Odor. Rainal. ad hunc annum* §. 22.

"GREGORY the Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his Dear Sons in "*Christ*, the Ambassadors of our Most Dear Son in *Christ*, *Edward* the Illustrious King "of *England*, Commissioned to treat of, and to reform a Peace between Him and our "most Dear Son in *Christ*, *Charles* the Illustrious King of *France*, at *Bruges*, in the "Diœcese of *Tournay*, Greeting, and Apostolical Benediction. Considering, how much "the Hostile Commotion of the Two Kings, so long radicated, and so hurtfull to the "whole World, hath been, and is, prejudicial to the Affairs of the Holy Land, and not "only induces the *Babylonish* Tyrant to the Destruction of *Christians*, but hath also lately administred unto many Infidels, the Courage to seise on the Lands of *Christians*, "and to extinguish the [a] Name of the *Christian* Religion; and that if the said Infidels shall perceive, that Discord shall endure between the said Kings of *England* and "*France*, and Concord shall be banished, of their wonted madness they will arise more "Couragiously and boldly against the *Christians* and their Lands, and will assume the "greater Confidence to bring upon *Christian* Kings, Kingdoms and People more heavy, "and pernicious Troubles, than before, to the Execution whereof the foresaid most "wicked Infidels do already (as is said) prepare and dispose themselves: And not be"ing able any longer to endure the like War and Discord, as also weighing, and often "revolving, that We and our Predecessors, Popes of *Rome*, by frequent sending both "Cardinals of the Holy *Roman* Church, and divers other Nuntio's of the Apostolick "See to those Parts, have in this point shewn what Diligence, We could; since We "cannot see any further Remedy, if this Concord and Peace cannot be perfected, We "intend not any longer to delay; but forthwith to proceed without any Favour, Justice "always being our Guide, against that Party (of the two) which shall appear to be the "Occasion thereof, and all its Favourers, Counsellers, and Assistants whatsoever, by Eccle"siastical Censures, and other Remedies of Law. Dat. *Aven.* III Non. *Jan. An°. Pont.* II.

[a] *Lat.* aliàs, & *ad Religionem* Christiani *Nominis extinguendam.*

The same [b] Letters only *mutatis mutandis* were sent to the Ambassadors of the *French* King at the same time. But the Rancour of their Minds was too great, and the Difficulty of adjusting Affairs to both their satisfaction too impracticable, to admit of any tolerable Agreement at this time: Thô *Simon* of the Title of St. *Sixtus*, and *John* of the Title of the *Four-Crowned-Saints*, being sent unto the Two Kings, and much stirr'd up by the Popes Letters, are reported to have spared no pains in the Affair.

[b] *Tom. 2. Ep. secret. p. 237. Vid. Odoric. Rainald. ibid.*

This was in the beginning of the Year, as appears by the Date of the Pope's Letters; but

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but now, when the Duke of *Lancaſter* was thus upon his March thrô *France*, and all things tended to a Deſperate War, the Pope ſent again into *France* his two Legates, the Archbiſhop of *Rouën*, and the Biſhop of *Carpentras*, to treat of a Peace, if poſſible, between the Two Kings. Theſe Pious Prelates took much Pains in riding too and fro between the *French* King and his Brethren on the One Part, and the Duke of *Lancaſter* on the other, but all to no purpoſe: For all the while the *Engliſh* Duke rode forward, as we have partly ſhew'd, piercing thrô, and ravaging from *Artois* and *Picardy*, thrô *Champaigne*, *Burgundy*, *Beaujolois*, *le Foreſtes*, *Auvergne*, and *Limoſin*; by the *Loire*, even to the *Lot*, *Dordogne*, and *Garonne*, Rivers of *Guienne*.

[c] *Froiſ.* Gallicè *fol.* 257. *a.*

XVI. Much part [c] of this long way, being at that time the whole extent of the Kingdom of *France*, gave indeed great trouble to the *Engliſh*; beſides thoſe few Loſſes We have related; for not to mention the many Difficulties incident to ſuch a long March, eſpecially when Proviſion was ſo hard to be got, the Duke of *Lancaſter* loſt many, both Men and Horſes, thrô ſome ſecret indiſpoſition: From which neither were the *Frenchmen* free; for there died ſeveral of them, and particularly three Lords of *Hainalt*, as the Lord *Fatieres* of *Berlammont*, the Lord *Bridol* of *Montagne*, and the Begue of *Werlan*. But there was no ſuch Matter, as ſome Hiſtorians too raſhly report, namely, that the Duke of *Lancaſter's* Army of 30000 was reduced only to 6000 by that time he came to *Bourdeaux*; unleſs it be meant, that he had no more Horſes left. For of them it muſt be confeſſed, how there periſhed a great Number for want of Fodder, as well becauſe all Provender was convey'd away into ſtrong Places, as becauſe the *French* King by his ſeveral flying Parties kept them from Foraging: So that whatever they got was dearly bought, and not fetch'd in to the Army without many Hands. Wherefore more wiſely doth Honeſt [d] *Fabian* ſay from the *French* Writers themſelves, that thô indeed this Expedition was Honourable to the *Engliſh*, becauſe they rode thrô the whole Realm of *France* unfought withall, yet was it alſo exceeding troubleſome and chargeable unto them, conſidering the many miſchiefs they met withall in their long March, eſpecially the great Loſs of Horſes.

[d] *Fabian p.* 258.

When the Duke of *Lancaſter* had paſt the *Loire* about *Roanne*, he was informed how the *Frenchmen* prepar'd to entertain him, as they ſhould find opportunity, with ſundry Ambuſcadoes. Wherefore he preſently [e] ſet his light Horſemen with a Diviſion of Archers in the Front: and in the Main Battail, where he himſelf was with the Duke of *Bretagne*, the whole Force of his Footmen, and Men of Arms on each ſide for Wings to cover them: The Reſt of the Horſe with the other Diviſion of Archers he appointed to be in the Reer, and having commanded them all to March cloſe together in this Order, he thus fruſtrated all further attempts of his Enemies, and came in ſafety into *Poictou*, where in Revenge of their Defection from *England* he began a new ſpoil, killing and ranſoming the people, waſting the Country, and firing the Towns, whereever he came, till at laſt he arrived at *Bergerac* in his way to *Bourdeaux*, the *Frenchmen* always following, till he came thither, at the tail, and coaſting him as they ſaw occaſion, without any further Advantage, than what we have mention'd. But the Duke of *Anjou* having left *Paris*, and joyn'd the Conſtable, rode above towards *Rouvergue*, *Rodez*, and *Tholouſe*; but at laſt they return'd to *Perigort*; where the two Legates then were, having rode between the two Parties, preaching and laying many ſound Reaſons before them, to bring them to ſome Agreement; but they were both ſo harden'd, that neither would admit of Peace, without ſome apparent Advantage, which the other would not grant. So about the beginning of *November* the Duke of *Lancaſter* came to *Bourdeaux*; where both he and the Duke of *Bretagne* lay all that Winter and the Lent following; only ſome few taking their leave, now the Campaine was over, among whom the Lord *Ralph Baſſet* of *Sapcote* with his Retinue went back into *England*; whereat the King was much diſpleas'd, and chode him ſeverely; that he would offer to return without his Lord and General.

[e] *Poly d. Virg. & Holinſh. p.* 994.

Of this Expedition we are to obſerve, that ſome thrô largeneſs of ſpeech have made it to begin in *Flanders*; whereas it is to be underſtood, as We have ſhewn, at *Calais*, which confines on *Flanders*. And ſo Sr. *William Dugdale* is to be expounded, who ſpeaks of an Expedition this Year made into *Flanders*; wherein he [f] ſays were preſent the Lord *Edward Spencer*, the Lord * *John Falveſle*, the Lord *John Willoughby*, the Lord *John Burwaſh*, the Lord *John Mohun*, and the *Canon Robſart*, all who were notoriouſly in this Expedition. And indeed our [g] old M.S. ſo often quoted, makes this Expedition into *Flanders*, and that which We have treated of, to be the ſame; in theſe Words, *Soon after the Duke of* Lancaſter *with a great Hoſt went into* Flanders, *and paſſed by* Paris *thorough* Burgundy, *and thorough all* France, *till he came to* Bourdeaux *without any manner of withſtanding of the* Frenchmen, *&c.*

[f] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 396.
* *Id.* 2 *Vol. p.* 173.
[g] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c.* 236.

XVII. But

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XVII. But now it is time to look a little at Home, where Matters concerning the Government were concerted; and from whence indeed all Publick Actions had their first springs and Motion. King *Edward* had [h] ſummon'd his High Court of Parliament to meet Him this Year at *Weſtminſter*, on the next Day after St. *Edmund* the King, that is, on the 20 of *November*, which fell then on a *Sunday*. To which Parliament as Dr. *William de Lynne*, *alias Lulimere*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, [i] was taking Horſe to ride, he was ſuddenly ſeized with an Apoplexy, whereof he died ſoon after, *viz.* on the 18 of *November*, two days before the Parliament was to ſit.

On the *Sunday* [k] Morning Proclamation was made in *Weſtminſter* Hall, that all thoſe who had been ſummon'd to the Parliament might for the preſent depart, but ſo as to be ready the next Morning in the Painted Chamber, to hear the Cauſes, why the King had call'd them together.

Accordingly the next Day Sr. *John Knivet* Lord Chancellor of *England*, before the King, Prince, Lords and Commons declared. "How becauſe the Peace was broken "by the *French*, the King to reſiſt his Adverſaries, and to obtain his own Right had "ſent over ſeveral conſiderable Armies, and now laſtly his Son the King of *Caſtille* "and [l] *Leon*, and Duke of *Lancaſter*, who had atchieved many great Exploits to the "Overthrow of his Enemies, and had acquitted himſelf right Nobly. How further his "Majeſty had ſet forth a Royal Navy of Ships; towards all which thô the Subject "had for his Part given a liberal Supply, yet the Prince was at infinite more Charges "than that amounted to. He put them alſo in Mind, that ſuch Nobles and others, "who hazarded their Lives for the Defence of the whole Realm, ought ſpeedily to be "reinforced with new Supplies and Aſſiſtance; and the rather becauſe the Enemy never "made himſelf more ſtrong by Sea and by Land than at that time. Wherefore the King wil-"led them throughly to weigh thoſe Matters, conſidering that becauſe the Winter Seaſon "began to wear away, their Reſolves ought therefore to be the more ſpeedy as to the "next Campain. Upon this they were all licenſed to adjourn till the next Day. Then certain of the Houſe of Commons coming unto the Houſe of Lords requeſted, that certain of the Lords, whoſe Names are in the Records of this Parliament, would vouchſafe to confer with the Commons: To which the ſaid Lords condeſcending went preſently into the Chamberlain's Chamber, there to treat with the Houſe of Commons. On the *Thurſday* in the Week before the Feaſt of St. *Andrew*, being the 24 of *November*, the Lords and Commons, after Conſultation had, agreed upon a Grant to the King for aid of his Wars, as is contained at large in a Schedule Indented, thô without any Seals thereunto annexed, the Effect whereof followeth, *viz.* "The Lords and "Commons grant unto the Kings Majeſty two Fifteens to be paid in two Years, of e-"very Twenty Shillings of Merchandiſe coming into the Realm, or going out, Sixpence "for two Years, except of Wooll-Skins and Wooll-Fells; alſo the Subſidie of Wooll "for two Years, on Condition, that if the Wars do ceaſe within two Years, then the "latter Payment of all their Grants to ceaſe. And they humbly pray, that theſe Grants "may be employ'd upon the Wars, and they pray, that every Ship may have their Com-"miſſions without any thing paying; alſo they pray further, that none of the Houſe "of Commons may be appointed to be a Collector of any of theſe Grants. This Schedule being deliver'd to the King was read before him, after which the Commons requeſted an Anſwer of their Petitions, which was promiſed; the chief whereof were theſe. That the Great Charter and Charters of the Foreſt be kept. *It pleaſeth the King.* That the City of *London*, and all other Cities and Towns may enjoy their Liberties, any Statute notwithſtanding. *Let any ſhew the breaches in particular, and they ſhall be anſwer'd.* That the Staple be kept in *Calais*, and no Patent or Grant be made to the contrary. *The King will appoint the Staple as to him and his Council ſhall ſeem beſt.* Certain Counties there named do pray, that for their more eaſie Carriage of Woolls, a Staple may be at *Lynne*. *The King granteth thereto, ſo that ſtill the Staple at* Yarmouth *ſhall continue.* That as for the Tythe of Wood above Twenty Years Growth, it may be Enacted, that no Tythe ſhall be due, and that in all ſuch Caſes a Prohibition may be granted. *Such Prohibition ſhall be granted, as hath heretofore been uſed.* That Remedy may be had againſt the Chirographer, becauſe he will not engroſs any Fine within the Terme, untill the Foot of the Fine be fretted, unleſs he may have Three Shillings and Four Pence, or [n] Four Shillings more than his due Fee of [n] Four Shillings. *Let the Aggrieved come to the Common-Pleas and he ſhall have Right.* That the Statute of Labourers may be executed four times in the Year; and that the Juſtices may be removed for not doing their Duty. *The King granteth thereto.* That Villenage may be only tried where it is laid, and no where elſe. *The King meaneth not to alter the Law*

as

[h] *M.S. Rot. Par. p.* 112. *& Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgment p.* 115. *&* 116. Lit. Dom. B.

[i] *Godw. Catal. Biſh. p.* 444.

[k] *M.S. Rot. Par. & Sr. Rob. Cotton ibid.*

[l] Aragon *in M.S. & Sr. Rob. Cotton malé.*

[n] *Ita M.S. ſed* 40 *s. Sr. Rob. Cotton.*

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as to this point. That Masters of Ships shall be paid their Wages for them and their Mariners from the Day of their being appointed to serve the King. *The taking up of Ships shall not be but upon Necessity, and the Payment shall be reasonable as heretofore.* The said Masters of Ships request, that they may have Allowance for the Tackling of their Ships worn out in the King's Service. *Such Allowance hath not been made heretofore.* The Commons request Remedy against the Provisions of the Pope, whereby he reaps the First-Fruits of Ecclesiastical Dignities, the Treasure of the Realm being thereby convey'd away, which they cannot bear. *The King hath already Honourable Ambassadors at the Court of* Rome, *touching these Grievances, before whose Return he cannot well answer as to that point.* [And it is to be understood, [n] that not long before the King had sent the Ambassadors aforesaid to *Avignon* to require of Pope *Gregory*, that as to the Reservation of Benefices of *England* made in his Court, he would supersede Medling for the future, that Clergymen might freely enjoy their Elections to Episcopal Dignities; and that it might be sufficient for them to be confirmed by their Metropolitans, as was the Antient Custom. Upon these and the like Abuses they required Remedy of the Pope, concerning all which Articles the said Ambassadors had certain Answers from his Holiness, touching which the Pope enjoyned them upon their Return into *England* to certifie him by their Letters of the King's Will, and of his Realm; and also that they would press the King to let him first know what he and his Council design'd to do, before they proceeded to determine any thing as to the Premises: The Result whereof we shall refer to the next Year. However in this Parliament it was Enacted, That Cathedral Churches should enjoy their own Elections, and that for the future the King should not write against the Persons so Elected; but rather by his Ltters endeavour their Confirmation if need were: But this Statute availed not much afterward.] The [o] Burgesses of *Bristow* in this Parliament require, that the said Town with the Suburbs thereof may be a County of it self, and that the Perambulation of the same with the Bounds thereof returned into the Chancery, with all the Liberties and Charters thereto granted, may be confirmed by Act of Parliament. *The King is content to grant, that the Charters, Liberties and Perambulation aforesaid may be confirmed under the Great Seal.* That no *French* Prior Alien be permitted to dwell within twenty Miles of the Sea-Coast for several Reasons there specified. *The King by his Council will provide therefore.* That Remedy may be had, that Men be not called into the Exchequer upon Suggestion without Process contrary to the Statute made in the 42 Year of the King. *Let any particular Man complain and he shall find Remedy.*

[n] *Walsing. hist. p.* 183. *n.* 20. *& M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 236. *Caxton, &c.*

[o] *M.S. Rot. Par. ut ante & Sr. Rob. Cotton ibid.*

After this the Lord Chancellor in the Kings Name gave great Thanks to the Lords and Commons, and so this Session ended.

It is to be observed, that the Printed Statute touching the Assize of Broad Cloath *Cap.* 1. agreeth with the Record: As also that *Cap.* 2. touching *Scottish* Silver Coin.

XVIII. This Year it is reported, [p] that there happen'd in *Italy*, *France* and *England*, especially in the Lower Countries, a certain Maniack Passion or Frenzy unknown to former Ages: for those who were tormented therewith, which for the most part were the Scum of the People, stript themselves stark naked, put Garlands of Flowers on their Heads, and taking one another by the Hands, went about in the streets and into the Churches, dancing, singing and turning round with such vehemence, that they would fall down to the ground quite out of Breath. This Agitation made them swell so prodigiously, that within an Hours time they would burst, unless some-body took care to bind their Bellies about with strong Swathing-bands. Those who looked on them too earnestly, were often tainted with the same Malady: It was thought to have come by some Diabolical Operation, and that Exorcisms did much prevail against it. The Vulgar called it St. *John's* Dance.

[p] *Mezeray ad hunc ann. p.* 92. *& Odor. Rainal. ad an.* 1374. §. 13. *ex Chron. Belg. & Joh. Leyd. &c.*

XIX. There died [q] about this time a valiant Baron of *England*, named the Lord *Miles Stapleton*, one * of the Founders of the most Noble Order of the Garter, leaving behind *Thomas* his Son and Heir, then of full Age, who yet died also this same Year without Issue, leaving his Sister *Elizabeth* his next Heir, she being then married to Sr. *Thomas Metham*: Which Sr *Thomas* having at that time Issue by her, and doing his Homage, had Livery of the Lands of her Inheritance.

[q] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 70. *b.* * *Vid. Lib.* 1. *c.* 22. § 7. *p.* 298.

There died [r] also this Year Dr. *John Thoresby* Archbishop of *York*, and Dr. *John Barnet* Bishop of *Ely*, besides the Bishop of *Worcester*, of whose Death we spake at the beginning of the last Parliament: *Alexander Nevile* succeeded in the See of *York*, *Thomas Fitz-Alan* younger Son to the Earl of *Arundel*, in that of *Ely*, and *Henry Wakefield* in that of *Worcester*.

[r] *Walsing. hist. p.* 183. *Vid. Godwins Catal. Bish. &c.*

CHAP.

CHAPTER the ELEVENTH.

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I. KING *Edward* being perpetually alarum'd as well in Parliament as otherwiſe by his Subjects, who complain'd of the many great Abuſes done unto Him and his Authority by the See of *Rome*; as of their Reſervations and other Arts, whereby they entrenched upon his Prerogative Royal, and the Liberties of the Church of *England*, exhauſting his Kingdom to enrich Strangers, and ſuch as were his Enemies; the King I ſay, being now throughly awaken'd at theſe Cries of his People, among other notable Ways, whereby he encountred theſe Uſurpations, began [a] at this time to require an exact Survey of all Benefices and Dignities Eccleſiaſtical throughout his Dominions, which were then in the Hands of *Italians*, *Frenchmen* or other Aliens, with a true Valuation of the ſame; and ſent unto all his Biſhops his Royal Commiſſion to make ſuch Enquiry; the Tenor whereof followeth.

[a] *Fox Acts & Monum. p.* 560.

"*EDWARD* by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France*, and Lord of *Ire-*
"*land*, to the Right Reverend Father in God *William* by the ſame Grace, Biſhop of
"*Wincheſter*, Greeting. Being willing (for certain Reaſons Us thereunto moving) to
"be certified what and how many Benefices, as well Archdeaconries and other Digni-
"ties, as Vicarages, Parſonages, Prebends and Chapters, within your Diœceſe, there
"be at this preſent in the Hands of *Italians* and other Strangers; what they be, and
"of what Value, and how every of the ſaid Benefices are named, and how much eve-
"ry of them is worth by the Year, not as by way of Tax or Extent, but according to
"the true and full Value of the ſame: As alſo to know the Names of all and ſingular
"ſuch Strangers as are now Incumbents, or occupy the ſame, and of every of them: Like-
"wiſe the Names of all thoſe whether *Engliſh* or Strangers, of what State or Conditi-
"on ſoever they be, who have the Occupation or Diſpoſal of any ſuch Benefices, with
"the Fruits and Profits of the ſame, on the Behalf or by Authority of any of the
"foreſaid Strangers by way of Farm, Title or Procuration, or by any other way or
"means whatſoever, and how long they have occupied or diſpoſed of the ſame; and
"withall, if any of the ſaid Strangers be now reſident upon any of the ſaid Benefices:
"We command you, as heretofore We have done, to ſend Us a true Certificate of
"all and ſingular the Premiſes into our High Court of Chancery, under your Seal di-
"ſtinctly and openly, before the [b] Feaſt of the *Aſcenſion* of our Lord next coming,
"without further delay, returning alſo this our Writ at the ſame time. Witneſs our
"Self at *Weſtminſter* the 16 Day of *April* in the 48 Year of our Reign of *England*,
"and of *France* 35.

[b] *Whitſunday* fell this Year on the 21 of *May*. Lit. Dom. A. *Paſcha* 2 *April.*

By Vertue of this Writ, Certificate was accordingly ſent up to the King into his Chancery out of every Diœceſe in *England*, of all ſuch Spiritual Livings, as were then in the Occupation either of Priors Aliens, or of other Strangers; whereof the Number is ſaid to have been ſo great, that it would take up ſeveral ſheets of Paper, to ſet them all down. Wherefore it ſeem'd high time for the King to ſeek a Remedy in that Caſe,

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either by Treaty with the Pope, or otherwiſe; conſidering, what a vaſt proportion of the Revenues of his Realm, was by this means convey'd away, being either employ'd to the Relief of his Enemies, or however of ſuch, who were neither his Subjects nor Friends. An Inſtance whereof may be ſeen in Mr. *Fox* his Acts and Monuments at the laſt Year of the Reign of King *Edward* III.

II. Shortly after the Return of the ſaid Certificates, the King ſent Mr. *John Wickliffe*, who was afterwards an Eminent Reformer in *England*, and at that time Divinity Profeſſor in the Famous Univerſity of *Oxford*, together with certain others, his Ambaſſadors beyond the Seas, with full Commiſſion to treat with the Pope's Legates concerning the foreſaid Matters, and other Affairs then depending between his Holineſs and the King. The Tenor of their Commiſſion runs thus, *viz.*

* *Fox Acts & Mon. p.* 554. *& al. Edit. p.* 390.

Rex **Univerſis, ad quorum notitiam præſentes literæ pervenerint, &c.* "The King, "unto All, to whoſe knowledge theſe Preſent Letters ſhall come, Greeting. Know Ye, "that We repoſing aſſured Confidence in the Integrity and Abilities of the Reverend "Father *John* Biſhop of *Bangor*, and other our loving and Loyal Subjects, as Maſter "*John Wickliffe*, Reader of the Divinity Lecture, Maſter *John Guttern* Dean of *Sego-* "*via*, and Maſter *Simon Multon*, Dr. of the Law, Sr. *William Burton* Knight, Maſter "*John Belknap*, and Maſter *John Honington*, have directed them, as our Ambaſſadors "and ſpecial Commiſſioners to the Parts beyond the Seas; giving unto our ſaid Ambaſ- "ſadors and Commiſſioners, or to any Six or Five of them (among whom I will that "the ſaid Biſhop ſhall be One) full Power and Authority, with ſpecial Command to "treat and conſult mildly and charitably with the Legates and Ambaſſadors of our Lord, "the Pope, touching certain Affairs (about which We before have ſent the ſaid Biſhop, "*William Vghtred* Monk of *Durham*, and Maſter *John Shepey* to the Apoſtolick See) "and to make full Relation of all things done and tranſacted in the ſaid Aſſembly: That "all thoſe things, which may tend to the Honour of Holy Church, and the Advance- "ment of our Crown and this our Realm, may by the Aſſiſtance of God, and the Wiſ- "dom of the Apoſtolick See, be brought to good effect and accompliſhed. Witneſs our "ſelf at *London* the 26 day of *July* in the 48 Year of our Reign.

Theſe Commiſſioners were met at *Bruges* about the beginning of *Auguſt* by the Pope's Nuntio's, *Bernard*, alias *Benedict*, Biſhop of *Pampelone*, and *Ladulph*, or *Rodulph* Biſhop of *Senigaglia*, and *Giles Sancho*, Provoſt of the Church of *Valenza*: Who were likewiſe commiſſion'd from the Pope to treat [c] *Concerning the Liberties of the Church of* England, *and of the Prelates and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of the ſaid Realm of* England. But this Treaty held off and on for about two Years after; when at laſt it was concluded, [d] that for the future the Pope ſhould deſiſt from making uſe of Reſervations of Benefices, and that the King ſhould no more confer Benefices by his Writ, *Quare Impedit*. But as to the Elections aforeſaid, concerning which Ambaſſadors had been ſent to the Court of *Rome* the Year before, there was nothing mention'd in this Treaty. The Reaſon whereof was aſcribed to the Politick Dealing of ſome, who knew, they could more eaſily attain to the Epiſcopal Dignities, which they aim'd at, by the Court of *Rome*, then by due and regular Elections; that is, rather by Money, Favour, and Intereſt, than by any true Worth or Merit of their own.

[c] *Odor. Rainald. ad hunc annum §.* 21. *quem vide ſis.*

[d] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 184. *n.* 10. *& Churchill's Divi Britannici p.* 36.

III. But now 'tis time to ſee, what Deeds of War were performed this Year, or rather what Advantage *France* gain'd, and what Loſſes *England* ſuffer'd; for things were grown to that paſs at this time. Soon [e] after *Eaſter* the Duke of *Anjou*, being at *Perigueux* raiſed a great Army conſiſting of 15000 Footmen, beſides a conſiderable Number of *Genoüeſe* and Croſsbows, and the moſt part of all the Barons and Knights of *Bretagne*, *Poictou*, *Anjou*, and *Touraine*; with whom alſo the Conſtable of *France* was joyned, and ſeveral Lords of *Gaſcogne*, as the Lord *John* of *Armagnac*, the Lords of *Albret* and of *Perigort*, the Earls of *Cominges* and of *Narbonne*, the Vicounts of *Carmaine*, and of *Villemur*, and of *Talart*, the Earl Dauphin of *Auvergne*, the Vicount of *Mende*, the Lord *de la Barde*, Sr *Robert* of *Charde*, and the greater part of the Lords of *Auvergne* and *Limoſin*. With this Great Army the Duke of *Anjou* marched towards High *Gaſcogne*, and came before *Mont de Marſan*, which having took, he proceeded to St. *Sever*, whereof an Abbot was Lord, who thô the Town was ſtrong, yet doubting to loſe it by force, fell to treat with the Duke of *Anjou*, telling him, "that his Town and Fortreſs was but a ſmall Matter in reſpect of other "Towns and Caſtles in High *Gaſcogne*, whither he ſuppos'd his Highneſs was march- "ing: Wherefore he deſir'd that for the preſent he might be let alone, on Con- "dition, that neither He, nor His ſhould make any War, unleſs ſome Violence was "offer'd on the *French* part: But that if the Heritors and Lords of *Gaſcogne* ſhould "be

[e] *Froiſ. c.* 311. *fol.* 192.

"be reduced by him, then he alſo would yield up unto him, and in all things do, as "they ſhould do. To this the Duke agreed, receiving of the Abbot Hoſtages for his true performance; which Pledges he ſent to *Perigueux*, and ſo drew toward the Town of *Lourde* in *Bigorre*, to which he laid his Siege, and then ſummon'd the Garriſon to yield. The Townſmen would willingly have agreed to the motion; but the Knight, that govern'd the Place, ſaid ſtoutly; "That ſince the Earl of *Foix* had deliver'd it to "his Care, he was reſolv'd by no means to reſign it up into the hands of any other "Perſon living. With which anſwer the Conſtable and the Duke of *Anjou* were ſo nettled, that they commanded a general Aſſault to be made: So that at laſt the Place was carried by force, and the Captain and moſt of his Men ſlain, with all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, and the Town raſed and given up to the Plunder. Nevertheleſs they left a Garriſon in the Caſtle at their Departure. Thence they Marched into the Lands belonging to *Chaſtel Bon*, ravaging all about as far as *Chaſtelneuf*, which they took, and thence Marching toward *Bearn*, they enter'd the Land of the Lord of *Leſcar*, whence they rode, till they came before a good ſtrong Town and Caſtle, named *Sailles*, which held of the County of *Foix*; thô all the Lands and Arriere-fiefs lay in *Gaſcogne*.

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The *Black-Prince*, before his Expedition into *Spain*, had intended to call the Earl of *Foix* to an Account, becauſe he paid not his Duties unto him for this Place: And now alſo the Duke of *Anjou*, who had by this time reduced in a manner all *Aquitain*, and look'd upon himſelf as Maſter thereof, reſolv'd by any means to have this Place alſo. So he laid his Siege unto *Sailles*; which was not at all eaſie to be won, and beſide there was within a Valiant and Expert Captain, named Sr. *William de Pons*.

When the Earl of *Foix* heard, how the *Frenchmen* conquer'd in his Lands and Arriereſiefs, which in reaſon he ought to hold either of the *French* King, or of the King of *England*, he ſent for the Vicount of *Chaſtel Bon*, for the Lords of *Mont Marſan*, of *Chaſtelneuve* and *Leſcar*, with the Abbot of St. *Sever*, who being all come to him, he purchas'd a ſafe-Conduct, and ſo went before *Sailles* to the Duke of *Anjou*, with the foreſaid Lords in his Company. There at laſt he agreed with the Duke, "That both "He and they with all their Lands, ſhould remain in perfect Peace, till the midſt of *Au-* "*guſt*, or the Feaſt of the Aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*: At which time there "ſhould appear before the Town of *Moiſſac* on the *Tarne* in the Province of *Quercy*, an "Army of the *French* Kings, or of the King of *England*'s part: And if the *Engliſh* Ar-"my could keep the Field, then they would hold their Lands of the King of *England*: "and if the *French* Army could keep the Field that day, either by Battle, or Non-ap-"pearance of the Enemy, then they would hold their Lands of the King of *France* for "ever. Which Covenant faithfully to perform both the Earl of *Foix*, and the other Lords gave ſufficient ſecurity, and ſo the Duke of *Anjou* brake up his Siege, and went back to *Perigueux* with his whole Army: For he would not let a Man be disbanded.

IV. But however Pope *Gregory* XI did now ſo double his Diligence in plying the *Chriſtian* Work of Peacemaking by his Legates; that at laſt a Treaty began between the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Duke of *Anjou*, aſſurances being given to the latter at *Perigueux*, for the Former held himſelf as Chief, being Regent, as he ſaid, for the King of *England*, his Father. So at laſt a firm Truce was agreed on to be held faithfully, and without Fraud between Them and all their Friends, Vaſſals, and Aſſiſtants, untill the laſt day of *Auguſt*; the Two Dukes engaging to be preſent in the Marches of *Picardy* about the beginning of *September*, in Order to prolong the ſaid Truce; the Duke of *Lancaſter* at *Calais*, and the Duke of *Anjou* at St. *Omers*. Which Truce being thus taken, the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter*, with the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, and *Stafford*, the Lord *Edward Spencer*, the Lord *Henry Percy*, the Lord *Chanon Robſart*, the Lord *Willoughby*, and other Lords and Knights both of *England* and *Gaſcogne*, went on board at *Bourdeaux* on the *Eighth* of *July*, and ſet ſail for *England*: Upon [f] which Return of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the People of thoſe Parts almoſt totally revolted, nothing being left in *Aquitaine*, but *Bourdeaux* and *Bayonne*. In *Bretagne* alſo the Captains of *Becherel*, as Sr. *John Cornwall*, and Sr. *John Appleyard*, who had now kept that Fortreſs a full Year againſt the *French*, that beſieged them, when they heard, how the Duke of *Bretagne* was gone back into *England*, and that now they had no hopes of any timely Succour, eſpecially ſince their Victuals was almoſt ſpent, upon Mature Advice, reſolved to treat with their Enemies, and to come to ſome agreeable Compoſition. The Lords of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, that lay there at Siege, as the Lord of *Hambie*, *Stoneville*, *Blanville*, and *Granville*, were by this time very

[f] *Dugd. 2 Vol. p. 115. & Walſing. hiſt. p. 183. n. 40.*

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weary, and would willingly enter into any kind of Treaty; but they thought beſt to know the *French* Kings Mind firſt, and when they found, that he agreed to allow their Treaty, they determin'd the Matter thus: "That if the Duke of *Bretagne*, or ſome "other from the King of *England*, did not come perſonally, between that time and the "Feaſt of *All-Saints* then next coming, ſtrong enough to raiſe the Siege; then they "within were to yield up the Place, their Lives and Goods ſaved. Which was done "accordingly, (None appearing at the time appointed in their behalf) and Sr. *John Corn-*"*wall*, and Sr. *John Appleyard* with their Men and Goods took the Sea and return'd for *England*.

[g] *Froiſ. c.* 312.

V. When [g] the Middle of *Auguſt* drew near, which was the time limited for the Deciſion of High *Gaſcogne* to be made before *Moiſſac*, the Duke of *Anjou* drew thitherward with an huge Army, and kept the Field before the Place ſix days together: All which time no body appeared for King *Edward*. For the *Engliſh* all thought, that becauſe of the Truce lately taken between the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Lancaſter* (which was to hold to the laſt of *Auguſt*) the Deſign about *Moiſſac* was to be given over. But the Duke of *Anjou* and his Council were, it ſeems, of another Mind, and reſolved to take all Advantages they could, without troubling their Heads with unprofitable Scruples of Honour, Faith and Juſtice. So when the Duke of *Anjou* ſaw once the Feaſt of the *Aſſumption* paſt over without the appearance of any One in the King of *England's* behalf, he ſent word to the Earl of *Foix*, the Vicount of *Chaſtel-Bon*, to the Lords of *Mont de Marſan*, of *Chaſtelneuve*, and of *Leſcar*, and to the Abbot of St. *Sever*, letting them know, that if they did not now ſtand to their Bargain, he would forthwith put all their Hoſtages to Death, and after that enter their Lands with ſuch a Power, as to oblige them all to cry Mercy. Hereupon they all freely ſubmitted themſelves, and their Lands to the Obedience of the *French* King; and the Inhabitants alſo of *Moiſſac*, which was a Fair Garriſon, open'd their Gates and their Chief Burgeſſes went out with the Keys to the Duke of *Anjou*, rendring their Fealty and Homage unto him, as unto the *French* Kings Lieutenant. Then the Duke and all the Lords with him enter'd the Town and tarried there 18 days; during which time they had Counſel, which way to draw next; for the Month of *Auguſt* was paſt, at which time the Truce was ended; and as yet there was no News of the Duke of *Lancaſter's* being at *Calais* to renew the Truce, wherefore now again the War was open.

So after this Succeſs the Duke went with his Army before *la Reole*; which he beſieged three days, and on the Fourth was received into the Town, the Inhabitants returning to the Obedience of the *French* King. After that the Duke took in *Langon*, St. *Macari*, *Condom*, St. *Bazeille*, or *Baſil*, *la Tour de la Prudence*, *Mauleon* & *la Tour de Drû*, and other Towns and Caſtles to the Number of Fourty in all; the laſt being the ſtrong Town of *Auberoche* in *Perigort*, in all which he ſet good Garriſons.

VI. When things were thus happily ſettled, and in a manner all *Gaſcogne* and *Guienne*, except *Baionne* and *Bourdeaux*, were thus either conquer'd or revolted from the *Engliſh*; the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Conſtable being ſent for by the *French* King, gave leave to their Men to go whither they would, and they themſelves return'd into *France*. But the Lords of *Cliſſon*, of *Beaumanoir*, of *Roye*, of *Riom*, and of *Anaugeur*, with the Vicount of *Rohan*, and of *Lavalle*, and many more went to the Siege of *Becherel*, which was not yet yielded up, nor was to yield till the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, by which time it had been covenanted, that if it was not reſcued, it ſhould be yielded. And now theſe Lords went thither, becauſe they heard, that the Duke of *Bretagne*, Sr. *Robert Knolles*, and the Lord *Edward Spencer* would be there in Perſon to raiſe the Siege. Thô in the end this Rumor prov'd falſe; and no Succour coming, Sr. *John Cornwall*, and Sr. *John Appleyard* yielded up the Place, and return'd into *England*, as We ſaid before.

[h] *Vid. L.* 4. *c.* 6. §. 29. *p.* 781.

VII. It may be remembred, that we [h] ſhew'd how Sr. *Hugh de Chaſtillon*, Maſter of the Croſsbows of *France*, was taken near *Abbeville* by Sr. *Nicolas Lovaine*, and carried Priſoner into *England*. Ever ſince that, even for the ſpace of near five Years, he continued in that Condition, and could not be redeem'd, becauſe they asked ſo great a Ranſom for him: Thô now by the Aſſiſtance of a certain Merchant of *Flanders* he paid down 20000 Franks, being but the Moiety of what he was to pay; but when this Merchant by paying that Summ had got him out of *England*, he eſcap'd all further Obligation by a ſubtle Device, too long to be remembred here; and perhaps the Recital would rather inſtruct Knaves than pleaſure Honeſt Men. However when thus Sr. *Hugh de Chaſtillon* was return'd into *France*, King *Charles* reſtor'd unto him his Office of Maſter of the Croſsbows, and ſent him to *Abbeville* his old Province, there to keep the Frontiers with 200 Men of Arms in his Company, and he was obey'd as Chief by all

all the Captains of the Neighbour-Garriſons, as Sr. *John* of *Bournonville* Captain of *Boulogne*, and Sr. *John Liſle* Captain of *Dieppe*, and the Captains of *Teroüenne*, St. *Omers*, of *Liques*, *Fiennes* and *Montrevil*. AN. DOM. 1374. An. Regni *Angliæ* XLVIII. *Franciæ* XXXV.

Now it happen'd one Morning that the Lord of *Gomegines*, who was ſtill Loyal to King *Edward*, being an *Hainalder* by Birth, and by him made Captain of *Ardres*, a Town of *Picardy* about three leagues from *Calais*, prepared early one Morning to ride abroad; ſo together with the Lord *John* of *Ubrues*, he left his Garriſon with about 800 Men of Arms, collected from ſeveral Places, with a Deſign to ride towards *Boulogne* to ſeek for ſome Adventure. That ſame Morning it chanced, that Sr. *John Bournonville* Captain of *Boulogne*, had left his Garriſon with 60 Spears, and rode towards *Calais* with a like Deſign. But when he had met with nothing of that kind, as he was returning, not well pleaſed, that he had ſucceeded no better, he met with this Lord of *Gomegines*, who had been riding towards *Boulogne* with his Men. The Captain of *Boulogne* at ſight of this great Power, drove down another way which he knew, as faſt as ever his Horſe could carry him; but he was ſo cloſely purſued, that he loſt 14 of his Men of Arms, and very narrowly eſcaped himſelf with the reſt: After which Chace the Lord of *Gomegines* was returning homeward, not thinking to meet with any more Adventures. But it happen'd otherwiſe: For that ſame Morning Sr. *Hugh Chaſtillon* Maſter of the Croſsbows, had left his Garriſon alſo with 300 Spears of *Artois*, *Vermandois* and other Countries, whom he had collected from the Neighbour-Fortreſſes for that Purpoſe. At which very time the young Earl of St. *Pol*, being newly come into *Picardy* from his Lands in *Lorraine*, was riding on a Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Boulogne*. But hearing by the way, that the Maſter of the Croſsbows was riding thitherward alſo, he went and joyned him, and rode with him firſt before *Ardres*, where they tarried a while in the Field altogether, to ſhew themſelves to the Garriſon, not knowing any thing, that the *Engliſh* were abroad at that time, no more than the *Engliſh* knew where they were. When the *Frenchmen* had been a while before *Ardres*, and ſaw none would offer to come out againſt them, they rode back as far as the Abbey of *Liques*. But upon their departure there preſently rode forth out of *Ardres* an *Engliſhman*, who taking ſeveral By-ways, as one that well knew the Country, met at laſt with the Lord of *Gomegines*, as he was returning toward *Ardres*; to whom he told, how the *Frenchmen* had been juſt before to view his Garriſon, with about 400 Spears, but that now they were gone off. When the *Frenchmen* were got a little beyond *Tournehan* toward the Abby of *Liques*, they alſo were informed, how the *Engliſh* were abroad with the Captain of *Ardres*, but their Number was not known. However upon the Information they agreed to meet them, and ſo turning coaſted on one ſide, and laid an Ambuſh of 300 Spears, whereof Sr. *Hugh Chaſtillon* was Captain, in a litrle Wood hard by the Abbey of *Liques*: The Earl of St. *Pol* being appointed with his Hundred Knights and Eſquires to ride abroad, ſo to entice the Enemy into their Ambuſh.

Not far thence along by a great Hedge were the Lord of *Gomegines* and his Men, who ſtood there on Foot all in good Order, only Sr. *John Harleſton*[1] Captain of *Guiſnes*, was ſent forth with 20 Spears to ſee if he could find the *French*, his Orders being on ſight of them to fly, and ſuffer the Enemy to purſue him towards this Hedge, where his Friends ſtood ready for them. As Sr. *John* was riding forth in the Fields with this Deſign, the young Earl of St. *Pol* eſpi'd him, and ſaid aloud to his Men, "*Sirs, now* "*let us advance forth*! *Yonder are our Enemies*; and ſo clapping Spurs to their Horſes they ſet forward full Speed; Sr. *John Harleſton* flying as faſt before them, till he came to the Hedge, where his Friends ſtood ready ranged with the Archers in their Front. As ſoon as the *Frenchmen* came in their reach, the Archers received them warmly, ſhooting and overthrowing to the ground Men and Horſes, and immediatly the Men of Arms came up with them having remounted their Horſes, with Spears and Axes in their Hands; while Sr. *John Harleſton* with his twenty Spears fetching a Compaſs about, came behind and fell in upon their Backs with great fury. Many gallant Deeds were done by the Young Earl of St. *Pol* and the *Frenchmen*, but being thus ſurrounded and overpower'd with Number, they were all ſlain or taken to a Man. The Earl of St. *Pol* was taken alive by the hands of an Eſquire of the Dutchy of *Gueldre*, and together with him by other Hands the Lord of *Pons*, the Lord of *Clery*, the Lord *William* of *Neſle*, Sr. *Charles* of *Chaſtillon*, Sr. *Lionel D' Araines*, Sr. *Gawen de Veſley*, Sr. *Henry de Liſle* and Sr. *John* his Brother, the Chaſtellain of *Beauvais*, and many more Knights and Eſquires. Immediately after which Diſcomfiture the Lord *Hugh de Chaſtillon* came thither with his three hundred Spears, and his Banner before him; he rode up almoſt to the Hedge end, but underſtanding then how his Friends Buſineſs was already done, and that the *Engliſh*

[1] True Uſe of Armory in the Life of the *Captal* of *Buſche* P. 154.

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Engliſh ſo far outnumbred him, he drew his Men together, and wheel'd off without giving a ſtroke; for he doubted more to encreaſe the Loſs, than to repair it.

Upon this good Succeſs the *Engliſh* return'd to *Ardres* with their Priſoners, and that very Night the Lord of *Gomegines* bought the Young Lord *Valeran* Earl of St. *Pol* of the Eſquire that took him; and ſoon after carried him into *England*, and preſented him to the King, who thanked him very much, and rewarded him more for that acceptable Piece of Service. But this young Earl found ſuch Gracious Dealing from King *Edward*, that he became ever after as great a Friend, as his Father had been an Enemy to the *Engliſh* Nation, * being Married to the Half-ſiſter of King *Richard* the Second.

* *Mill's Catal. Hon. p.* 765.

VIII. About that time the Duke of *Anjou* and the Conſtable return'd, as we obſerv'd before, into *France*, where they found the Archbiſhop of *Roüen*, and the Biſhop of *Carpentras*, who had been long with the King at *Paris*, making inſtant and continual Application unto him in the Pope's Behalf, as other Legats at the ſame time dealt with King *Edward* for the ſame Purpoſe. Wherefore according to a former Agreement between the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Lancaſter*, both the Kings were now again obliged to enter a Negotiation, thereby if poſſible to accommodate their Differences. The Place appointed for the Aſſembly was *Bruges* in *Flanders*; but firſt the Duke of *Anjou* according to his Obligation, went to St. *Omers* in great Array, having ſent for his Couſin *Guy* of *Blois* to come thither to him out of *Hainalt*; about which time the Duke of *Lancaſter* arrived at *Calais*, ſoon after which both the Dukes with their ſeveral Retinues went to *Bruges*. And all the while there lay on the Marches between *France* and *Flanders* towards *Aire*, and about *Belle* or *Baillieul*, and *Caſſell* in *Flanders*, and near thoſe Parts, the Conſtable of *France*, the Lords of *Cliſſon* and *la Vall*, and Sr. *Oliver Manny* with above 600 Men of Arms to keep the Country, leaſt any thing ſhould be innovated by the Earl of *Flanders*. For theſe Lords being all *Bretons* could not repoſe any Truſt in that Earl, becauſe he was ſo firm a Friend to *John* of *Monford* Duke of *Bretagne*, againſt whom they fought. Wherefore neither would they ever come to *Bruges*, whatever the Commiſſioners on both ſides could ſay or do.

There were preſent at this Treaty on the *French* Kings Part *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Salebruce*, the Biſhop of *Amiens*, the Biſhop Elect of *Bayeux* and others: And for the King of *England*, there was *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *William Montagu* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Simon Sudbury* Biſhop of *London*, Sr. *John Cobham* of *Kent*, Sr. *Frank van Hall*, Sr. *Arnold Savage*, Mr. *John Shephey* and Mr. *Simon Multon*. This Treaty was carried on by Snatches for [k] two full Years with incredible Expences, the *Frenchmen* all the while preparing at Home [l] for War, fitting and making of Arms of all ſorts, and providing all manner of Warlike Habiliments: And thus even in thoſe Days were the *French* always too hard at Council for the *Engliſh*. However for the preſent, [m] that no Harm or Moleſtation ſhould come to any of the Lords of either Party, or to any of their Men, by ſubtlety or other means, ſince there were Hundreds that rode in and out daily of both Sides, thô they could not ſettle a Firm and General Truce, becauſe of the Duke of *Bretagne's* Concerns and other Matters, which render'd the thing impracticable; yet firſt of all they ſettled this Point by agreeing on a Partial Truce to endure till the Firſt of *May* in the Year following in all the Marches of *Calais*, as far as the River of *Somme*; all other Lands being left in their former ſtate of Hoſtility. Whereupon the Lord *Oliver Cliſſon*, and the Lord *de la Val* haſted with their Troops into *Bretagne*, becauſe the Truce extended not to that Dukedom.

[k] *Mezeray.*

[l] *Walſingh. Hyp. p.* 133. *n.* 40.

[m] *Froiſ. c.* 312. *fol.* 194. *Angl. ſed* Gallicè *fol.* 264. *b.*

[n] *Froiſ. c.* 311.

About this [n] time alſo there was a Treaty ſet on Foot concerning the Delivery of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the reſt of the Priſoners out of *Spain*; eſpecially becauſe the Earl of *Pembroke*, [o] not enduring the hard Uſage of the *Spaniards*, ſent to Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin* Conſtable of *France*, whom he knew to have great Intereſt with the King of *Spain*, entreating him to uſe his power to deliver him out of that inhumane Thraldom. Whereupon Sr. *Bertram* upon delivering back his Lands belonging to *Soria* Caſtle, and acquitting certain Sums of Money due unto him from the King of *Spain*, (his Nephew Sr. *Oliver Manny* at the ſame time reſigning his Lands alſo) had the Earl of *Pembroke*, and all the other Priſoners rendred back: For whom they were now to make their Bargain as well as they could. For the Ranſom of the Lord *Thomas Percy* the ſtrong Caſtle of *Liziniac* was yielded up to the *French*: But the manner of the Lord *Guiſchard D' Angouleſme's* Redemption was thus. It may be remembred, how we ſhew'd before, that the Lord of *Roy* was ſtill a Priſoner in *England*, and likely enough to continue ſo; becauſe King *Edward* loved him not. Now this Lord who was of High Birth and Eſtate, had no Children but only one Daughter, a Fair young Lady his

[o] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 185. *n.* 10.

his Sole Heireſs. During his Impriſonment at this time, his Friends proffer'd this Lady in Marriage to Sr. *Oliver Manny*, a Knight of *Bretagne*, Sr. *Bertram* of *Clequin's* Nephew, on Condition he could obtain the Delivery of the Lord of *Roye* by Exchange for any one or more of his Priſoners. Whereupon Sr. *Oliver Manny* ſent to King *Edward* of *England*, to know what Knight next the Earl of *Pembroke*, he would have deliver'd in Exchange for the Lord of *Roye*. The King hereupon intimating his particular Eſteem for Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, the Exchange was made, and Sr. *Oliver Manny* married the Lord of *Roye's* Daughter, with which Fortune he was ſo well pleaſed, that he procured the other *Engliſh* Lords and Knights, with all the reſt of the Priſoners, to be deliver'd for very eaſie Ranſoms: But as for the Earl of *Pembroke* [p] no leſs than 6000 Florens of *Florence* were ſet on his Head, for which certain Merchants of *Flanders* engag'd, being to pay the Money at *Bruges* upon News of his ſafe Delivery at *Calais*. 'Tis [q] thought the *Spaniards* upon his leaving them had given him a Doſe: For ſoon after this Bargain for his Redemption, he began to be ſo extream ſick, that the Conſtable of *France*, feating the loſs of his Money by his Death, made haſt to convey him by eaſie journeys from *Paris* in an Horſe-litter. But a Feaver came ſo violently upon him, that he died by the way at *Arras*; and ſo the Conſtable loſt his Money. He departed this Life on the [r] ſixteenth Day of *April* in the Year of our Lord 1375, being the following Year; till the beginning whereof this buſineſs of the Priſoners was not ſettled. He left behind him [s] one Son, his Heir, named after his Name, *John*, then but two Years old and an half, and not born when his Father was taken Priſoner. Which young Child proving of a very forward Vertue, exceeding Hopefull and Towardly, was afterwards in the Flower of his Youth, being but ſeventeen Years of Age, ſlain in a Tilt by an unlucky ſlip of Sr. *John St. John's* Lance, to the great Regret of the King and of the whole Court; becauſe he was a Perſon of ſo Noble a Diſpoſition as well as Extract, and in Courage, Bounty and Courteſie, exceeded moſt of his Age and Degree.

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[p] *Froiſ. ibid.*

[q] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 185. *n.* 20.

[r] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 577. *ex Eſc.* 49. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 70.

[s] *Dugd. ibid. p.* 578.

I do not love to trample upon the Dead, and to kill them again in their *Reputation*: But for Example ſake we muſt not conceal, what ſome have obſerved to have been the occaſion of theſe Judgments upon this Noble Earl and his Family. It is firſt ſaid, [t] that ever ſince *Emery de Valence* (Earl of *Pembroke* and Anceſtor of this *Haſtings*) ſat among thoſe, who gave Sentence of Death againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter* in the Days of King *Edward* the Second, none of the ſucceeding Earls of *Pembroke* ever ſaw his Father, ſo as to be ſenſible of him, nor any Father of them ſaw his Child, or but an Infant: But as for this Earl *John*, whom we obſerve to have been taken Priſoner on the Eve of St. *John Baptiſt*, which it ſeems is the Feſtival of St. *Ethelred* the Virgin, many in thoſe Days took occaſion thence to cenſure, that he was thus purſued by God's Judgments for the injury he had done to the Church of that Holy Virgin at *Ely*, in a Cauſe depending betwixt the Church of St. *Edmundſbury*, and that, before his laſt Departure out of *England*. And that the Money ſo loſt did no more good, foraſmuch as it had been extorted from Religious Houſes and the Clergy. Thô ſurely [u] *Walſingham* is too preciſe in fixing his Death alſo on the Day of the ſame Virgin Saint, ſince it appears by Record to the contrary, as we have ſhewn. But [x] others attributed this ill Succeſs to his having lead an Adulterous Life, being a Married Man; alſo becauſe he had in Parliament attempted an Infringement of the Churches Liberties, and perſuaded the King to lay heavier Taxes upon the Clergy than on the Laiety, for the ſupport of his Wars: Which practice of Pilling and Polling the Church (however the Temporal Lords were pleaſed therewith) yet what Succeſs enſued thereupon (ſaith [y] *Walſingham*) not only *England*, but the whole World doth know. I dare not accuſe the Earl of theſe Crimes, becauſe 'tis evident, how the Monks in thoſe Days were apt to attribute every Miſchance that a Man met with, to the Hand of God ſtretch'd out for their ſakes; wherefore I leave the Diſcuſſion of this Matter to the judgment of the Reader. However the Earl of *Pembroke* dying thus in the Flower of his Age (having then ſeen but twenty ſeven Years.) His Body was brought over into *England*, and buried firſt in the Choir of the *Fryers-Preachers* at *Hereford*; but afterwards for the Summ of an 100 *l.* Tranſlated to the *Grey-Fryers* near *Newgate* in *London*, now called *Chriſt-Church*.

[t] *M.S. in Bibl.* Bodlei. *K.* 8. *Cant.* 186. *b.*

[u] *Walſing. ibid. n.* 26.

[x] *Walſing. hiſt. p.* 182. *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 577.

[y] *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 182.

This Earl *John* [z] in the Fourty Third Year of King *Edward* (having obtained Licence for that purpoſe of the King) made a Feoffment to *Walter Amias* and others of all his Caſtles, Lordſhips, Lands and Mannors in *England* and in *Wales*, to certain Uſes Which Feoffment being left ſeal'd up in the Hands of his Feoffees, to be kept till his Return from beyond the Seas, was now upon his Death deliver'd up to the Kings Council,

[z] *Pat.* 51. *Ed.* 3 *m.* 29 *per Inſpeximus Eſc.* 49. *Ed.* 3. *n.* 10. *Clauſ.* 49. *Ed.* 3. *in Dorſo.*

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cil, who thereupon opening it, found, that in case he died without Issue of his Body, the Town and Castle of *Pembroke* should come to the King, his Heirs and Successors, and the Castle and Lordship of *Bergavenny*, and other his Lands in *England* and *Wales* to his Cousin *William Beauchamp*, his Mothers Sister's Son in Fee, provided he would bear his Arms, and endeavour to obtain the Title of Earl of *Pembroke*. But in case he should decline so to do, then his Kinsman *William Clinton* to have them on the same Conditions.

IX. There died [a] this Year the Famous *Francis Petrarch*, the Laureat Poet of *Italy*, (of whom We have spoken [b] in the former Part of this History) in the seventieth Year of his Age; wherefore *Squarzaficus* the Writer of his Life is to be corrected, who acknowledges him to have been of that Age, and that he was born in the Year 1304; but yet that he died *Anno* 1364, which is a palpable Mistake.

[a] *Jacob Meyer. Annal.* Flandr. *l.* 13. *p.* 193. *&c.*
[b] *Lib.* 1. *c.* 19. §. 14. *p.* 247.

Upon the *Thursday* next after the Feast of the *Translation* of St. *Thomas* the Martyr, there departed this Life that Valiant Baron Sr. *John Charleton*, Lord of *Powis*, leaving *John*, his Son and Heir, at that time 14 Years of Age, and another Son, named *Edward*, aged about Four Years, behind.

On the [c] 5th of *July* D. *William Wittlesey*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, departed this Life, presently after whose Death the Monks of *Canterbury* elected for their Archbishop one *Adam Easton*, [d] a Cardinal, who was an *Englishman* born, but thoroughly *Italianated*, as having lead his whole Life in a manner at the Court of *Rome*. Wherefore King *Edward* was so offended at this Choice of the Monks, that he determin'd to banish them out of the Realm, and to confiscate their Goods. But then Pope *Gregory*, thô he favour'd this his Cardinal, yet to shield the poor Monks from the Danger of this Tempest, was content to annull their Election, and to bestow the Archbishoprick by way of Provision on Dr. *Simon Sudbury*, then Bishop of *London*; whom he knew the King liked well enough. This Man was the Son of *Nigellus Tibalds*, a Gentleman of *Suffolk*; but being born in the Parish of St. *George* in *Sudbury*, a Town of the said County, he took his sirname thence, after the manner of many Clergymen in those days. He was a Man of Excellent Parts, great Knowledge, Judgement, Wisdom, and Eloquence, and among many Works of Charity, he [e] built the *West-Gate* of the City of *Canterbury*, and all the Wall from that Gate unto *North-Gate*, commonly called by the Name of the *Long-Wall*; an Act of no less Advantage to the City, than of Expence and Charge to the Builder. About seven Years after he yet ended unhappily, being barbarously Murder'd (together with Sr. *Robert Hales*, Treasurer of *England*) by the Rebels, who were headed by *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Straw* in the Days of King *Richard* the Second, neither his Age, nor Dignity, nor Eloquence, nor Piety, being able to mollifie the Minds of those Wretches, who had already cast away the Bonds of their Allegiance.

[c] *Vid. Thorn's Chron. apud* 10. *Angl. Script. p.* 2148. *& p.* 2150. *Walsing. hist. p.* 183. *& Hypod. p.* 133. *Godw. Catal. p.* 146. *M.S. vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 236.
[d] *Ità Scriptores nostri, sed bis térve evolventi* Victorellum, *nullus mihi occurrit Cardinalis horum temporum* Adam *nominatus.*
[e] *Speed's Maps in* Kent. *c.* 3. §. 8.

X. About this time a certain Lady, named Madam *Alice Perrers*, being a Person of extraordinary Beauty, [f] was therefore made Lady of the *Sun*, and rode from the Tower of *London* thrô *Cheap-side*, accompanied with many Lords, Knights, and Ladies; every Lady leading a Lord or a Knight, by his Horses Bridle, till they came into *West-Smithfield*; where presently began a Solemn Justs, which held for seven Days together.

[f] *Stow's Survey of* London *p.* 421.

But because hereafter we shall have occasion to speak further of this Madam *Alice Perrers*, especially since by our Vulgar Historians she hath constantly been misrepresented, I shall here once for all make a more particular Enquiry, who and what She was. That She was not King *Edward's* Concubine (as most of our Writers, one taking it from another, too boldly affirm) may appear not only from the utter Improbability of the Matter it self, which we shall shew; but also from the Reputation of her Person, which was so great, that after this She was [g] taken in Marriage by a considerable Baron of this Realm, the Lord *William Windsor*, [h] who in the Fourty Third of this King was Constituted his Lieutenant of *Ireland*; but afterwards became much more notable. Now, I say, 'tis neither probable, that King *Edward*, who never else is said to have gone astray, even in the Flower of his Age, especially while his beloved Queen lived, which was within five Years of this time (except only that Story of his being enamour'd on the Fair Countess of *Salisbury*, which We have utterly exploded) should now in the very impotence of his Age burn in Flames, to which he had so seldom indulged: And it is as improbable, that so Noble a Baron, as Sr. *William Windsor*, should afterwards take in Marriage so notoriously infamous a Woman, had she been thought at that time such a lewd and impudent Strumpet, as many would make her. But the [i] Records themselves are nothing so severe upon the Reputation of this Lady, as appears from these Words,

[g] *Dugd.* Warwickshire *p.* 434.
[h] *Dugd. Bar.* 1 *Vol. p.* 509.
[i] *Rot. Par.* 1 *Ric.* 2. *n.* 41. *&c. Vid. M.S. & Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridg. p.* 158. *n.* 41.

Words, "Dame *Alice Perrers* was introduced before the Lords, and by Sr. *Richard* AN. DOM. "*Scroop* Knight, Steward of the Kings Houſhold, charged for purſuing of Matters con- 1374.
"trary to order taken two Years before, namely, that no Woman ſhould for any Advan- An. Regni
"tage preſent any Cauſe in the Kings Court, on pain of loſing all they had, and being *Angliæ*
"baniſhed the Realm for ever. That particularly ſhe had procured Sr. *Nicolas Dagworth* XLVIII.
"to be called from *Ireland*, whither he had been ſent; and at the ſame time procured from *Franciæ*
"the King Reſtitution of Lands and Goods to *Richard Lyon*, Merchant of *London*, where- XXXV.
"as the ſame Lands, having been forfeited by him, had been given to the Kings own
"Sons. To all which the ſaid Dame *Alice* reply'd, that ſhe had not purſued any ſuch
"thing for any Advantage of her own: Whereupon divers Officers, Counſellours, and
"Servants to King *Edward* the Third, being examin'd, prov'd, that ſhe made ſuch pur-
"ſuit; and that in their conceits for her own private Gain. And ſo the Lords gave
"judgement againſt the ſaid Lady; that according to the Order aforeſaid, ſhe ſhould be
"baniſhed, and forfeit all her Goods and Lands whatſoever. But, as Sr. *Robert Cotton*
goes on, "to ſay truth of the Devil is counted Commendable; and therefore ſurely
"(ſays he) the Record againſt the ſaid Lady, being very long, proves no ſuch heinous
"Matter againſt her; only it ſhews, how ſhe was in ſuch Credit with King *Edward* the
"Third, that ſhe ſat at his Beds-head, when others were fain to ſtand at the Cham-
"ber Door; and that ſhe moved thoſe things unto him, which they of the Privy-
"Chamber durſt not. And further (ſays he) thoſe two Points, for which ſhe
"was condemned, ſeemed very honeſt: Only her Misfortune was, that ſhe was Friend-
"ly to many, but all were not ſo to her: The Record is ſtrange and worthy of
"peruſal.

Thus much by the by for clearing of injur'd Innocence, and ſtopping the Mouth of Popular Calumny; thô this Matter of Record happen'd after the Death of King *Edward*. I ſuppoſe, that being very dextrous in humoring the old King, and tending him carefully in his ſickneſs, ſhe thereby prevail'd ſo upon him, as to be able to influence his Favour more powerfully, than others of Higher Condition: Whereupon, thô ſhe did much good, and took thence many Advantages to aſſiſt the Oppreſſed, ſhe was in the end only rewarded with theſe Envious Reflections for her Labour. Thô the Year [k] after Sr. *William Windſor* and his Lady pray'd a Revocation of this Judgement for the Errors therein, and at laſt by their Attourneys, *Edmund Clay* and *Robert Brown*, obtain'd a Reverſal of the ſame.

[k] 2 *Ric.* 2. *n.* 36. *Vid. Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridg. p.* 177. *& Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 510.

CHAPTER the TWELFTH.

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I. ABOUT the Declining of the laſt Year, [a] when the Knights of *Bretagne* and *Normandy* had taken in *Becherel*, according to the Compoſition made, that if it was not reſcued by the Feaſt of *All-Saints*, it ſhould then be yielded up, by the *French* Kings Command they all went and laid Siege before St. *Saviour le Vicount* in *Coutantin* in *Normandy*, which once belonged to the Lord *John Chandos*, but after his Death was given by the King to Sr. *Alan Boxhull*, who was at that time in *England*, having committed the Town of *Coutances*, together with

[a] *Froiſ.* Anglicè *c.* 312. *fol.* 194. *ſed* Gallicè *fol.* 264. *b.*

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with the Fort of St. *Saviour* to the Custody of an *English* Esquire, named *Thomas Katrington*. He had now for his Assistants two Valiant Knights, Sr. *Thomas Cornet* and Sr. *John Burroughs*, and Three Brethren *Mauliverers*, with about Sixscore other Valiant Men. But Sr. *John de Vienne*, Admiral of *France*, kept the Sea-Coasts near those Parts, and about the Mouth of the River *Carentan*, to hinder Provisions from being brought to them by Water, while the Lords and Knights of *Bretagne* and *Normandy* Besieged the Fort by Land, with a very Great Army, the Constable himself and Sr. *Lewis* of *Sancerre* Marshal of *France* being there, together with the Earl of *Harcourt*, the *Dauphin* of *Auvergne*, Sr. *John Bull*, Sr. *Mouton de Brianville*, and many other Men of Name. The Constable caused his Engines to be reared up against the Fortress, and put the Besieged very hardly to it. But however the Captain, Esquire *Thomas Katrington*, held out Valiantly against them all, till about the beginning of *March*, when being much streitned by the continual playing of Engines (among which 'tis probable, that there were Pieces of *Ordnance* at this time) he began to enter a Treaty with the *French*, and in short obtain'd a Truce to endure to *Whitsuntide* in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXXV, which was about Fourteen Weeks after; on this Condition, that unless within that term the *Frenchmen* should be fought withall, and the Siege raised, they should then yield up the Fort, their Lives and Goods saved: So the *French* Army lay still before the Place, but committed nothing of Hostility all the while. Now *Katrington* in making this Agreement had respect unto the Duke of *Bretagne*, whom he expected shortly there to raise the Siege; for he heard, He was preparing then to return into *Bretagne* with an Army out of *England*, as now we shall shew, leaving Esquire *Katrington's* business to another time.

[b] *Pasch.* 22. *April.* Lit. Dom. G.

II. While the *Frenchmen* [c] lay at Siege before St. *Saviour le Vicount*, and the Negotiators of *England* and of *France* were yet at *Bruges* in consultation about a Peace, the Duke of *Bretagne*, who having left his Lady in the strong Castle of *Auray*, was gone over into *England*, as we shew'd before, did daily importune his Father-in-Law, the King, for some Powerfull Assistance against his Enemies. At last the King said unto him, "*My Fair Son, I know, well, that the Love of Me hath overballanc'd all your own* "*Concerns, and that for my sake only You are cast out of your Lands and Princely Inhe-* "*ritance. But rest You satisfied with this, that You shall most surely recover all again:* "*For I will never make Peace with the* French *King, unless You may be comprised therein,* "*and entirely restored to your Dominion.* The Duke humbly thanked him for this his Gracious Promise, and the King resolv'd to do, as he had said: For he presently fell to raise competent Forces, which he intended to send into *Bretagne* with his Son-in-Law, the Duke, giving him Commission to act, as his Lieutenant, and at the same time joyning his Son [d] *Edmund*, Earl of *Cambridge*, in Commission with him in the Lieuteanncy of *France* and other Foreign Parts. And on the [e] 18 of *November* of the preceding Year, Commands were sent forth to arrest Ships for the Passage of these Forces into *Bretagne*, to be ready at *Dartmouth* and *Plimouth* with all speed, thô notwithstanding the earliness of these Preparations they went not till the [f] Spring of this Year. The Rendezvous was at [g] *Southampton*, where the Duke found 3000 tall Archers, who by the Kings Command were all paid their wages for half a Year, besides whom, there were no less than 2000 Men of Arms, Knights, and Esquires, the Chief whereof besides the Duke himself and the Earl of *Cambridge*, were these, the Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, *Hugh Stafford* Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, Eldest Son to the Princess of *Wales*, by her former Husband, the Lord *Edward Spencer*, the Lord *John Mohun*, the Lord *Michael de la Pole*, the Lord *Hugh Hastings*, the Lord *Thomas Grandison*, Sr. *Nicolas Camois*, Sr. *Richard Pontchardon*, Sr. *John Lascels*, Sr. *Edward Twiford*, and many more of the *English* Nobility and Gentry; for [h] whose Good Success Publick Prayers were appointed to be made.

[c] *Froiss.* Anglicè *c.* 313. *fol.* 194. *sed* Gallicè *f.* 265.

[d] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 154. *& Ashmole p.* 667.
[e] *Rot. Franc.* 48. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 7. 18 *Novemb.*
[f] *Claus.* 49. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 46.
[g] *Froiss. ibid.*

[h] 8 May *Claus.* 49. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 46. *Vid. Ashmole's Garter p.* 667.

With these Forces the Duke of *Bretagne* arrived safe at St. *Matthew du Fine Poterne* in *Bretagne*, where formerly he had found the Gates shut upon him. Here he took Land in good Order, and forthwith began to Assault the Castle, which stood without the Town, not greatly fortified at that time either with Men, or Munition: Wherefore the *English* carried it by force, and put every Man of them to the Sword; because they repented not, but stood out still in Rebellion against their Natural Lord. When the Townsmen saw this severe Example, they presently set open their Gates to receive the Duke, unto whom again they sware true and constant Obedience. From hence the *English* marched straight to the City of St. *Pol du Leon*, which was very strong and enclosed with a Wall and a Ditch: However they began a fierce and Vigorous Assault, and all the while

while the Archers, who ſtood on the Dikes, ſhot ſo wholly together, that few or none durſt appear at their Defences, and ſo at laſt the Place was won, rifled, and plunder'd, and many hundreds put to the Sword, but of the *French* Garriſon not a Man was ſaved. From thence they paſſed on taking Towns and Caſtles all along, till they came to St. *Brieux de Vaulx*, which was well furniſhed with Men and Arms, and all things neceſſary: For the Lords of *Cliſſon* and of *Beaumanoir*, the Vicount of *Rohan*, and other Lords of *Bretagne* had been there but a little before, and refreſhed the Place ſufficiently: But the Duke ſat down reſolving to try what he could do by Siege and Aſſault.

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III. The mean while the Vicount of *Rohan* and the Lord of *Beaumanoir*, who lay by way of counterſiege not far off, fronting the Duke of *Bretagne*, heard how the Lord *John Devereux* being near *Quimperlay*, made great havock thereabouts, and had newly repair'd and fortify'd a little Place of Defence which he call'd *New-Fort*; that there he kept his Garriſon, to the terrour of the whole Country; ſo that the Inhabitants could hardly put their Heads out of their Gates, but they were preſently pick'd up by Sr. *John* and his Men. Upon this they ſent word to the Lord *Cliſſon*, who was then at *Lamballe*, a Town about Five Leagues from St. *Brieux*; and He for his part, having left ſome Troops behind to ſecure the Town, marched with the reſt of his Men to joyn his Friends before *New-Fort*, to which they ſoon after laid Siege.

News hereof was brought to the Duke of *Bretagne* and the *Engliſh* Lords before St. *Brieux*, juſt as they had loſt a Mine, which with great Coſt and Pains they had been making for 15 Days together: Wherefore being vext at this Diſappointment, and alſo deſirous by all means to ſave Sr. *John Devereux*, they agreed not to tarry any longer before ſo ſtrong a Place, but rather to riſe and go to the Succour of their Friends, "*For* "(ſaid they) *if We may but find them in the Field, who have now beſieged them, We* "*truſt to have a Fair Day againſt them.* Upon this Determination they brake up their Siege, and began to March towards *New-Fort*; which it ſeems the Lords of *Bretagne* had ſo fiercely Aſſaulted, that they were now come even to the foot of the Wall, and began to dig with might and maine, not fearing any thing, that the *Engliſh* could caſt upon them, they were ſo well cover'd with a Penthouſe of ſhields; and indeed the *Engliſh* had but little heavy Matter to fling down. But however Fortune ſo well favour'd them, that at the very Inſtant, while they were thus digging to bring down a Pane of the Wall, there came one to them ſuddenly upon the Spur, ſaying, "Lords, "*get away as faſt as You can; for yonder is the Duke of* Bretagne *coming in all haſte* "*upon You with his* Engliſh *Army; They cannot be above two Leagues off by this time.* Upon this immediately the Trumpets ſounded a Retreat to the Aſſailants, and they drew all back, mounted their Horſes, and marched off ſpeedily, taking their way to *Quimperlay*, the neareſt Place of Defence they knew of, and being enter'd they ſhut up their Gates, drew up the Bridges, and prepared for their Defence.

IV. By this time the Duke of *Bretagne* came thither with all the Barons and Knights of *England*, having paſs'd by *New-Fort*, and given but a ſhort Viſit to Sr. *John Devereux*, who thanked them all heartily for their timely Aſſiſtance; without which he had been moſt certainly loſt. But now the Duke lays Siege to *Quimperlay*, his Archers being brought forth into the Field, and his Footmen and Men of Arms ſet to the Aſſault. The *Engliſhmen* were not in jeſt, no more were the Beſieged: So that after a cruel Attack and a Reſolute and well-menag'd Defence, many being grievouſly wounded on both ſides, they parted for that time. But thus every day the Game was play'd between them without any conſiderable Advantage to the *Engliſh*; thô to all appearance, it was not poſſible for the Beſieged to hold out much longer. For Succour to come, they had none; to Eſcape away there was no hope, all the Avenues being poſſeſt by the Enemy; and they very well knew, that if they were taken by force, they ſhould have no mercy, eſpecially the Lord *Cliſſon*, who had been of late ſo inveterate an Enemy to the *Engliſh*, that he could expect no favour at their Hands. Upon theſe conſiderations they fell to treat with the Duke, offering to yield themſelves, on Condition they might be put to courteous Ranſom. But the Duke thinking it ſhamefull to Capitulate thus orderly with his own Subjects, abſolutely rejected that Motion, and would have them yield up ſimply. However at laſt with much ado they obtain'd of him a Truce and Reſpit for Eight Days; during which time there fell an happy Chance for the Beſieged. For two *Engliſh* Knights, Sr. *Nicolas Charnells* and Sr. *Walter Urſewick* were ſent thither from the Duke of *Lancaſter*, then at *Bruges*, enjoyning the Duke of *Bretagne* and all the *Engliſh* Commanders in the King of *England's* Name to

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forbear all further Acts of Hoſtility: Foraſmuch as there was then lately a Truce taken between the two Kings of *England* and of *France*, and all their Friends and Allies; of the Articles whereof theſe Knights brought Authentick Copies into the Camp. They were immediately read and publiſhed thrô the Camp, and alſo to the Beſieged in *Quimperlay*, to the great joy of the latter; for without this unexpected good Fortune they had all been loſt infallibly.

And thus the Duke of *Bretagne*, being trepan'd by this ſubtle trick of the *Frenchmen*, was forced to let his Enemies ſlip out of his Hands, and ſo brake up the Siege, licencing all his Men to depart, except his Domeſtick Retinue; with whom he went to *Auray*, where he found his Dutcheſs. After this having at his leiſure refreſhed his Garriſons of *Breſt* and *Auray*, and done what was neceſſary for the preſervation of his own, he return'd with his Lady into *England* to adviſe further with the King, his Father-in-Law.

V. A little before which, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Stafford* and *Kent*, the Lord *Edward Spencer*, and the other *Engliſh* Captains returned alſo for *England*. But the Lord *Spencer* preſently upon his return fell grievouſly Ill, wherefore he began to diſpoſe himſelf for another World; and among other things [i] made his Teſtament, which bears Date at *Lanblethian*, a Caſtle of his in the Marches of *Wales*, upon the *Sixth* of *November*, *Anno* 1375. Wherein he bequeathed his Body to be buried in the Abbey of *Tewkſbury* in *Gloceſterſhire*, near his Anceſtors, on the *South* part; and gave to the Lady *Elizabeth* his Wife, who was Daughter to the Lord *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, his Great Bed of *Camaka*-Blew with *Griffons*, as alſo another Bed of *Camaka* ſtriped with White and Black, and all the Furniture belonging thereto. Moreover to the Abbot and Covent of that Houſe of *Tewksbury*, he gave an whole Suit of his beſt Veſtments, as alſo two Gilt Chalices, and an Hanap or Baſon Gilt; likewiſe an Ewer, wherein to put the Body of *Chriſt* on *Corpus Chriſti* Day, which Ewer was given him by the King of *France*. I ſhall mention no more Particulars, but that he died ſhortly after, *viz.* on *Martinmaſs*-Day in the ſame Month at his Caſtle at *Kaerdiff*, leaving behind him *Thomas* his Son and Heir, then but Two years of Age, and four Daughters, *Cecily* who died young, *Elizabeth* firſt married to Sr. *John Arundel*, and afterwards to the Lord *de la Zouch*; *Anne* who became Wife to Sr. *Hugh Haſtings*, and after his Death to the Lord *Morley*; and *Margaret* the Wife of Sr. *Robert Ferrers*. This Lord *Edward Spencer* was a Mighty Baron of the Realm; and ſo Valiant, that his Death was look'd on as a National Loſs, and a great Empairment of the Strength of *England*. He died too ſoon, being but in the 39 Year of his Age, and was deſcended from thoſe *Deleſpencers* Earls of *Gloceſter*, who were ſuch Favourites to King *Edward* the Second; the Greatneſs of whoſe Condition may be eſtimated from this Inventory, which was found to have belonged to *Hugh Deleſpenſer* the Younger; [k] as Ten Good Caſtles in *Wales*, and Twenty Three Mannors, beſides the Countries of *Lantriſſan*, *Glamorgan* and *Wenceland*, with the County of *Galeſy*; and it appear'd, that *Hugh* the Elder, had at the time of his Fall no leſs than Fifty Nine Lordſhips in ſundry Counties, Twenty Eight Thouſand Sheep, One Thouſand Oxen and Steers, One Thouſand two Hundred Kine with their Calves, and Fourty Mares with their Colts of two Years, one Hundred and Sixty Draught Horſes, two Thouſand Hogs, three Thouſand Bullocks, Fourty Tuns of Wine, ſix Hundred Bacons, Fourſcore Carcaſſes of *Martinmas* Beef, ſix Hundred Muttons in his Larder, Ten Tuns of Cider; Armour, Plate, Jewels and ready Money better than ten Thouſand Pounds, Thirty ſix Sacks of Wooll, and a Library of Books.

[i] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 396. *ex libro* Sudbury *dicto, fol.*89.

[k] *Rot. Parl.* 21 *Ric.* 2. *n.*58. *vid. Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridg. p.*372. *& Sr. W. Dugd. Bar.* 1 *Vol. p.*396. *ſed Sr. Rob. Cotton bis térve corrigendus ex Dug.*

VI. About this time there were ſent into *Scotland* by Commiſſion from King *Edward*, the Lord [l] *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Guy de Brian*, and the Lord *Henry Scroop* of *Maſham*, to treat with *William* Earl of *Douglas* and Others, appointed by *Robert Stuart* King of *Scotland*, touching the Reſtitution of thoſe Lands, which by Vertue of the Truce formerly made did belong to *England*; and [m] for Settling all things amiſs, which had fell out contrary to the Truce and Agreement made between the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*.

[l] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*236.

[m] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*658.

VII. Now when the Truce of which we ſpake, was thus made at *Bruges*, being to continue for one whole Year (unto the Firſt of *April* 1376.) between the Kings of *England* and *France*, and their Allies, the Duke of *Lancaſter* on the one Part, and the Duke of *Burgundy* on the other, ſware to uphold the ſame; and that at the Feaſt of All-Saints next coming they would return again to *Bruges* in order to treat further about Prolonging the Truce, or Compleating a Peace. Each Party being permitted to hold and enjoy every thing, which at that time they had in Poſſeſſion, untill the ſaid Firſt of *April*.

From

From this latter Clauſe the *Engliſh* concluded, that St. *Saviour le Vicount* would be ſecure; but the *Frenchmen*, who always got the Advantage of them by Treaties, reſolved that the Firſt Covenant ſhould take place of the Latter. At *Whitſuntide* therefore, which was the Time appointed that the Garriſon of St. *Saviour* was to yield, unleſs reſcued by their Friends, the *French* King ſent thither no leſs than 6000 Spears, Knights and Eſquires beſides Others; but none appear'd on the Behalf of the Garriſon, either to raiſe the Siege, or hold the Field againſt them. When therefore the appointed time was come and expired, the *Engliſh* much againſt their Wills yielded up to the *French*; the Captain *Thomas Katrington*, Sr. *Thomas Cornet*, and Sr. *John Burroughs*, with the Three Brethren *Mauliverers*, and the reſt of the Garriſon, being convey'd to *Carentan*, whence they all took ſhipping for *England*.

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VIII. And thô during King *Edward's* Reign, this Eſquire *Katrington* was never queſtion'd in the leaſt for this Matter; yet a few Years after in the Days of King *Richard* the Second, a Noble Knight named Sr. *John Anneſley*, [n] who had married the late Lord *John Chandos* his Niece, [o] accuſed him of flat Treaſon in thus Delivering up that Fortreſs, and thereupon challenged him to a Combat, which the Eſquire accepted, and the King granted, reſolving to be himſelf a Spectator, as He was with all the Court; the Liſts being made in the Palace Yard of *Weſtminſter*. This Eſquire *Katrington* was a mighty Man of Valour, of a large ſtature, and far overtop'd the Knight, being alſo of greater Expectation in ſuch Matters. But however whether Juſtice, or Chance, or Valour only decided the Buſineſs, the Knight prevail'd, and *Katrington* the day after the Combat died of his Wounds, as ſome ſay; thô conſidering the Laws attending the *Duello* in ſuch Caſes, I rather here encline [p] to *Fabian*, who affirms, that he was drawn to *Tiburn*, and there hanged for the Treaſon, whereof by being vanquiſhed he was proved Guilty.

[n] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*503.
[o] *Sr. Rich. Baker p.* 150. *ad ann.*1381.
[p] *Fabian p.*324.

IX. But to return, beſides this Encroachment on the Truce made by the *French*, in taking St. *Saviour le Vicount* after that Manner, [q] certain Ships of *England*, which had lately carried over into *Aquitain* the Lord *Thomas Felton* Seneſchal of *Aquitain*, and Sr. *William Elman* Governour of *Bayonne*, whom they had landed at *Bourdeaux*; being now return'd thence to *le Baye* in *Bretagne*, were Boarded by certain *Spaniſh* Gallies, and taken on the *Tenth* of *Auguſt*, thô the late Truce extended unto the *Spaniards* alſo, as being Allies of *France*. Of which we ſhall find Complaint made in Parliament the Year following by the Owners of the ſaid Veſſels.

[q] *Rot. Par.* 50 *Ed.*3. *n.*127.

X. On the [r] Tenth of *October* this Year there departed this Life the thrice-Noble and Valiant Lord *David Strabolgi*, Earl of *Athol*, leaving only two Daughters his Heirs, behind him: And the moſt Honourable Heroe *Richard Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel* [s] died on the Ninth of the *Calends* of *February* this ſame Year, in a good old Age, leaving behind him three Sons and three Daughters; *Richard* the eldeſt of his Sons ſucceeded him both in his Honours and Vertues.

[r] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.*96.
[s] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*318. *Catal. Honor. p.* 650.

Helming [t] *Legat* Eſquire, having obtained Licence of the King, gave at this time one Tenement, with a Cartelage or Yard thereto belonging, and a Garden with an Entry leading thereto, unto Mr. *John Hariot* Parſon of *Fen-Church* and to his Succeſſors for ever; the Houſe to be a Parſonage-Houſe, and the Garden to be a Church-yard or Burying-place for the Pariſh.

[t] *Stow's Survey of* London *p.* 217.

And about the ſame time [u] *Ralph* Lord *Baſſet* of *Drayton* founded an Houſe at *Atherſton* in *Warwickſhire*, called the Fryars-Hermits of St. *Auguſtin*; over the Gate whereof is yet to be ſeen his Coat of Arms cut in a fair Shield of Stone.

[u] *Dugd. Warw. p.*781. *a.*

CHAPTER the THIRTEENTH.

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I. IN theſe Days *Ingleram de Guiſnes* Lord of *Coucy*, Earl of *Bedford*, and King *Edward's* Son-in-Law, [a] returned into *France* from the Wars in *Lombardy*, which at the Inſtance, and on the Behalf of the Pope, he had maintain'd together with *John Galeas* Earl of *Vertus*, Son of Duke *Galeas*, againſt his Uncle Duke *Bernabo* and his Allies, the Recital whereof would be Foreign to the Matter now in Hand. This Lord of *Coucy* was Son to the Lady [b] *Catherine* of *Auſtria*, who was Siſter to [c] *Peter* Duke of *Auſtria* laſt deceaſed; ſo that the ſaid Duke dying without Iſſue lawfully begotten, the Lord of *Coucy* was of Right to ſucceed in that Dukedom to his Uncle *Peter* aforeſaid. But the [d] People of the Country had already given the Dukedom to another, further removed than he; whereof he had before this made frequent Complaints to the Emperour *Charles* the Fourth: Who very well knew the Right which he had, but durſt not interpoſe too vigorouſly on his Behalf, becauſe the *Auſtrians* were a conſiderable Nation, and Hardy in War. Wherefore the Lord of *Coucy*, ſeeing he could not be righted otherwiſe, had his laſt recourſe to Arms, wherein thô aſſiſted by his Aunt, Siſter to the late Duke, and his Mother, he nevertheleſs had but ſmall Succeſs; wherefore having afterwards exerciſed his Arms for ſome time in *Lombardy*, he now returned, as We have ſhewn, into *France*, where he was received very gratiouſly of the King, who highly eſteem'd him for his Valour, and imagin'd by what means he might win him over from King *Edward* unto himſelf.

[a] *Froiſ. c.* 314. *fol.* 195. *Gallicè f.* 266. *De bello inter* Bernabonem *& Pontifices geſto, vid. Odor. Rainal. ab An°.* 1360. *n.* 6. *&c.*

[b] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 761. *a.*

[c] *Catal. Honor. p.* 440.

[d] *Pannones olim dicti.*

The Lord of *Coucy*, underſtanding that there was a Truce at that time between *England* and *France*, which was in a fair way to be prolonged, and that there were many Men of War then in *France* without any Employment, who as he thought, might prove very ſerviceable to him in Recovering his Right in *Auſtria*, began now to requeſt of King *Charles*, that he would permit thoſe *Bretons* and Companions, who during the Truce were like to be but a Burthen to his Realm, to go along with him into *Auſtria*, to help him to recover his Right. The King as well to rid himſelf of that Charge and Trouble, as to oblige him, granted this his Requeſt, and beſides that either gave or lent him 60000 Franks to beſtow among his Followers. Wherefore ſeveral *French* Lords themſelves, when they ſaw how well their King himſelf wiſh'd to this Cauſe, joyned themſelves with the Lord of *Coucy*; as the Vicount of *Meaux*, the Lord of *Aunay*, Sr. *Ralph de Coucy*, the Baron of *Roye*, and the Lord *Peter de la Bar*, with many other Lords and Knights of *France*, *Bretagne*, *Artois*, *Vermandois*, *Picardy* and *Hainalt*, all deſirous to advance their Bodies in Queſt of Military Honour. With theſe Forces the Lord of *Coucy* rode forth towards *Auſtria*, about the Feaſt of St. *Michael* in the Year 1375; the Companions that were with him, after their manner, doing much Miſchief all the way. But when the *Auſtrians* and the *Almaignes* with their New Duke whom they had choſen, underſtood for certain, that the Lord of *Coucy* was coming againſt them with ſuch Forces, they immediately burnt and deſtroy'd for three Days journey along by the River *Danube*, after which they retired into the Mountains and other Places hard of Acceſs. So that the Lord of *Coucy* and his Men, who had expected to have met with Victuals, could find none at all; whereby they ſuffer'd that Winter infinite Loſs and Trouble, for not knowing where to get Forage or Victuals for themſelves or their Horſes; many of both Sorts died, what with Hunger, Cold and Sickneſs. Theſe Afflictions put an end to this Expedition, ſo that in the Spring the poor Remainders of the Army returned into *France*, where they divided into ſeveral Quarters to refreſh themſelves. But the King ſent the moſt part of the Companions into *Bretagne* and Low *Normandy* to quarter there, till he ſhould have occaſion for them, which he expected ſhortly. For there was only a Momentary Truce taken between the Realms of *England* and *France*, of which we ſhall now ſpeak a little.

II. When the Feaſt of [e] *All-Saints* drew near, which was the Time appointed for a Meeting at *Bruges*, in order to prolong the Truce beyond the forelimited time of the Firſt of *April*, or if poſſible, to ſettle a laſting Peace; there came again to *Bruges* for the *French* King, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Salebruſe*, and the Biſhop of *Amiens*; but the Duke of *Anjou* tarried ſtill at St. *Omers*. From King *Edward* there came *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *John Dreux* commonly called *Monford*, Duke of *Bretagne*,

[e] *Vid. L.* 4. *c.* 12. §. 7. *p.* 876.

Bretagne, *William Montagu* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *William Courtney* Bishop of *London*: Sr. *Robert* of *Namur* was also with the Duke of *Lancaster*, and waited on him to do him Honour, while he staid in *Flanders*, and the two Legates, the Archbishop of *Rouën*, and the Bishop of *Carpentras*, went between the two Parties, and took much Pains, shewing many weighty Reasons to induce both Sides to Moderation, but all to no purpose; the Lords were so far asunder in their Resolutions. For the *French* King demanded back again 1400000 Franks, which had been paid for the Redemption of King *John*, and also to have *Calais* rased and beaten down to the Ground: To neither of which would the King of *England* by any means consent. Then the [f] *French* Deputies required Licence of the Legates, that they might ride to *Paris* to declare more particularly unto the King the Offers made on the *English* Part; after which they promised to return with an Account of his Pleasure as to the Premises. Upon this Demand it was at last resolved, that certain sufficient Persons for that purpose appointed, should go and shew unto King *Charles*, "How the *English* Negotiators, besides that they absolutely "refused to refund the Money, or to rase *Calais* as aforesaid, stood stifly for the Abso- "lute Sovereignty, which they said belonged to the King their Master, and that the "King of *England*, and his Heirs Kings of *England*, should for ever enjoy all the "Lands comprised in the former Peace, made between Him and King *John*, without any "Homage or Resort, or any other Duty paying or owing therefore. Upon this King *Charles* summon'd his Peers and Nobles about him, and there came many Lawyers and Doctors of Divinity unto him to *Paris*, to hold a Debate and Argument on this Matter. And here at last it was peremptorily determin'd, that the King might not part with his Right of Sovereignty, without great Peril of his Soul, because he was so manifoldly engaged to maintain the Rights of his Kingdom.

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[f] *Fabian p.* 258. &c.

This Report being brought to *Bruges*, the Treaty immediately fell to pieces without any further Effect; but only that by the earnest Intercession of the Legates the Truce however was prolonged to the [g] Last of *June* then next ensuing, and afterwards was lengthen'd out farther to the First of *April* of the Year MCCCLXXVII, to give notice whereof to the *English* Subjects [h] a Proclamation was set forth.

[g] *Rot. Franc.* 50. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 16 & 21.

So these Lords on both sides tarried at *Bruges* the Remainder of the foregoing [h] Winter, and most part of the *Lent* following, keeping great State, especially the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Burgundy*. But in the Spring they all return'd to their several Countries, except the Duke of *Bretagne*, who tarried still in *Flanders* with the Earl *Lewis* his Cosen, [k] who made him extream welcome for the space of a Year.

[h] 7 *Aug. Claus.* 50. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 1. *m.* 3. *Dorso vid. Rot. Vasc. de eod. an. m.* 8. & *Rot. Franc. m.* 10.

[i] *Fabian p.* 258.

[k] *Jacob. Meyer. Annal. Flandr. l.* 13. *p.* 193.

But we must not forget to make mention of the great Good-will, which King *Edward* and his Children still manifested to the Person of the Noble Lord *John Greilly* Captal of *Buche*, who being taken, as we have related, before *Soubise*, was all this while kept a Prisoner in the Tower of the Temple at *Paris*. Him they [l] earnestly labour'd to get at Liberty, and made frequent Overtures to that purpose; but especially now by their Ambassadors and Negotiators at *Bruges* they offer'd in Exchange for him *Valeran* the young Earl of St. *Pol*, and Three or Four other Knights, besides [m] Gold and Silver in Abundance: But the *French* King and his Council would by no means consent to deliver him, [n] unless he would swear, "*Never more to bear Arms against the Crown of* France. To which Proposal the Loyal *Gascogner* stoutly reply'd; "*That thô he was sure otherwise to die in Prison, yet he would never make any such Oath.* But of this Valiant Prince's Death we shall speak hereafter.

[l] *Froiss. c.* 315.

[m] *Froiss. c.* 332. *fol.* 210. *b.*

[n] *Froiss. c.* 315. *fol.* 196. *b.* & *Jacob Meyer Annal. Flandr. l.* 13. *p.* 194.

III. This Year being the *Fiftieth* of King *Edward's* Reign over *England*, he kept [o] a Second *Jubilee* in consideration thereof and gave Pardons, Immunities and Graces, and shew'd many Notable Acts of Bounty and Goodness to his People, as in the First *Jubilee*, which was the *Fiftieth* Year of his Age. A singular Blessing, which very few Monarchs have ever arrived to, either before or since that time.

[o] *Daniel's History p.* 256.

Soon after, *viz.* on the 28 of *April*, [p] being the *Monday* after the Feast of St. *George*, the King of *England* held his High Court of Parliament at *Westminster*: On which Day there was a considerable Appearance both of Lords and Commons before the King in his own Chamber Royal. But because divers of the Lords, and some few of the Commons were not come, Proclamation was made in the Great Hall at *Westminster*, that all such, who had received Summons to Parliament, should be there the next Morning by *Eight* of the Clock.

FE. Lit. Dom. [p] *M. S Rot. Par.* 50. *Ed.* 3. *p.* 116. *n.* 1. *&c. Item Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgment p.* 120. *&c.*

§. 2.

At which Day Sr. *John Knevet*, Knight, Lord Chancellour of *England*, declared before the King, Lords and Commons, the Causes of the present Parliament to be Three, *viz.* To enquire how the King should best provide for the Government of the Realm; Secondly, for the Defence of the same, as well beyond the Seas as on this side, both by Sea and

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and by Land; and lastly, how he might prosecute his Quarrel against his Enemies, and make good the same; the Chancellour adding, "*That as the King had always in all his* "*Attempts follow'd their Good Counsel, so now he meant to do no less:* Wherefore in the King's Name he wish'd them to go together, the Lords by themselves, and the Commons by themselves, and speedily to consult and return an Answer.

§. 3,4,5,6,7. * §. 8.

So when there were appointed *Receivers* of Petitions for *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, as also for *Gascogne*, and other Places and Isles beyond the Seas, *Tryers* of the said Petitions after the Custom being subjoyned, the * Commons were willed to depart to their accustomed Place, being the Chapter-House of the Abbot of *Westminster*, whither they went accordingly. And then certain of the Lords and Nobles, who are particularly named in the Records, were order'd for the quicker Dispatch of Affairs to go and consult with the Commons.

§. 9. In consideration of the necessary Charges of the Government, the Lords and Commons grant unto the King the like Subsidy of Woolls, Skins, and Wooll-Fells, as was granted in the last Parliament, to endure for Three Years from the Feast of St. *Michael*, then next ensuing.

§. 10. Then an Order was devised by the Commons; that the King should have at least Ten or Twelve Counsellours, without whom no weighty Matter should pass, and for small Matters at least Six or Four of them: Whereunto the King granted, provided that the Chancellour, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, should by [q] their selves end all Matters belonging to their Offices; and that these Counsellours should take no Rewards.

[q] *His* M.S^m. *Corrigo ex Sr. Rob. Cotton.*

§. 11. That no other of the Kings Officers and Ministers do take any Reward for any thing touching their Offices.

§. 12. That Report of Matters of Council shall be made to the King by some One or Two of the Council appointed, and by no others.

§. 13. That all Ordinances made by the King and his Council shall be by all the Kings Officers Executed.

§. 14. That the Ordinance forbidding any Man within *London*, or elsewhere to sell sweet Wine by Retail, is Repealed; and that every Freeman may sell such Wines in *London* by Retail; so as always the Lord Mayor have the Disposing of the Price thereof.

§. 15. After this the Commons in full Parliament making Protestation of their due Allegiance to the King, declared; That if he had Faithfull Counsellours and Officers, he could not but have passed all other Princes in Treasure, considering that the Ransoms of the Kings of *France* and of *Scotland* were to him paid, besides the great Subsidies here. And therefore they require, that the Falshoods and Deceits of certain of the Kings Council and other Persons, may be enquired after and punished; whereby he might long maintain his Wars without any Imposition on the Commons; and namely if due Enquiry be made, as to Three Things, *viz.*

§. 16. *First*, of such of the Council, as convey Staple Ware and Bullion to other Places, than to *Calais*, for their own private turn: *Secondly*, of such as made shifts for Money for the King deceitfully. *Lastly*, of such as of Coven between certain of the Council, and them bought of sundry the Kings Subjects Debts due by the King to them for the *Tenth* and *Twentieth* Peny.

§. 17. Here *Richard Lyon*, Merchant of *London*, was accused by the Commons of divers Deceits, Extortions and other Misdemeanours, as well for the time, that he had repair to certain of the Kings Council, as for the time, that He was Farmer of the Kings Subsidies and Customs, and namely for obtaining Licences to convey over great [r] Quantities of Wooll and Staple-ware, for devising the Change of Money; for making the King for one [s] Chevisance of twenty Marks to pay 30 *l.* For buying of Divers Mens Debts due [t] from the King for small Value: For taking special Bribes to pay the Kings due Debts by way of Broakage; all which it should seem he must do, not without secret practice with some of the Council.

[r] *Ibi Foizon*, i.e. *Copia.*
[s] Chevisance, i.e. *Merces, Mercimonium, &c.*
[t] To *in M.S. &c. sed puto non rectè.*

§. 18. To some part of which Articles the said *Richard* answereth, and touching the Rest submitteth himself to the Kings Pleasure, as to Body, Lands, and Goods.

§. 19. Whereupon the said *Richard* is committed to Prison, during the Kings Will, and all his Lands, Tenements, and Goods order'd to be seised to the Kings Use.

§. 20. And as to the Extortion done, while He was Farmer of the Subsidies and Customs, Order was taken, that by Commission throughout *England*, it should be enquired into: And further the said *Richard Lyon* was disfranchised.

§. 21. *William* Lord *Latimer* was openly accused by the Commons for divers Oppressions by

by him done, as well while he ſerved under the King in *Bretagne*, as for the time, he was Chamberlain to the King and of his Council: Namely, for that in *Bretagne*, He and his Officers had taken of the People there in Victuals and Ranſoms againſt the Kings Will, to the Value of 24000 *l.* and at another time an Hundred Thouſand [u] Scutes of Gold; whereof was never anſwer'd to the King One Peny. The particulars of all which are to be ſeen in the Records. AN. DOM. 1376. An. Regni *Angliæ* L. *Franciæ* XXXVII.

[u] *Sr. Rob. Cotton* Eſſentes, *pro* Eſcutes.

The ſame Lord *Latimer* was alſo accuſed for Victuals ſold in *Bretagne* to the Value of Ten Thouſand [x] *Marks*; as alſo for the Loſs of the Town and Fort of St. *Saviour* in *Normandy*, whilſt He was Captain there; and likewiſe of the Town of *Becherel* in *Bretagne*, and of other Towns and Forts. §. 22, 23.

Beſides all which it was urg'd, that He was partaker of all the Crimes of *Richard Lyon* aforeſaid; [y] and that he had withheld from the King divers great Sums of Money, which he had received for the Kings behoof, while he was Governour of *Becherel* in *Bretagne*; that whileſt he was of the Kings Council, he had unneceſſarily expended his Treaſure; and likewiſe that He had obtain'd Letters Patents to tranſport Woolls into other Places, beſides the Staple at *Calais*, and laid Impoſitions upon Woolls, without conſent of Parliament to the prejudice of that Staple. §. 24. [x] *Ità M.S. ſed* Franks *apud Sr. Rob. Cotton.* §. 25. [y] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 32.

To all which the ſaid Lord *Latimer*, ſaving the Tryal of his Peers, offer'd to anſwer any particular Perſon; but that the Commons would not allow, inſiſting on this general Charge only. §. 26.

Whereupon the ſaid Lord anſwer'd every Objection, and as it ſhould ſeem by the Record, very well voided them in open Parliament: Notwithſtanding [z] at the Deſire of the Lords and Commons, He was not only put out of all his Offices and Employments, but Order'd to be committed to the Marſhalſea, untill he ſhould make Fine and Redemption for the ſame at the Kings Pleaſure. Beſides all which an Order was made, * that the Prior of *Egglefield*, an Alien, ſhould exhibit his Bill of Complaint againſt the ſaid Lord *Latimer*, concerning the Parſonage of *Egglefield*, which the ſaid Lord had wrongfully recover'd againſt the ſaid Prior. But to avoid the Fury of this Tempeſt, the Lord *Latimer* prudently ſubmitted for the preſent; only as to his Impriſonment, he found certain Lords and others, * his Mainpriſers, for the forth coming of his Body, during the Parliament, as by a Schedule doth appear: Wherein his Mainpriſers are found to have been One Archbiſhop, Three Biſhops, One Prior of St. *John*, Three Earls, Fifteen Lords, and Thirteen Knights; all their Degrees of the beſt Renown. Upon which Mainpriſe the Marſhal of *England* offer'd him to be at large. So that after all this upon the ending of the Parliament, [b] he went to the King then at *Havering* at the *Bowre*, and totally ſubmitted himſelf unto his Grace; whereupon, thô he had been Fined at 20000 Marks, the King was pleaſed wholly to remit both his Fine and Impriſonment, and the Year following the Lords and Commons themſelves repreſenting to the King, that he had been deprived of his Offices, and put from the Privy Council by undue ſuggeſtion, he was reſtored unto them again. However ſome weak Hiſtorians, who reſemble the Common People in Clamour and want of Judgement; ſay, how that was done in the Kings Declining Age, after the Death of Prince *Edward*, when he had taken his Son *John* of *Gaunt* to be his Aſſiſtant in the Government, whom, it ſeems, the Vulgar could not endure. §. 27. [z] *Dugd. ibid. ex ipſo Record.* §. 28. * §. 36. * §. 29, 30. [b] *Dugd. ibid.*

But however at this time the Commons proceeded in their warm beginnings, and beſides this Noble Peer, One *William Ellis* of Great *Yarmouth*, was accuſed of ſundry Extortions by him done; when he was Farmer of the Kings Petty-Cuſtoms there, and Deputy to *Richard Lyon* aforeſaid, for the Subſidy of Six-pence in the Pound, granted unto the King by Parliament. §. 31.

To which accuſation, it ſeems, that the ſaid *William Ellis* made a ſufficient Anſwer, But it was not then allow'd to be ſo: For he was notwithſtanding condemned to be Impriſon'd and Fined at the Kings Pleaſure. §. 32.

Alſo *John Peachie*, Fiſhmonger of *London*, was accuſed for procuring a Licence under the Great Seal, that he only might ſell ſweet Wines, and that under Colour thereof, he took Four-Shillings Four Pence *per* Tun of every Man, which notwithſtanding he juſtified by Law, as indeed he might, yet judgement was given, that he ſhould be committed to Priſon, during the Kings Pleaſure, and make Recompence to all Parties Grieved. §. 33. *Vid.* [c] *Stow's Survey of* London. *p.* 255.

The Lord *John Nevill* alſo was accuſed, that while he was of the Kings Privy Council, he ſhould buy certain Debts due by the King, namely of the Lady *Ravenſham*, and of *Simon Love*, Merchant, far under the Value, and for receiving of the King more wages, and for a longer time, for an Hundred Souldiers in *Bretagne*, than was due. To §. 34.

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the first he answer'd, of the Ladies own Good-Will, he confessed, that for the obtaining of her Debt, he had received Ninety Five Pounds. As to *Love's* business, he denied, that there was any such thing: Upon which *Love* himself being call'd into the Parliament, he also wholly acquitted the said Lord. But because the Day before *Love* had confessed so much to two Knights of the House, he was now committed to Prison; So that this Accusation fell of it self, and as to the other of receiving Wages, the Noble Lord wholly cleared himself. Yet notwithstanding Judgement of Imprisonment, and Loss of Lands, Goods, and Offices was given against him, in like manner, as against the Rest, and that he should make Restitution of the Ninety Five Pounds to the Executors of the said Lady then lately deceased.

The Bishop of *Norwich* supposeth an erroneous Judgement to be given against him in the Common-Pleas for the Archdeaconry of *Norwich*, belonging to his Presentation, and prayeth that those Errors might be heard for redress thereof: Whereunto Answer was made, that Errors by Law in the Common-Pleas are to be corrected in the Kings Bench, and of the Kings Bench in Parliament, and not otherwise.

As well at the Complaint of the Men of *Layston*, as at the pursuit of the Commons, the Grant lately made by the King to the Town of Great *Yarmouth*, that one Place in the Sea, call'd *Kirkleroue*, be annexed to the Port of *Yarmouth*, shall be utterly repealed, saving all other their Liberties.

Adam Bury, Alderman, and sometimes Mayor of *London*, was accused of divers Deceits and wrongs by him done, while he was Mayor of *Calais* and Captain of *Belingen*, a Castle in *Picardy*, between *Ardres* and *Guisnes*, in the Marishes: But he was not minded to abide that Tryal, where Innocence it self would not avail, unless Power would please to own it. Wherefore upon his Non-appearance after Summons, it was agreed, that all his Goods and Chattels should be arrested, and so they were.

The King ordaineth, that from thenceforth no Woman should for Maintenance or Lucre, present any matter in any of the King's Courts, and particularly *Alice Perrers*, on pain of Forfeiting all they have, and being banished the Realm for ever.

[d] *Froiss. c. Gallico f.* 266. *b.*

IV. During this Parliament, the [d] Flower of *English* Chevalry, that Most Renowned Hero, *Edward* Sirnamed the *Black-Prince*, being utterly exhausted and worn out with a lingring Sickness, which gradually grew upon him, till it ended in an High Calenture, or Violent Burning Fever, to the infinite Regret of all the World, departed this Mortal Life in the King his Father's Great Chamber, in the Royal Palace of *Westminster*, on the *Eight* day of *June*, [e] being then *Trinity-Sunday*, [f] which Festival in whatever Place He was, He constantly all his Life held the most Sacred and Solemn of all the Days in the Year: In Memory whereof his Anniversary [g] *Obit* was afterwards appointed to be held at *Windsor* on the Eighth of *June* for ever. He died in the *Fourty Sixth* Year of his Age, even in the same Month wherein he was born, Ripe for Heaven and Full of Honour: And thô falling short in Years of his Great Father, and many Renowned Captains; yet thereby (in my Opinion) happily exempt from the Imperfections and Errors of Old Age, which too often qualifie preceding Glories. Upon which Account *Servius Tullus* [h] dispensed with those Knights, who were *Seven* and *Fourty* Years of Age, from all voluntary Services of War; *Augustus* afterwards reducing the Term of being emerit to *Fourty* and *Five*.

[e] Lit. Dom. FE. *Pasch.* 13. April. *vid. Sandford p.* 187 *Walsingh. p.* 186 *& omnes*

[f] *M. S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C. C. C.* Cantab. *c.* 238. *& omnes.*

[g] *Ashmole p.* 151.

[h] *Vid Ld. Montaigne's Essays l.* 1. *c.* 57. *&c. ult.*

However he died too soon for the *English* Nation, who had conceited much Happiness to it self under his expected Government: And also for his Father, who desired above all things to leave so great a Successor behind him; as likewise for his Son *Richard*, who extreamly wanted to have his tender Youth Cultivated with the Seeds of those Vertues, which had so prosperously flourished in this his Father, thrô the whole Course of his Life.

[i] *Mr. John Gadbury* in his Astrolog. Judgm. on the Nativity of the *Black-Prince*. *M. S. penes me.*

A little before his Death [i] there was celebrated a famous Opposition of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* in *Aquarius* and *Leo*, the Abject Parts and Places of his Geniture; which was according to Astrologers no small Cause of so great a Calamity. Besides which the Year before his Lamented Expiration, he was called for by a Bearded Comet of considerable Magnitude.

It is not altogether beneath our Consideration to observe Four Remarkable Stages of his Life, all well-nigh a like Distance from each other. In the year 1346, being then in the *Sixteenth* Year of his Age, he obtain'd that Memorable Victory at *Cressy* in *Ponthieu*; in the Year 1356, being the 26th of his Age, he took King *John* of *France* Prisoner at the Battle of *Poictiers*; in the Year 1366, he undertook the Quarrel of *Don Pedro*, upon which Account he Triumphed at *Najara* in *Spain*, being then Thirty Six Years Old; and now lastly in the Year 1376, being the Fourty Sixth of his Age, he left this World for a better.

His

His laſt Will and Teſtament was finiſh'd [k] but the Day before his Death (all the former being then rendred void) wherein he diſpoſed of his Body to be buried in the Cathedral of *Canterbury* called *Chriſtchurch:* And ſuch was his Care of thoſe who had done him Service, that he charged his Son *Richard* by his Will, to continue unto them all the Payment of thoſe Pentions which he had given them. But 'tis not material to reckon up here the Various Legacies that he gave, as Silk-Beds, Horſes, Armour, Gold and Silver, beſides what he dedicated to Holy Uſes; as he had done many things of that nature in his Life-time. We ſhall only remember the Names of his Executors, as they were appointed in his Will, *viz.* his Brother of *Spain*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, *William* of *Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *John Harewell* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *William Spridlington* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *Robert Walſham* his Confeſſor, *Hugh Seagrave* Steward of his Lands, Sr. *Alan Stokes*, and Sr. *John Fordham*.

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[k] *Aſhmoles Garter p.676. ex libro in Offic. Principal. Cant. vocat.* Sudbury *f.90. b.*

And thus fell this Victorious Prince, in whoſe [l] Fall the Hopes of all *England* ſeem'd to be caſt down: While he lived, they feared no Invaſion, they doubted no Warlike Encounter; He never march'd againſt any whom he overcame not, never beſieged any City which he took not. All Nations both Heathen and *Chriſtian* dreaded his Fortune and Conduct in War, as of another *Hector*; nor did his * Wiſdom any way come ſhort of his Courage: Both which were equall'd by his Exemplary Juſtice, Clemency, Liberality, Piety and Moderation, Vertues but ſeldom ſincerely embraced by Perſons of High Condition. He was a Prince, [m] of whom we never heard any Ill, nor received any other Note than of Goodneſs, and the Nobleſt Performances, that Magnanimity, Generoſity, Courage and Wiſdom could ever ſhew: Inſomuch as what Praiſe can be given unto Vertue is due unto Him.

[l] *Walſing. hiſt. p. 186. & M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c.238.*

* *Churchill's Divi Britan. p.245.*

[m] *Daniel's hiſt. p.256.*

King [n] *Charles* of *France*, becauſe he was of his Kindred, performed his Obſequies in moſt Solemn Manner in the Holy Chappel of the Palace at *Paris*, the greater part of the Prelates and Peers of his Realm being preſent: A little before which time the Truce between the two Realms was again [o] prolonged unto the Firſt Day of *April*, which was to be in the Year of our Lord 1377. The mean while King *Edward* was ſorrowfully buſied with the unwelcome Cares of his Son's Funeral, the laſt Office he could pay unto Him; but [p] that 'tis believed thrô Grief at this Loſs, that he was the rather content to looſe Himſelf by following him ſooner into the other World; for we ſhall find that he ſurviv'd him but a Year and Thirteen Days. Nor did he properly live that while neither, for preſently upon the Death of his Son, he retired to *Eltham* in *Kent*, endeavouring to concoct this hard Morſel of Providence, thô it was every day ready to break his Heart.

[n] *Froiſ. c. 314. fol. 195. b. & Gallic. f.266. b.*

[o] *Rot. Franc. 50. Ed. 3. m. 16. & 21.*

[p] *Polyd. Virg. p.399.*

The Body of this Famous Warrier being Embalmed, lay in State, and was then wrapped up in Lead, to be kept till *Michaelmas* next coming, that ſo it might be interred with the Greater Solemnity, in the Preſence of the Parliament, as both Houſes had deſired. And accordingly at *Michaelmas* He was carried in a ſtately Herſe, drawn with 12 Horſes thrô the City of *London* over the Bridge, the Whole Court and the Two Houſes of Parliament attending him in Mourning, till they came to *Canterbury*, where he was buried with Great Solemnity, in the Cathedral of *Chriſt-Church*, as Himſelf had order'd in his Will, on the South-ſide, and near the Shrine of St. *Thomas Becket*, and over his Grave was ſhortly after erected a Stately Monument of Grey Marble, with his Pourtraiture lying thereon of Copper Gilt: The Ends and Sides whereof are garniſhed with Eſcutcheons of Copper, enamel'd with his Arms and Deviſes, the One being the Arms of *France* and *England* Quarterly with a Labell of Three Points, and the Other the *Oſtrich* Feathers, commonly called from Him the Prince's Arms, with the Word Houmont on the Formet, and Ich Dien on the Latter. On an Iron Bar over the Tomb are placed the Helm and Creſt, Coat of Mail and Gauntlets, and on a Pillar near thereunto his Shield of Arms richly Diapred with Gold, all which He is ſaid to have uſed in Battle. The Figure of this Noble Monument is exactly delineated in [q] Mr. *Sandford's* Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings of *England*. On the Monument there is this old *French* Epitaph circumſcribed on a Fillet of Braſs, beginning at the Head, * *viz.*

[q] *Sandford p. 188.*

* *Extat apud* Sandford *ibid.* & Weever's *Fun. Mon. &c.*

Cy Giſt le Noble Prince Monſieur Edward, aiſnez Filz du Treſnoble Roy Edward Tiers; Jadis Prince d' Aquitaine & de Galles, Duc de Cornwaille, & Comte de Ceſtre, qi morust en la Feſte de la Trinite, qeſtoit le viii jour de Juyn, l'an de Grace, Mill Trois cenz ſeptante ſiſme. Lalme de qi Dieu eit Mercie. Amen.

That is in Engliſh.

Here lieth the Noble Prince, the Lord *Edward*, Eldeſt Son to the Thrice-Noble King *Edward* the Third, late Prince of *Aquitaine* and of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Cheſter:* Who died on the Feaſt of the *Trinity*, which was the Eight

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Day of *June*, in the Year of Grace MCCCLXXVI. *On whose Soul God have Mercy*, Amen.

To which is added this French *Rhyme, beginning at the South-side of the Tomb, and running on at the Foot of the North-side.*

Tu qi passez oue bouche cloſe
Par la ou ce Corps repoſe,
Entent ce qe te dirai,
Si comme te dire le ſcay.
Tiel comme tu es autiel fu,
Tu ſerag tiel comme je ſu.

Thou who ſilent paſſeſt by,
Where this Corſe interr'd doth lie,
Hear what to thee I now ſhall ſhow,
Words that from Experience flow.
As thou art, once the World ſaw Me,
As I am, ſo thou once ſhalt be.

De la mort ne penſai je mie,
Tant comme javoy la vie:
Entre avoi grand Richeſſe,
Dont je y fis grand Nobleſſe,
Terre, Meſons, grand Treſor,
Draps, Chivaux, Argent e Or.

I little could my Death divine,
When Life's bright Lamp did ſweetly ſhine,
Vaſt Wealth did o'r my Coffers flow,
Which I as freely did beſtow;
Great ſtore of Manſions I did hold,
Land, Wardrobes, Horſes, Silver, Gold.

Mes ore ſu jeo poures e chetifs
Perfond en la * tre gis
Grand Beaute eſt tout allee;
Ma char eſt tout gaſtee.

* An Terre?

But now I am of all bereft,
And deep in Ground alone am left,
My once admired Beauty's gone,
My Fleſh is waſted to the Bone.

Moult eſt eſtroit ma Meſon,
En moi na ſi Veritie non:
Et ſi ore me veiſſez,
Je me quide pas qe vous deiſſez,
Qe je euſſe onques home eſte,
Si ſu je ore de tant changee.

A Narrow Houſe doth me contain,
All that I ſpeak is True and Plain;
And if you ſhould behold Me here,
You 'ld hardly think (I juſtly fear)
That e'r the World to me did bow,
I am ſo chang'd and alter'd now.

Pour Dieu priez au Celeſtien Roy,
Qe Mercie ait de l'alme de Moy,
Touz ceulx qe pur Moy prieront
Du a Dieu m' accorderont,
Dieu les mette en ſon Paradis,
Ou nul ne poet eſtre chetifs.

For God's ſake, pray to Heaven's High King,
To ſhade my Soul with Mercy's Wing,
All thoſe that try on bended Knee
To reconcile my God and Me,
God place them in his Paradiſe
Where neither Death can be, nor Vice.

The Judicious Reader will attribute the Weakneſs of theſe Lines to the Age, wherein they were made; but ſurely this Hero's Victories at *CRESSEY*, *POICTIERS* and *NAJARA* in *Spain*, ſhall prove both a more Elegant Epitaph, and a more Durable Monument to his Name.

V. When his Dear Friend, the Lord *John Greilly* Captal of *Buſche*, who was ſtill a Priſoner at *Paris*, heard of his Death, he began to neglect himſelf, and at laſt abandon'd all Care of the World, or hopes of Life or Liberty; inſomuch that it is ſaid, he abſtain'd from Suſtenance, and gradually pin'd away thrô Exceſs of Grief for the loſs of ſo Brave a Commander.

VI. Thus his Friends both at home and abroad took the Death of this Gallant Worthy; for indeed he was of ſo Obliging a Character, that he won the Hearts of all Mankind; eſpecially of thoſe who delighted in Martial Performances; and in General He was a Prince of ſuch Excellent Demeanour, [r] ſo Valiant, Wiſe and Politick in his Doings, that the very perfect Image of Knighthood appear'd moſt lively in his Perſon: And ſuch was his Towardlineſs, or rather Perfection in Princely Government; that every Man judg'd, if he had lived to attain the Crown, he would ſurely have exceeded the Glorious Renown of all his Anceſtors.

[r] *Mill's Catal. Honor. p.*315.

He left behind him one onely Son, *Richard* ſirnamed of *Bourdeaux*, then in the Tenth Year of his Age, and after the Death of his Grandfather, King of *England* by the Name of *Richard* the Second. But in all Probability he had left a more Numerous Iſſue, but for the *Spaniſh* Expedition; for from that time that he left *Spain*, where firſt he was infected with that fatal Malady, he never had any more Children, thô before that he had two Sons within the Compaſs of two Years. But it is reported, that he had alſo [t] two Natural Sons, Sr. *John Sounder*, of whom we read nothing, and Sr. *Roger Clarendon*, to the latter whereof he gave by his Will a Silk Bed, with all the Furniture thereunto belonging. He became afterwards one of the Knights of the Chamber to his Half-Brother King *Richard* the Second, and bare for his Arms *Or*, on a Bend *Sable* Three Oſtrich

[t] *Sr. Rich. Baker's Chron. p.* 143. *Mr. Aſhmole p.*676. *Sandford's Gen. Hiſt. p.* 189. *ex l.*10.*f.*39. *lib. in Collegio Armorum.*

Oſtrich Feathers *Argent*, the Quills transfixed thrô as many Scroles of the firſt, being as is thought, Anceſtor to the Family of the *Smiths* in *Eſſex*.

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VII. On Wedneſday, [t] which was the Day after St. *John Baptiſt*, or the 25 of *June*, at the earneſt requeſt of the Commons, there came into open Parliament before the Lords, the Young Lord *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, Son and Heir of *Edward*, late Prince of *Wales*, and ſo conſequently Heir Apparent of the Realm; of whom, after the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had ſpoken Words of Commendation, the Commons with one Voice prayed, that the Lords would make him Prince of *Wales*, as his Father was. But the Lords with more Diſcretion anſwer'd, *that it lay not in them, but in the King only ſo to do*; to whom however they promiſed to be Mediators for that purpoſe. But becauſe the King was ſick at *Eltham*, the Lords and Commons went thither about the Premiſes, and to have a Confirmation and Anſwer to theſe Petitions, which follow.

[t] *M.S. Rot. Par.* p. 120. §. 40. *Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgment* p. 123. *n.* 41. §. 42.

Petitions of the Commons with the King's Anſwer.

That the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Foreſt may be kept in all points. *The King granteth thereto.* That the Sheriffs in all their Returns of any Inqueſt, do return the moſt Honeſt and Nigheſt Neighbours, and that in every weighty Cauſe the Sheriff be ſworn to view the Panel, before he return the ſame. *The Statute therefore made ſhall be executed, and withall adjoyned to the Oath of every Under-Sheriff, that He in his own Perſon ſhall ſurvey the Panel, before he return the ſame.* A Motion was made, that all Liberties granted to any Myſtery, or Occupation, in any City or Town, be revoked, and no more granted; ſo as the Mayor and Bayliffs of every City and Town may ſee things amended. *But this was quaſh'd, before it came to the King.* That divers Commiſſions for Extortions, or ſuch like, granted heretofore to ſundry Perſons of Evil Name, may be Repealed, and no ſuch granted hereafter; but to Lords and others of beſt Reputation in their Countries. *The King granteth thereunto, and that no ſuch Commiſſions be hereafter made, but to the Juſtices, Serjeants, and others, Learned in the Law.* For the ſaving of Salmons and other Fry of Fiſh in the *Thames*, almoſt deſtroy'd by certain Engines, as the King himſelf hath often found; that therefore all Trunks between *London* and the Sea may be overthrown; and that no Salmon be taken between *Graveſend* and *Henley* upon *Thames* in the [u] Kipper-time, *viz.* between the [x] *Invention of the Croſs* and the *Epiphany*, and that no Nets be laid in the *Thames*, unleſs the ſame be of large Maſh of Aſſize. *The Statutes therefore made ſhall be kept, and Commiſſion given out for enquiring after the ſame.* That the Wears upon the River *Brent*, in the County of *Middleſex*, a parcel of the *Thames*, be taken away. *The Statutes therefore made ſhall be executed.* That all thoſe *Lombards*, called Broakers, who only maintain Uſury, (having alſo brought into the Realm the ſhameſull Sin, which is not to be named) and moreover are ſpies, may be taken Care of. *As to Broakers Aliens, that is partly anſwer'd in the Bill of* London. On Declaration of the many Inconveniences, which ariſe, for that in every Town, Strangers, not being Free of the ſame, are yet ſuffer'd to buy and ſell there, it is therefore required, that Cities and Towns may have their Liberties renewed and confirmed for reaſonable Fines, and that they may enjoy them ſo, as no ſtranger of any Town being not Free may occupy there. *Such as have good Charters or Liberties may ſhew them in the Chancery, where thay ſhall have Right.* That the Protections *Cum clauſâ Volumus*, whereby many Men are undone, and namely, one made to *Giacomo*, a *Lombard*, may be repealed, and no ſuch hereafter granted. *After Examination had by the Council they ſhall be Repealed, if need be.* That Ribalds and ſturdy Beggars may be baniſhed out of every Town. *Touching Ribalds, the Statute of* Wincheſter *and the Declaration of the ſame, with other Statutes of Roberdſmen ſhall be executed: And for ſuch, as make themſelves Gentlemen and Men of Arms, or Archers, if they cannot ſo prove themſelves, let them be driven to their Occupation or Service, or to the Place, from whence they came.* The Counties of *Lincoln*, *Leiceſter*, *Nottingham*, and *Darby*, pray that the Staple may be held at *Lincoln*, as it was at the firſt Ordinance, and not at St *Botolphs*. *It ſhall continue at St.* Botolphs *at the King's Pleaſure.* For that divers Men do live incontinently, for ſaving their Clergy, it is requiſite, that any Man may have his Clergy, albeit he Marry two Wives or a Widdow. *The King will be adviſed.* That ſuch Bayliffs in Fee being indicted before the Juſtices of the Foreſt for Vert or Veniſon, and thereupon have their Offices ſeiſed and forfeited to the King, being not called to anſwer, may have a Writ out of the Chancery upon the Statute to be let to Mainpriſe, until the *Eire*, and to be reſtored to their Offices, according as it hath been uſed. *Who is ſpecially grieved may declare the ſame, and ſhall find Remedy.* That all ſuch Officers and others of the Kings Council, who

[u] *i.e.* Spawning time *à Belgico* **Kippen**, *pullos edere, ova excludere.*

[x] *Inventio Crucis* 3 Maii *Epiphania* 6 Januarii.

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who are convicted of Deceit, and displaced, be never restored again, and that so much be Enacted. *If the Defaults declared to the King and Council deserve such Punishment: Otherwise the King will do, as to him shall seem best.* That Remedy may be had against such *Aliens* Religious, as sue to the Court of *Rome* for their Pensions and Livings. *Who is especially grieved upon Declaration of the same to the Council, shall have Remedy.* That all Justices of the Peace may be named by the Lords and Knights of every Shire in Parliament, where they may be sworn, and none to be renewed out of Parliament, and that they may be allowed reasonable Fees. *They shall be nominated by the King and his continual Council, and as for the Fees, the King will be advised.* They require, that for Lands sold by any Religious Person, or other Person of the Church, the Statute of *Westminster* the *Second* may be kept, and that Judgement Executory may be had against the Tenant of the Lands. *The King would have the Statute to be kept, and touching Alienations made before this Parliament, Writs shall be granted against the Tenants of the Land; and for such Alienations to be made, the King will be advised.* That Hundreds be not let to Farm, or other Farm letten; but kept in the Lords Hands. *The Statutes therefore provided shall stand.* That such, as are indicted before the Coroner for Murder, and flee upon the same by siniſter means to them made, should forfeit their Goods, and that the same be enquired of only before the Justice of the Goal Delivery, whether they so fled or withdrew themselves. *Who will especially Complain, shall find Favour.* That Stanks, Stakes, and other annoyances made about Havens be removed and thrown down. *The Statute therefore made shall be kept.* That the Accompts, as well for Sums of Money for [u] *Assarts*, or otherwise in the Exchequor, may be discharged on the Averment, that there are no means to levy the same. *The Grieved, upon Declaration of their Grievance, shall have Right.* That such Lords, and others, who have Lands upon the Sea-Coasts, for the Defence of the same, may be bound to dwell upon the same. *The King by Advice will appoint Order therein.* That no Sheriffs be made, but from Year to Year, and that such, and their Deputies, as have been otherwise, may be in the same Case. *The Statutes therefore appointed shall be observed.* That none be appointed to be a Justice of Assize in his own Country, unless some Foreign Justice be associate with him. *Who will complain, shall have Right.* That the Charter made to the Men of *Yarmouth*, that none should within the time of their Fishing buy any Herring within seven Miles of the same Town, may be Repealed; so as Men may openly buy and sell. *The King granteth thereto in respect of a new Grant above mention'd, saving to the Town all other their Liberties, with this Clause,* Licet. That no Man be barred by any Warranty collateral; but for so much of Lands, as Descending unto him by such Aunceſtry. *The King will be advised until the next Parliament.* That the Justices of Assise shall keep their Sessions in Towns, where Goals be, and make their Deliverances before their Departure, at least once by the Year: And that to the same Justices may be made in One a Patent, as well to take the Assise, as to Deliver the Goal. *The Justices of Assise shall have their Patent in such Wise, as hath been, and shall as well take the Assise, as make Delivery.* That all Sheriffs may be Yearly chosen on the Feast of St. *Michael*, and so as their Gifts and Dinners to the Officers of the Exchequor may be done: That the Justices deliver into the same Court their Extracts at the Octaves of St. *Michael*, and that they be deliver'd to the Sheriff at the Quindenes of St. *Martin*, or the Day after *Hilary* at th'utmost: That Sheriffs and Escheators may be annually removed. *Sheriffs and Escheators shall be Yearly chosen at* Michaelmas, *and have out their Commissions the Day after* All-Souls; *That no Dinners or Gifts be given them in Receipt or Exchequor, on such and such Penalties.* That Writs be sent into all the Counties of *England* to publish the Perambulations of the Forest heretofore made, and to make Perambulations, and to establish the Continuance of the same; so as every Officer upon the Breach thereof, do forfeit his Office, and render double Damages to the Party grieved. *The King meaneth to make new Perambulations thrô* England, *and willeth, that the Charter of the Forest be observed.* That Remedy may be had against certain *Lombards*, who have coloured certain Ships fraughted, and wrecked Goods of the Kings Enemies, and pursued by certain of the Kings Subjects, to be their own; and so by siniſter means have obtained the same. *The Grieved upon suit to the Council, shall have Right.* That no Lands or Tenements be seised by any of the Kings Officers, of any Person, not attainted of Treason or Felony in his Life time. *Let this be more fully opened.* That no Sheriff, Under-Sheriff, or Goaler be Justice during their Offices, neither that they be put in any Commission, other than what Concerns their Offices. *It pleaseth the King.* That the Bishops do certainly appoint what shall be taken for a Probate of a Testament, and

[u] *De hoc verbo vid.* Cowell & Skinner, *in Etymol.*

and for an Acquittance upon the Account. *The Statutes therefore made ſhall be kept.* That for Goods of Felons found by Office, every Man may traverſe ſuch Offices, and upon the Reverſing of the ſame be diſcharged. *The Law ſhall ſtand as it doth.* That no Man be charged upon an account in the Exchequor of *Scottiſh* Money, ſweet Wine ſold without Licence, Corn, Lead, Tin, Worſted, Butter, and ſuch like, whereby no Profit comes to the Prince. *For* Scottiſh *Money, Remedy was provided,* An°. 47. Ed. 3. tit. 19. *For ſweet Wines, Remedy was appointed the laſt Parliament; And for the reſt Care ſhall be taken the firſt Opportunity.* That the Clerk of the Mercate of the Kings Houſhold, do not by Extortion take Fines in Groſs, or certain, of any Towns, and that there may be appointed a Certainty of Meaſures, and weight according to the Standard. *He ſhall ſee puniſhment done according to the Quality of the Fault, without any ſuch Fines taking there, where he doth not his Office: And the Meaſure ſhall be according to the Standard and Statute made.* That no Patent of any Lands found by the Eſcheators Inqueſt be granted; ſo as the Party will ſtand bound to anſwer the King the Profits thereof, if upon Tryal it be found for the King. *The King will be adviſed.* That the Chancellour upon the Writ of [z] *Champartie,* may grant forth Writs at the ſuit of the Party, and that he may recover Damages in his ſuit. *The King will be adviſed until the next Parliament.* They Require Remedy againſt Reſervation of Benefices from (the Court of) *Rome. The Bill is elſewhere anſwer'd.* That the Lord Steward and Marſhal of the Kings Houſhold do hold no other Pleas, than are contained in the Statute called *Articuli ſuper Chartas:* That for twelve Miles they may be certainly limited, whether from the Kings Preſence, or the Place of his Houſhold, and not from both, unleſs they be together. And that the Steward do keep his Seſſion within three Miles about the Preſence of the King, as it hath been accuſtomed. *They ſhall have Juriſdiction from the Place, where the King himſelf is, or from the Place, where the Houſhold is kept, twelve Miles in circuit, and not from the One and the Other at one time. And further the Statute therefore made ſhall ſtand.* That every Man in the Exchequor being impleaded, may wage his Law, as in other Courts, where Wage doth lie. *They ſhall not wage their Law in the Exchequor, as in other Courts, where the King is not Party.* That the Chirographer may be ſworn, that neither He, nor none of his Clerks, do take for the engroſſing of a Fine, but only Four Shillings. *The Statute made therefore ſhall ſtand.*

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[z] *Vid.* Cowell & Skinner.

Then there was prefer'd a [a] long Bill againſt the Uſurpations of the Pope, as which were the Cauſe of all the Plagues, Injuries, Famine and Poverty of the Realm, ſo as thereby was not left the Third Perſon, or other Commodity within the Realm, as lately was: That the Tax paid to the Pope of *Rome* for Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, doth amount to five fold as much as the Tax of all the Profits, as appertain to the King by the Year, of this whole Realm; and for ſome one Biſhoprick or other Dignity, the Pope by Tranſlation and Death hath three, four or five ſeveral Taxes: That the Brokers of that ſinfull City for Money promote many Caitiffs, being altogether unlearned and unworthy, to a thouſand Marks living yearly; whereas the Learned and Worthy can hardly obtain twenty Marks, whereby Learning decayeth: That Aliens, Enemies to this Land, who never ſaw nor care to ſee their Pariſhioners, have thoſe Livings; whereby they deſpiſe God's Service, and convey away the Treaſure of the Realm, and are worſe than *Jews* or *Saracens.* It is therefore to be conſidered, that the Law of the Church would have ſuch Livings beſtowed for Charity only, without Praying or Paying. That Reaſon would, that Livings given of Devotion ſhould be beſtow'd in Hoſpitality. That God hath given his Sheep to the Pope to be paſtured, and not ſhorn or ſhaven. That Lay-Patrons perceiving this Simony and Covetouſneſs of the Pope, do thereby learn to ſell their Benefices to Beaſts, no otherwiſe than *Chriſt* was ſold to the *Jews.* That there is none ſo Rich a Prince in *Chriſtendom,* who hath the Fourth Part of ſo much Treaſure, as the Pope hath out of this Realm for Churches moſt ſinfully. After a Repetition of their Zeal for the Honour of the Church, it was declared, that all the Plagues there particularized have juſtly fallen upon this Realm for ſuffering the Church of *England* thus to be defaced; and that theſe Miſchiefs will dayly encreaſe without Redreſs. Whereupon followeth an earneſt Perſuaſion to reedifie and reform the ſame; and the rather, for that this was the Year of Jubilee, the *Fiftieth* Year of the King's Reign, the Year of Joy and Gladneſs, than the which could be no greater. The means how to begin this was to write two Letters to the Pope, the one in *Latine* under the Broad Seal, the other in *French* under the Seals of the Nobles, importing theſe Particularities, and requiring Redreſs. And for a further Accompliſhment hereof to Enact, that no Money be carried out of the Realm, by Letter of *Lombardy* or otherwiſe, on Pain

[a] *M.S. Rot. Par. p.* 127. *n.* 85. *Sr. Rob. Cotton's Abridgm. p.* 128. *& Fox Acts, &c. p.* 552.

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of Forfeiture and Impriſonment, and to Enact the Articles hereafter enſuing. *The King hath heretofore by Statute provided ſufficient Remedy, and otherwiſe purſueth the ſame with the holy Father the Pope; and ſo mindeth to do from time to time, untill he hath obtained the ſame, as well for the Matters before, as for the Articles enſuing, they being in a manner all one.* Then it was remonſtrated, that the Pope's Collector, and other Strangers the King's Enemies, and only Leiger-Spies for *Engliſh* Dignities, and diſcloſing the Secrets of the Realm, ought to be diſcharged. That the ſame Collector, being alſo Receiver of the Pope's Pence, keepeth an Houſe in *London* with Clerks and Officers thereunto belonging, as if it were one of the King's Solemn Courts, tranſporting yearly to the Pope 20000 Marks, and moſt commonly more. That Cardinals and other Aliens remaining at the Court of *Rome*, whereof one Cardinal is a Dean of *York*, another of *Salisbury*, another of *Lincolne*, another Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, another Archdeacon of *Durham*, another of *Suffolk*, and another Archdeacon of *York*; another Prebendary of *Thame* and *Naſſington*, another Prebendary of *Yorkes* in the Diœceſe of *York*, have divers other the beſt Dignities in *England*, and have ſent over Yearly unto them 20000 Marks, over and above that which *Engliſh* Brokers lying here have. That the Pope to ranſom *Frenchmen* the King's Enemies, who defend *Lombardy* for him, doth always at his Pleaſure levy a Subſidy of the [b] Whole Clergy of *England*. That the Pope for more Gain maketh ſundry Tranſlations of all the Biſhopricks and other Dignities within the Realm. That the Pope's Collector hath this Year taken to his Uſe the Firſt-Fruits of all Benefices. That therefore it would be good to renew all the Statutes againſt Proviſions from *Rome*, ſince the Pope reſerveth all the Benefices of the World for his own proper Gift, and hath within this Year created Twelve new Cardinals; ſo that now there are Thirty, whereas there were wont to be but Twelve in all; and all the ſaid Thirty Cardinals, except Two or Three, are the King's Enemies. That the Pope in time will give the Temporal Mannors of Dignities to the King's Enemies, ſince he dayly uſurpeth upon the Realm and the King's Regality. That all Houſes and Corporations of Religion, which from the King ought to have free Elections of their Heads, the Pope hath now [c] accroached the ſame unto himſelf. That in all Legations from the Pope whatſoever, the *Engliſh* Clergy beareth the Charge of the Legates, and all for the Goodneſs of our Money. It alſo appeareth, that if the Money of the Realm were as plentifull as ever, the Collector aforeſaid with the Cardinals Proctors would ſoon convey away the ſame. For Remedy whereof it may be provided, that no ſuch Collector or Proctor do remain in *England*, upon pain of Life and Limb; and that on the like Pain no *Engliſhman* become any ſuch Collector or Proctor, or remain at the Court of *Rome*. For better Information hereof, and namely touching the Pope's Collector, for that the Whole Clergy being Obedient to him, dare not diſpleaſe him, it were good that Dr. *John Strenſall*, Parſon of St. *Botolphs* in *Holborn*, may be ſent for to come before the Lords and Commons of this Parliament; who being ſtraightly charged can declare much more, for that he ſerved the ſame Collector in Houſe five Years.

[b] *In M.S. & Sr. Rob. Cotton legitur* Holy.

[c] *Vid.* Skinner's *Etymolog.*

The Commons require, that the Statute made in 14 *Ed.* 3. (that the King's Ward ſhould be committed to the next Heir of the Ward, to whom the Lands cannot deſcend, he yielding therefore as much as another would) might be confirmed. *The King granteth thereto ſaving his Regality.* That time of Preſcription in Writ of Right may be from the Coronation of King *Edward* the Firſt, and in Writs of *Mort D' Aunceſter nuper Obiit*, [d] *Coſenage*, [e] *Ayel*, and ſuch other Writs may be from the Coronation of the King now being. *The King will be advis'd for Changing the Law heretofore uſed.* That no *Alien* do enjoy any Living that hath Cure, or requireth Reſidence. *This Bill is anſwer'd before in the two long Bills of* Rome. For that Errors had before Juſtices of Aſſiſe are Revocable before the Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, they require, that the Chief Juſtice there be appointed no Juſtice of Aſſiſe. *The King granteth, when the Number may ſpare him.* That a General Pardon may be of all Miſpriſions and Intruſions made into any Lands, holden of the King in Chief. *The King will ſhew Favour where him liketh.* That they may have an Action of Account againſt the Executors of the Guardian in Soccage. *The King will be adviſed untill next Parliament.* That Reſtitution may be made to *Engliſhmen*, Farmers of any Religious Aliens Houſe. *Touching Farmers aboveſaid the King granteth, ſo it concern Priors, Churches Conventual, Collegiate and Parochial; but for* Engliſh *Governours the King will be adviſed.* That no Special Grant be made to any Man for ſingular Profit, which may redound to the Diſadvantage of the King or Realm. *Let them declare themſelves more particularly.* That the Statute made for Buyers in [f] 36 *Ed.* 3. *tit.* 10. *&c.* may be kept, and that

[d] *In hoc loco* jus Cognationis *ſignificat.*

[e] *Vid.* Cowell *in hâc voce.*

[f] *Inter Statuta* Gallica *M.S. Coll.* Eman. *apud* Cantabr. *ut & Statuta* Anglica *impreſſa nil tale occurrit, ſed potius referuntur ad An.* 27. *Ed.* 3. *c.* 10.

that Juſtices of the Peace may enquire of the ſame. *The Statutes therefore made ſhall ſtand, and the Juſtices of the Peace ſhall determine the ſame.* That an Infant within Age levying a Fine, may have Reſpit two or three Years after his full Age to reverſe the ſame. *The King will be adviſed.* That no *Alien* be made Head of any Religious Houſe belonging to *Aliens*; and that during the Wars all *French* Religious Perſons may be baniſhed the Realm. *To this nothing was done.* Certain being taken Priſoners, and unable to ranſom themſelves, *viz.* Sr. *Matthew Gournay*, Sr. *Matthew Redmayne*, Sr. *Thomas Fowkes*, Sr. *John Harpedon*, Sr. *Gregory Say*, Sr. *Geoffry Werkeſley*, Sr. *Robert Twyford*, Sr. *John Bourchier*, and divers other Good Knights and Eſquires, pray the King to ranſom them. *The King is willing to do for their Comfort as far as Reaſon would.* The Commons of the County of *Devon* for divers Oppreſſions done by the Officers of the *Stanneries* there, under Colour of their Liberties, require the King by Parliament to explain his Grant to them made, which being divided into particular Branches is done, but too long to be here abridged. The like Bill did the Commons of *Cornwall* exhibit for the Liberties of their Stanneries, the Grant and Anſwer agreeing with the preceding, but that alſo is too long for this Place. The Commons of the County of *Cumberland* require Aid of the King for the Repairing the City of *Carlile*, being in a manner ſpoiled and fallen down, for that the Townſmen are not able to do the ſame; and alſo for the Appointing of one to be Warden of the Marches there. *The Biſhops and Lords, together with the Earl of* Warwick *and Sr.* Guy Bryan *ſhall aſſemble and appoint reaſonable Order therein.* The Inhabitants of the Port Towns in *England* pray, that whereas it often happens, that a Man or a Boy being in one of their Ships or other Veſſels, and by miſadventure falling therefrom is drowned, their Ship or Veſſel is thereupon ſeiſed as a *Deodand*, and that therein Remedy may be had. *If the Veſſel be upon the Sea it ſhall be adjudged no* Deodand; *if upon the Freſh-Water, let the Owner complain to the King, who will extend Favour.* The Watermen of *London* complain of leaving of Locks, Stanks and Weares upon the River of *Thames*, and namely of a Lock called *Hamelden*-Lock, and for that there is Cuſtom demanded of them, paſſing the Bridges of *Stains*, *Windſor* and *Maiden-head*, and other Locks againſt their Franchiſes. *As for the Locks and Kidels the Statute made in the* 37 *of* Ed. 3. *tit.* 18. *ſhall be executed: And for exacting Money of them at the Bridges aforeſaid, or elſewhere againſt their Franchiſes, they ſhall make their Suit in the Chancery, and have their Writs grounded on their Liberties, to ſtay ſuch takings.* The Commons of the County of *Kent* complain againſt the Officers of the Caſtle of *Dover*, for arreſting them by their Catchpoles to anſwer before them; whereunto they are [s] [not] bound. *The Officers ſhall have no Juriſdiction out of the Fee of the Honour and Caſtle of* Dover, *nor ſhall make any Proceſs by* Capias *out of the Liberties of the Cinque-Ports.* Certain of the Sea-Coaſts complain to the King, that whereas they by the King's Appointment with their Ships tranſported Sr. *Thomas Felton* Steward of *Gaſcogne*, and Sr. *William Elman* Governour of *Bayonne*, unto *Bourdeaux*, and from thence went to the *Baye*, where certain *Spaniſh* Gallies, notwithſtanding the Truce taken between the King, the *Spaniards* and *Frenchmen*, boarded and took them, *viz.* on the tenth of *Auguſt* laſt paſt before, herein therefore they pray Remedy. *The King hath done, and will do, his beſt for Redreſs and Reſtitution.* The Inhabitants of the Town of *Southhampton* pray the King to take the Town into his own Hands; for that they are not able to pay the Fee-Farm, by reaſon of the great Charge about the Fortification of the ſame, and that he would ſend thither Men of War for the Defence of the ſame. *The King will be adviſed.* The Mayor and Commonalty of *Wincheſter* pray the King to confirm and grant to them their Liberties, in ſuch wiſe as was laſt granted to *London*, and that towards the Murage of the ſame he would give them ſome Aid of Cuſtom or otherwiſe. [*The Anſwer to this is not to be read.*] The Commons of divers Cities and Towns require the payment of certain Moneys lent the King in the time of *Thomas Brantingham* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, and Treaſurer of *England*. *They ſhall be paid as ſoon as may be.* The Lords of the Realm and their Tenants pray the King of Remedy againſt the Riots of divers Cities and Towns, for that they enter upon their ſeveral Grounds, therein claiming Common, conſidering the Waſts thereunto adjoyning may ſuffice therefore; and namely, that ſuch of the Townſmen as have not Lands lying with any of the ſaid Lords, may have no Common in any of their Lands. *This Matter is before the Council.* The Inhabitants of *Bath* complain, that whereas they had a Fair there at the Feaſt of St. *Calixtus*, the Town of *Briſtow* being but ten Miles from them, have raiſed a Fair at *Briſtow* the ſame Day, and forbidden all their Townſmen of *Briſtow* upon certain Penalties to bring any Wares to the ſaid Fair of *Bath*, for this they pray Remedy. *It is before the*

[s] *M.S. & Sr. Rob. Cotton hæc vocula* not *intercidit.*

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Great Council. The Commons of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk* pray, that certain Clothes there or elſewhere, called *Cogware* and *Kerſies*, made in the ſaid Counties, be not within the compaſs of the Statute of Clothes, made in the 47 *Ed.* 3. [h] c. 1. *The King willeth, that they have ſuch Words, that the Straight-Ware called Cogware and Kerſies, made in the ſaid Counties, ſhall not be intended to be compriſed in the ſaid Statute, nor under the Penalty therein.* The Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London* pray, that they may enjoy all their Liberties, and that no Stranger do keep Houſe, or be a Broker, or ſell Merchandiſe by Retail. *The King hath granted thereto conditionally, that the ſame City be well governed, ſaving to the Merchants of the* Hans *their Liberties.* The Citizens and Burgeſſes of divers places there mention'd, complain for and in the Name of their reſpective Cities and Towns, that divers of the King's Tenants having [i] Burgage within them, do ſuffer them to fall to decay, whereby they are the leſs able to pay their Fee-farms, for which they pray Remedy. The Citizens of * *Chicheſter* pray Remedy, for that they are impleaded out of the ſame City for their Freeholds, and for that they are driven to appear at Aſſizes and Seſſions, contrary to the general Words of their Liberties. *Let them ſhew their Charters in the Chancery and they ſhall have Right.* They require alſo Confirmation of their Charters according to that purport. *Let them alſo ſhew their Charters, and they ſhall have Right.* The Commonalty of *Surrey* and *Suſſex* pray Remedy, that whereas the King out of his Fee-farms paid for the ſaid Counties, hath granted to *Richard* Earl of *Arundel* the two [k] Turns of Sheriffs in the Rapes of *Chicheſter* and *Arundel*, worth by the Year 30 *l.* and certain Rent called *Sheringdeld*, to the Yearly value of 14 *l.* 19 *s.* 1 *d.* yielding therefore yearly 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* The Sheriff may upon his Accompt be diſcharged thereof. *Let it be ſhewed to the King, and if it pleaſe him, that the Earl enjoy the ſame, the Sheriff ſhall be diſcharged according to the Quantity; if not the Sheriff ſhall be at his Anſwer.* The Burgeſſes of *Southwark* pray a Confirmation of their Charter, lately burn'd by Caſualty. *Let them make their purſuit in the Chancery, and they ſhall have Right.* The Mayor and Commons of *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine* complain, that whereas the Prior of *Tinemouth*, Parcel of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem* in *England*, by cautelous and ſuborned means brought his Writ of Freehold in *Fernham*, and put in View and Plaint the greater Parcel in Value of the ſame Town, holden in Farm of the Crown time out of Mind, and recovered: Whereupon Order was taken, that the ſame Juſtice of Aſſize ſhould not in that Aſſize have a *procedendo*; but that the Chancellor ſhould grant a Commiſſion for the Examining of the Truth, untill which time the Matter ſhould ſtay; they therefore require, that the Aſſize be no further proceeded in, untill the Commiſſion return. *Remedy is provided in this Parliament, as appeareth by another Bill thereunto indorſed.* The Commons of the Marches [m] of *Eſtritheng* require, that Commiſſion may be made to the Lord *Percy*, the Prior of *Bridlington*, Sr. *Robert Boynton*, Sr. *Robert Conſtable*, Sr. *John Snaresby*, and *John Almaric*, that they may appoint able Perſons for the Defence of the ſame, and namely an Arrival between a Place called *Earl-Dikes* and the Town of *Whitby*. *It pleaſeth the King.* The Commons of the Counties of *Eſſex* and *Hertford* pray, that the Sheriff upon his Account be allowed an 100 *l.* yearly of that which he cannot receive. *Let them ſearch the Exchequer, or Treaſury, or elſewhere for the Cauſes of the Diſtreſs of thoſe Farms for two years now enſuing, and in the mean time the Sheriff ſhall have pardon of an Hundred Marks.* The Commons of the City of *Rocheſter* pray, that the [n] *Clerk of the Market* may have nothing to do within the ſaid City. *He ſhall make Aſſay and due Puniſhment of ſuch as make Default, without taking any Fines in Groſs of the ſame Town, where he doth not his Office.* The Commons of the City of *Northampton* ſhew, that the Sheriff is yearly charged with an Hundred Pounds for the profit of the Shire, where he knows not how to leavy above fifty three Pounds three Shillings four Pence, and pray Conſideration thereof may be had. *Let them declare their Requeſt in ſpecial manner.* They pray a Pardon of all Forfeitures ſuppoſed to be done by any of them, whereof they were not attainted in all their Life, and that no ſuch hereafter be made. *The King will be adviſed.* That the Proceſs of ſuch as be at Iſſue, and do not within one Year after ſue out their *Niſi Prius*, be diſcontinued and had for nothing. *The Law heretofore uſed ſhall ſtand.* That no Man on pain of Loſing all he hath, do carry forth Corn out of the Realm, but only for the Proviſion of *Calais*. *The Liege People ſhall have leave to convey Corn whither they pleaſe for their moſt Advantage.* The Commonalty of *Nottingham*, *Darby* and *Lincoln*, and of the Town of *Nottingham* require, that by the King's Letters Patents the County and Town of *Nottingham* aforeſaid, may appoint two Guardians, who may purchaſe Lands unto them and their Succeſſors for the Maintenance of a Bridge called *Heibeth*-Bridge, nigh

[h] *In M.S. &c.* 41. *ſed ex Statutis corrigo.*

[i] *Vide de hâc voce* Cowell, Spelman, Skinner, *&c.*

* *M.S.* Cheſter.

[k] *M.S. Towns, &c. in Sr. Rob. Cotton.*

[m] *an* Eſtriveling?

[n] *Ità Sr. Rob. Cotton; ſed in M.S.* Sheriff.

nigh unto the Town of *Nottingham*. *The King will be adviſed.* That the like Order that is made in *London* againſt the Horrible vice of Uſury, may be obſerved throughout the whole Realm. *The old Law ſhall continue.* That Recovery may he had, and an Attourney by a Writ of Aſſize of *Novel Diſſeiſin* of Nuſance made to a Miln, or to the Frank-Tenant of Nuſance made in times paſt as heretofore. *Let the Common Law run.* They require that Remedy may be had againſt certain *Lombards*, who named themſelves to be of the Company of *Askertines*, or of *Stroze*, or other the like, and thereby have upon Credit bought Wooll of *Engliſhmen*, ſome to the value of thirty Pounds, and ſome twenty Pounds; and ſome have departed to the great undoing of divers *Engliſhmen*, as *Thomas Blanchered*, *Nicolas John*, and other their Factors lately did. *It is before the Great Council.* For the Tryal of any Man's Birth, whereupon Inheritance doth ſtand, that the Inqueſt for the Tryal may be of the County, where the Birth is laid, and not where the Writ is brought. *The Old Law therein ſhall be obſerved.* That the Kings Carriage for himſelf and his Houſhold may be of Carts and Horſes of his own, and not to charge the Commons therewith; and to remember the Court of *Marſhalſey*; for there is great Complaint thereof throughout the whole Realm. *The King knoweth not, how theſe things are brought to paſs: But if they be, he will charge the Steward and other Officers to make Redreſs: And as to the Article of the* Marſhalſey, *let it be declared.* The Merchants of the Staple require to be eaſed of divers new Impoſitions, as Chalking, [p] Tronage, Wharfage, *&c.* *The King would make no new Impoſitions, but that the ſame be enquired of, if it be needfull.* That Commandment may be made to the Sheriff and Juſtices of the Peace of every Shire, to raiſe the Power of the Shire for repreſſing of Routs and Riots. *The King will appoint Order, and willeth that the Statute be executed.* They require, that good regard may be had for the Keeping of the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, wherein the Sons of Sr. *Charles* of *Blois* are under the Keeping of a Stranger, not able to anſwer therefore; whereas by Record it appeareth, that the Keeper of that Caſtle was wont to be an Earl of the Realm. *Let it be declared before the King and the Great Council.* The Commonalty of Cities and Towns pray, that ſuch Parcel and Hamlets of Towns, lying near to the Walls of their Cities and Towns, and yet not belonging to the ſame, may be contributory to all Charges, within ſuch their Walled Cities and Towns, and that the Mayors and Bayliffs of the ſame may arreſt all Breakers of the Peace there. *The King meaneth thereof to be adviſed.* That it would pleaſe the King to pardon the Commons of *Northumberland*, all Iſſues and Amercements loſt in any of the Kings Courts from *An°.* 48. *Ed.* 3. unto this preſent. *The King will be adviſed.* The Commons of *Southampton* pray Remedy againſt the Extortions of the Lord *Nevil*; for not paying Men their Wages, whereby the Souldiers ſpoiled the Country, to the Value of 400 *l.* and that Remedy may be provided for the future. *The Offender ſhall anſwer for the time paſt, and for the time to come, the King will provide Remedy.* The Commons of *Norfolk* require, that Payment be made to them and to all the Countries, for ſheep taken by the Purveyors far under the Price againſt the Statute. *The Bill is otherwiſe anſwer'd within the Bill of Buyers.* That the poor Commons of *Yarmouth*, who came to the Parliament to complain of the Oppreſſions done unto them by the Rich of the ſame Town, may be in the Kings Protection, ſworn and examined for the Profit of the King. *It pleaſeth the King.* The Commons of the Diœceſs of *York* complain of the outragious taking of the Biſhop and his Clerks for Admiſſion of Prieſts to their Benefices. *Who hath moſt cauſe, let him ſue by the Law.* The Commons of the Hundred of *Geſtling* in *Suſſex*, deſire Remedy; foraſmuch as the *Cinque-Ports* have bought half the ſaid Hundred, and will not contribute any thing to them. *It is before the Great Council.* The Commons of *Worceſterſhire*, *Salop*, and *Stafford*, *Hereford*, *Briſtol*, and *Glouceſter* deſire Remedy; for that the Merchants of thoſe Shires in travelling to *Calais*, are oft arreſted for the treſpaſſes and debts of other Men, with whom they have no Acquaintance or Doing: And alſo that ſuch, as being of the Marches of *Wales* and County of *Cheſter*, and rob in the Counties firſt-recited, or commit any other Felonies or Treſpaſſes, and being thereof attainted in ſuch Shires, where the Felonies are done, may therefore loſe their Goods and Lands to their Lords. *Let the old Law there be kept.* That no Woollen Yarn be carried out of the Realm, or ſold to any Perſon, but imployed in Draping. *No ſuch Yarn ſhall paſs out of the Realm upon pain of forfeiture.* That all Liberties granted to Cities or Towns may be confirmed, and no Farmers of any ſuch Liberties be Diſturbers of the ſame. *Let them ſhew their Charters in the Chancery, and they ſhall have Right.* The Poor Commons of Great *Yarmouth* pray, that they may freely buy and ſell, and chiefly in the Fiſhing time, according to their Charter, and not to be

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[p] i.e. *Vectigal pro Ponderatione Mercium, &c. Vid.* D. Skinner, *&c.*

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oppreſſed by the Rich. *Let them ſhew their Grievances in particular before the Great Council, and they ſhall be heard.* The Commons of *Tivedale*, as well Religious as ſecular, pray to be reſtored to their Poſſeſſions, given from them to their Enemies. *Let the Lords Marchers* (there named) *treat thereof, and report to the Lords in Parliament their Opinion concerning a Remedy.* The Citizens of *York* deſire, that whereas the Lord of *Ard* and *Cockham* in *Holland* hath ſtayed ſix and Thirty Surples of their Woolls to the Value of 1900 *l.* ſuppoſing that the King oweth him Money for his Service in *France*, and will neither for the Kings Letters, nor other means deliver their Woolls, that therefore they may have Licence to ſtay the Ships of the ſame Lord at *Calais*, or in *England*, till they be paid and anſwer'd to the Value. *Let it be declared to the Grand Council, and they ſhall have Remedy according to Reaſon.* *John de* [q] *Bretſhorne* maketh his Title to the Mannor of *Grinſteed* in the County of *Wilts*, and to the Advouſon of the ſaid Mannor, and to the Moiety of the Mannor of *Exbury* in the County of *Southampton*, and prayeth to be reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of the ſame from *Robert de Beverley*; the Premiſes being confeſſedly held of the King in Chief. *It is before the Great Council.* The Commons of *Devonſhire* pray, that they may be paid for Victuals taken of them by the Duke of *Bretagne*, while he lay there a long time for paſſage; and that from henceforth no Protection be granted to any Paſſenger over, to take any Victuals, otherwiſe than for preſent pay. *Let the Offenders for the time paſt anſwer, and for the time to come the King will provide.* That Remedy may be had touching the Diſhoneſt Returns of Bayliffs of *Nihil habent*, againſt them for their bribing Fees, and other Corruptions. *It is before the Grand Council.* Where Men for ſafeguard and fear of their Lives do fly to Church-yards, and after depart therefrom, the Steward of the Kings Houſhold forthwith enquireth, how they eſcaped out of the Church-yard, and upon the Matter found, awardeth an Eſcape againſt the Town or Pariſh, wherein they pray Remedy. *The King will be adviſed herein.* That if the Party Plaintiff or Defendant, upon his *Habeas Corpus* returned, do not ſue out his *Niſi prius*, then the whole Proceſs may be diſcontinued, and that in all, and every of the Kings Courts; and that every Man may have the *Niſi prius* granted, as well againſt the King, as others without ſuing to the Privy Seal. *Let the Law uſed run.* That ſuch, as have, or ſhall ſue, Livery upon an Inqueſt of Office by Eſcheators, where thoſe Lands indeed are not holden of the King, may be received to aver, of whom, or by what Service, the ſame Lands are holden. *If any Mans Inheritance be charged by any ſuch Inqueſt, he, who will complain, ſhall be received to traverſe the Inqueſt before his Homage done.* That any Man, having the Privy Seal for the Payment of Debts, due by the King unto him, ſhall not be ſtayed from the Payment thereof by any private Letter of the Treaſurer. *The King granteth thereunto.* That a Parliament may be holden every Year, the Knights of the Parliament may be choſen of the whole Counties; and that the Sheriff may likewiſe be without Broakage in Court. *As to the Parliament, there are Statutes already made: For the Sheriffs, Anſwer hath been given; and as for the Knights, it is agreed, that they ſhall be choſen by Common Conſent of every County.* That ſuch, as by ſiniſter means procure Extents againſt the King at One Value, where it is thrice, or however far better, may be puniſhed. *The King will make Enquiry thereof, as himſelf pleaſeth.* That no Pardon be granted to any Impeached in this Parliament, being the Kings Counſellors, or ſworn to him; but that ſuch be thenceforth removed, and never reſtored, and an Act thereof to be made. *The King will do therein, as ſhall pleaſe him.* That all the Articles of Wrongs, declared in this Parliament, againſt any Perſon, may be duly determin'd by Commiſſions, by the Kings Juſtices, and other Lords, and that the Judgement given in this Parliament be not Repealed by Reaſon of Broakers about the King. *The King will do by Advice of his Council, what ſhall ſeem beſt, ſaving to every One his Liberties.* They require the King to have good Regard to the Government of the Realm, that all Profits of the Crown may be employ'd to the Kings Honour. *The King* (as next above) *will do for his own Honour, the Good Government, Profit, and Eaſe of the People.* That ſuch, as ſhall of their own Authority lay new Impoſitions without Aſſent of Parliament, may loſe Life, Member, and other Forfeitures. *Let the Common Law heretofore uſed run.* Then there follows a long Bill againſt the Broakages and corrupt Recovery of Religious Perſons, by the taking of Sheriffs; that any notwithſtanding ſuch Recoveries might have Tryal, and upon the Matter found, thoſe Religious Perſons to be puniſhed therefore, as therein is contained, with many other Matters relating to the ſame. *The Law therein heretofore uſed ſhall be kept.* That all Wapentakes and Hundreds let to Farm may be Repealed, and none hereafter granted, and that all Bayliffs may be ſufficient and able. *The Statutes made therefore ſhall be kept.*

[q] *Ità M.S. ſed Sr. Rob. Cotton* Britſhorne.

kept. That Remedy may be had ſo, as there may be Reaſonable warning given for the holding of Wapentakes and Hundreds. *The Statutes therefore made ſhall be kept.* That Preſentments may be made but twice in the Year in Leets or great Wapentakes. *There be Statutes therefore.* That none but ſuch as be [r] Reſiant, do come to any Wapentake or Hundred. *There are Statutes provided therefore.* Complaint made againſt Bayliffs of Markets and Fairs, who attach Men out of their Juriſdictions. *There are Statutes made therefore.* Againſt Bayliffs, being Farmers of Wapentakes or Hundreds, who thereby procure Plaints in other Mens Names, and ſue great Sums, by dividing the ſame into leſs Sums. *Let them hold to the Statutes.*

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[r] *i.e.* Reſident.

¶ *Petitions exhibited by the* Clergy, *and their Anſwers.*

That all Conſultations may readily be granted in the Suit for Tythes of *Sylva Cædua*, and that no Attachment do Enſue the ſame. *A Conſultation granted doth ſuffice; and if need be, there may be a ſpecial Clauſe for Prohibitions Granted, or to be Granted.* That the Ordinary may according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws puniſh ſuch, as do fraudulently procure Conſultations: That in Matters touching the puniſhing of the Soul, the Kings Prohibition may ceaſe, or a Conſultation be granted: That in Demands of Penſions by One Church from another, no Prohibition be granted. *The Juſtices ſhall meet in the preſence of certain Biſhops, who ſhall take Order therein to content.* In a Caſe of Tythes, upon objection that the Tythes exceed a Fourth part of the Value of the Church, a Prohibition is granted againſt the *Canonical Sanction.* That the Kings Purveyors take up of the Clergy, and cauſe them alſo to make Carriage for the King againſt their Traditions and Statutes therefore made. That if the Matter of Tythes under the Name of *Chattels* be depending before any Temporal Judge, the Eccleſiaſtical Judge affirming the Contrary, ſhall decide the ſame. That upon any Conditional Conſultation the Eccleſiaſtical Judge may take upon him the very true Underſtanding thereof, and ſo proceed therein. That no Man ſhall have any Prohibition, unleſs he do bring to the Chancellour the Libell, ſigned with the Judges Seals, before whom it is hanging, for the more perſpicuity thereof. That no Clerk, or his ſervant being with him, be arreſted by any Officer, while in the Church-yard, or other Sacred Place, or in carrying the Communion to any Man. *The King granteth the ſame, ſo as none do keep himſelf in the Sanctuary by Coven.*

¶ The Commons of the Town of *Calais* pray, that the Staple may only be holden there, and in this their Requeſt it appears by the Records, that when the Staple ſtood there, upon all Roads or Excurſions made by the Captain of *Calais*, the Mayor of the Staple furniſhed him out of the Number of Merchants, and their Servants with One Hundred Bill Men, and two Hundred Archers. *Wherefore the King granteth, that the Staple ſhall be holden there, and no where elſe in the Parts beyond the Seas, as well of all Staple-Ware, as of Lead, Tin, Worſted, Butter, Cheeſe, Feathers for Men of War,* &c. That the Old Charter of *Maud* Counteſs of *Artois*, which was confirmed by the King, may be allowed, except the Tryal of Land and Liberties of Staple. *The King will be adviſed in this Matter.* That in ſtead of Bayly-Eskmins and Cornmans granted in their Old Charter, they may have a Mayor and twelve Aldermen, and the Mayor one of the Twelve at their Election, as in *London.* And whereas the Mayor heretofore without any charge had two Hundred Pounds Fee, that he may have now but one Hundred Pounds, bearing the Charge of ſix Men, as every Alderman now doth. *They ſhall have ſuch Mayor and Aldermen, ſo as they be* Engliſh, *and bear the Reputation of the Payments, and ſuch like Charges af the Town; towards the bearing whereof they ſhall have the Office of Wine, Beer, and Ale, the Stallage of Drapers, Mercers, and Butchers, the Pickage in the Market, all Iſſues, Fines, Profits, and Amercements of the Mayors Court, excepting to the King the Fines of Strays, and Bloodſhed, and Eſcheats of Lands and Goods; they to be diſcharged of all Watches and Wards, but only before their own Houſes.* Many other Liberties are alſo to the ſame Town of *Calais* granted, not unworthy to be ſeen; eſpecially if that Place had ſtill bore the ſame Relation to *England*, as in thoſe days, and 200 Years after, even till the Reign of Queen *Mary*.

The Commons upon Delivery of the Bills aforeſaid, required that they might be executed: That done, the Chancellour willed them to ſue their Writs for their Fees, according to the Cuſtom. After that the Biſhops aroſe and took their leaves of the King, and ſo this Parliament ended at *Eltham*, having been continued from day to day, until *Thurſday* the *Tenth* of *July*, in the whole Ten Weeks and more.

VIII. And thus ended this Notable Parliament, commonly by our Hiſtorians called the [s] *Good Parliament*, thô more upon the Account of thoſe many convenient and uſefull Statutes, than for that Popular Air and Quarrelſom Humour which appeared therein.

[s] *Daniel's hiſt. p.* 257.

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therein. For we find the very next Parliament condemned their Proceedings, as to that Point; and it is said, [t] how upon that and the like Accounts, *Sr. Peter de la Mere* was committed to perpetual Impriſonment in *Nottingham* Caſtle, thô about two Years after he was again releaſed.

But that vulgar Error of our Hiſtorians, which makes this ſame Sr. *Peter de la Mere* to have been Speaker at this time in the Houſe of Commons, muſt not paſs here without Correction: For it is undoubtedly [u] recorded of Sr. *Thomas Hungerford*, that in the Year following he was *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons* in the Parliament then held at *Weſtminſter* (that being the *Firſt* Parliament, in which that Houſe had a Speaker) he being then a Knight. But indeed the Year after that, being the Firſt of King *Richard* the Second, [x] we find this Sr. *Peter de la Mere*, as it were in Reward of his Impriſonment, or in Deſpight of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, to be the *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons*.

[t] *Walſingh. Hyp. p.* 134. *n.* 30.
[u] *Dugd.* 2 *Vol. p.* 203. *ex Rot. Par.* 51. *Ed.* 3. *m.* 87.
[x] *Rot. Par.* 1 *Rich.* 2. *m.* 15. *Vid. M.S. Rot. Par. p.* 157. & Sr. *Rob. Cotton p.* 155.

IX. Dr. *Simon Langham*, once Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (when by *Urban* V. he was created Cardinal *Titulo S^ti Sixti*, upon which he reſign'd his Archbiſhoprick, and afterwards by Pope *Gregory* XI. was made Biſhop-Cardinal of *Præneſte*) being ſuddenly after Meat taken with a Palſie and loſs of Speech, four Days after [y] departed this Life, *viz.* on the XI of the *Calends* of *Auguſt*, being the Feſtival of St. *Mary Magdalen*, and after our Account the 22^d^ of *July* in this Year. He was firſt buried in the Church of the *Carthuſians*, whoſe Houſe he himſelf had founded at *Avignon*, with this [z] Epitaph.

[y] *Godw. Catal. Biſh. p.* 144. *Walſingh. hiſt. p.* 187.
[z] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bib. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.* 238. *ad finem.* [a] *Ciacon. & Vict. de Vit. PP. Rom. p.* 963.

HIC. IACET. DOMINVS. SIMON. DE. LANGHAM. DE. ANGLIA. QVONDAM. ARCHIEPISCOPVS. CANTVARIENSIS. S. R. E. PRÆNESTINVS. EPISCOPVS. CARDINALIS. QVI. ISTAM. ECCLESIAM. DE. NOVO. CONSTRVXIT. ET. OBIIT. XXII. MENSIS. IVLII. ANNO. DOM. MCCCLXXVI.

ORATE. PRO. EO.

But however [b] three Years after (according to his own former Appointment) his Bones were taken up and buried the ſecond time at *Weſtminſter* in a goodly Tomb of Alabaſter. And well ought his Body to find Repoſe there, where during his whole Life his Heart ſeem'd to reſt: For not to mention his other Acts of Munificence, nor to ſpeak of the foreſaid Monaſtery of *Carthuſians* at *Avignon*, it is almoſt incredible what wonderfull Bounty and Liberality he ſhew'd to the famous Abbey of *Weſtminſter* all along. When he was firſt made Abbot there, he beſtow'd all that ever he had gathered together while he was Monk and Prior, in paying the Debts of that Houſe, which amounted to the Value of 2200 Marks: But all this he wholly diſcharged, beſides divers other Sums of Money, which particular Monks ow'd here and there. And as for them, he conſtantly tender'd and nouriſh'd them as his own Children, never taking any thing from them; but rather Augmenting their Portions and Dividends out of what was his own Due. When he was Lord Chancellour and Treaſurer of *England*, he purchaſed divers good Pieces of Land, which he gave unto them and their Houſe for ever. And upon his Departure out of *England* he left them in Books to the Value of 830 *l.* Copes, Veſtments, and other Prieſtly Ornaments to the Value of 437 *l.* But now at his Death he bequeathed unto them all his Plate, priſed at 2700 *l.* beſides all Debts due unto him, which amounted to 3954 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Over and above all which he ſent at the time of his Death unto the ſaid Monaſtery the Summ of a 1000 Marks to buy 40 Marks *per annum* Land, to encreaſe the Portions of Four Monks, who were to ſay Maſs dayly for the Souls of his Parents and Himſelf. So that the Money, which from firſt to laſt he beſtow'd only upon the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, is by a [c] Monk of the ſame Place reckon'd to amount to no leſs than 10800 *l.* Sterling, a Prodigious Summ in thoſe Days. For all which they cauſed [d] a Rhyming Epitaph to be engraven on his Tomb, not worth Eight Farthings, thô as Rich as their poor Wits could make it: But the Reward of Charity lies in another World.

[b] *Antiq. Britan. Matth. Parkeri p.* 250. & *Godw. ut ſuprà.*
[c] *--tua, Simon, ſunt data quondam Octingentena Librarum Millia Dena.*
[d] *Vid. Philipot's Catal.* of Chancell. *p.* 42. & *Catal.* Treaſur. *p.* 37. & *Godw. Cat. Biſh. p.* 144.

And yet this Noble and Munificent Prelate could not avoid the ſtinging Libels of an Infamous Wretch, who upon his Tranſlation from *Ely* to *Canterbury* [e] ten Years before, ſet forth this Malicious Rhyme concerning him, *viz.*

Lætentur Cœli, quià Simon *tranſit ab* Ely;
Cujus in Adventum flent in Kent *Millia Centum.*

[e] *Vid. hujus Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 13. §. 3. *p.* 671.

There [f] died alſo this Year Sr. *John Peche*, a Valiant Knight of *Warwickſhire*, and Lord

[f] *Dugd. Bar.* 1 *Vol. p.* 677. & *Warwickſh. p.* 699.

Lord of *Hampton* in *Arden*, leaving behind him *John* his Son and Heir then but fifteen Years old. His Fathers Arms are said to have been *Gules*, a Fess between Six Croslets *Argent*, with a Label of three Points in Chief. AN. DOM. 1376. An. Regni *Angliæ* L. *Franciæ* XXXVII.

X. This Year [5] Pope *Gregory* XI. return'd the Papal Seat to *Rome*, upon the Occasion which we mention'd before, and at the Exhortation of St. *Briget* of *Sweed* and St. *Catherine* of *Siena*. He left *Avignon* and embarqued at *Marseilles* on the 13 of *September* 1376. and after many great perils at Sea, arrived at *Rome* on the 17 of *January* following, where he was received with the greatest Pomp and Joy imaginable.

[5] *Vid. Ciacon. & Victorel. de Vitt. Pontiff. Rom. p. 949. Odor. Rainald. an ann. 1377. §. 1. Mezeray p. 95. &c.*

CHAPTER the FOURTEENTH.

The CONTENTS.

I. *King* Edward *creates his Grandson* Richard, *the* Black-Prince *his only Son, Prince of* Wales, *Duke of* Cornwall *and Earl of* Chester; *whereby he shew'd him to be his next Heir.* II. *The Citizens of* London *pay their Respects to the Young Prince in an Extraordinary Manner.* III. *The King takes unto him* John *of* Gaunt *Duke of* Lancaster, *as his Assistant in the Government.* IV. *A Parliament at* Westminster, *with a Copy of the King's Writ,* &c. V. *An Exact Account of* John Wickliff *and his Doctrine.* VI. *The Duke of* Lancaster *favours him, and upon his Account quarrels with the Bishop of* London. VII. *The* Londoners *in a Sedition affront the Duke of* Lancaster. VIII. *The Bishop of* London *with much adoe restrains the People from doing more Mischief.* IX. *The Princess of* Wales *puts the City in Mind of their Duty: They make their Excuse to the King, and a Reconciliation is made between the Duke and Them.* X. *Sr.* John Menstreworth *taken and executed for Treason.* XI. *The Lord of* Coucy, *King* Edward's *Son in Law, cleaves to the* French *Interest.* XII. *A Treaty held at* Bruges *to no purpose.* XIII. *King* Edward *creates his Grandson, Prince* Richard, *Knight of the Garter.* XIV. *A further attempt for Peace being frustrated, the War is again open: Sr.* Hugh Calverly *made Captain of* Calais, *and* England *prepares for War: The Fortress of* Outwick *yielded to the* French. *Sr.* Hugh Calverley *revenges on the* French *an Affront done to certain* Englishmen. XV. *The* English *Commissioners with the Duke of* Bretagne *return for* England, *and find the King upon his Death-bed: He dies.* XVI. *A Story of* Alice Perrers, *and of the Manner of his Death refuted.* XVII. *The* French *King's Commendation of him; his Burial, Epitaph, Tomb and Character.*

I. NOW it is to be remembred, that, as We said heretofore, how the Prince of *Wales* desired his Father to inaugurate his Son *Richard* in his Life-time, thereby to recommend Him to the Care of the Parliament and the *English* Nation, so the last Parliament, of which we spake in the preceding Year, had made their Request to the King for that Purpose. Whereupon soon after the said Prince's Obsequies were perform'd, as We have shewn, *viz.* [a] on the 20 of *November* in that same Year, the Young Lord *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, Onely Son living of the Deceased Prince of *Wales*, being then not compleatly [b] Ten Years of Age, was by the King his Grandfather (at *Havering atte Boure*) created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, as his Father had been before him. And thereupon the King declared unto his Sons the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Cambridge*, and the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, that the Young Prince *Richard* was of Right to Reign over them after his Decease. And so he caused them all to swear to uphold and maintain Him, as their only Lawfull Lord and Undoubted Sovereign. And on the *Christmas* Day following, the King his Grandfather made him to sit down with him at his Table, in Great State, above all his own Children, representing thereby, that he was to be looked on as the Next Heir of the Crown, and consequently King after his Decease. AN. DOM. 1377. An. Regni *Angliæ* LI. *Franciæ* XXXVIII.

[a] *Mills his Catal. Hon. p. 315.*
[b] *Vid. hujus Hist. l. 4. c. 2. §. 1. p. 695. Ubi natus 6 Jan. 1367.*

II. This Conduct of the King's gave a General Satisfaction to all the Land, who hitherto retain'd a Gratefull Sense of the *Black-Prince's* Merit, and were extream glad, that his Son Prince *Richard* was to Rule over them. And here I hope it may deserve a Pardon, if I take liberty to shew, in what an extraordinary Manner the Citizens of *London* expressed themselves on this Occasion.

On

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On a *Sunday*, the First of *February*, and the day before *Candlemas* toward the Evening, [c] there were One Hundred and Thirty of the Prime Citizens, who being all well Horsed and Disguised, as for a Mummerie, with the Sound of Trumpets, Sackbuts, Cornets, Shaumes and other Minstrelsie, rode with innumerable Torch-lights of Wax from *Newgate*, thrô *Cheapside*, and so over the Bridge thrô *Southwark*, till they came to *Kennington* near *Lambeth*, where at that time the Young Prince of *Wales* was with the Princess his Mother, his two Uncles, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Earl of *Cambridge*; also the Earls of *Stafford*, [d] *Warwick* and *Suffolk*, besides many other Lords and Ladies. In the First Division of these Mummers there rode Fourty Eight, habited like Esquires, Two and Two together, all clothed in Scarlet Coats and Gowns of *Say* or *Sendal*, with comely Visards on their Faces: After whom went Fourty Eight Knights in like Order, and in the same Livery of Stuff and Colour: Then came One richly Arrayed, like an Emperour; and some distance after him Another, Gorgeously attired *in Pontificalibus*, representing the Pope, with Twenty Four Cardinals attending him. In the Reer of all came up Eight Persons with Black Visards and strange, as if they had been Ambassadors from some Foreign Princes. These Mummers being enter'd the Court of *Kennington*, alighted all from their Horses, and went orderly into the Great Hall: Whereupon the Young Prince, his Mother, and the Great Lords, who were acquainted with the Matter, came out of the Chamber into the Hall, and received the Salutations of the Mummers. They by a pair of Dice flung upon the Table, signified their Desire to play with the Young Prince, and upon his Accepting their Motion, they so obligingly contrived the Dice, that the Prince always won, whether He cast at Them, or They at Him. Having thus lost some considerable Sums of Gold, then they set to the Prince Three Jewels, one after another, *viz.* a Bowl of Gold, a Cup of Gold, and a Ring of Gold; all which the Prince wan at three Casts.

Then they set to the Lady Princess, to the Duke, the Earls and other Lords, to every One a large Ring of Gold, which, as the Dice were order'd, those Illustrious Personages also wan. After Play succeeded a Splendid Entertainment accompanied with most exquisit Musick; the Prince and the Lords dancing on the One part, and the Mummers on the Other. And then all being concluded with a Banquet of Wine and Spices, the Mummers departed in Order as they came.

D. Lit. Dom. c *Stow's Survey of* London *p.* 78. *&c.* d *Ità corrigo pro* Hertford, *quùm neq;* Hertford, *neq;* Hereford *hoc tempore Comitem in vivis habuerit.*

III. Now it is to be observed, that althô King *Edward* was something recover'd from his Sickness, yet not being very Current, and especially because of his great Age, he had lately associated unto Himself his Son *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, as his Assistant in the Regency: Who thô perhaps he might be Ambitious enough, yet being of too Rough and Martial a Temper to please the People, was not thereby in any great likelyhood of Injuring the Right of the Young Prince of *Wales*, who besides the Advantage of his Title, was also for his Great Fathers Sake most strongly rooted in the Affections of all True *Englishmen*. However the Duke of *Lancaster* being thus advanced shew'd himself Terrible to all his Enemies, especially to *William* of *Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, whom he hated mortally (for what Cause I shall not here enquire) and caused him [e] to be deprived of all his Temporalities, with a Prohibition not to come within 20 Miles of the Court. And not being well assured of *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, at that time Marshal of *England*, with a Design to remove him out of the way, he commanded him in the King's Name toward the End of the preceding Year, to haste over unto *Calais* according to his Office, and there to take a diligent View of the Castle and Town of *Calais*, as also of all the Castles and Forts in the Marches thereof, and to cause such Repairs to be made as should seem needfull, and likewise to see them well Manned and Victualled. But the Earl of *March*, who saw how hereby he was set as a Mark for Envy, declin'd the Matter, and chose rather to yield up his Rod, with the Office of Marshal thereto belonging, than obey in so hazardous an Employ. The Duke gladly accepts his Rod, and gives it with the Office to his sure Friend the Lord *Henry Percy*, afterwards Earl of *Northumberland*, the First of that Name and Family, who was then [f] assign'd to the same Employ; thô he had not full Commission till this present Year.

e *Fox p.* 392.

f *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.* 276. *b.*

D. Lit. Dom.

IV. But now a Parliament is summon'd to meet at *Westminster*, as on the *Quindene* of St. *Hilary*, being the *Tuesday* [g] next after the Conversion of St. *Paul*, that is the 27 of *January*, the Writs of Summons bearing Date at *Westminster* on the 1 of *December* preceding. And here for instance-sake, I shall set down the Names of those Peers, to whom the Kings Writs were directed, with a Copy of the Writ it self, as taken from the *Latine*, only premising, that the King herein calls his Nephew Prince *Richard*, by the Name of Son, as well to set the higher Character upon him, as because he was now

g *Vid. Rot. Par.* 51. *Ed.* 3. *& M.S. prædict. p.* 143. *& Sr. Rob. Cotton p.* 144.

now in Law to be look'd on, as his Son, being come into the Place of his Deceased Father. AN. DOM. 1377. An. Regni *Angliæ* LI. *Franciæ* XXXVIII.

"EDWARD, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and *France*, and Lord of "*Ireland*, to his most Dear SON *Richard*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and "Earl of *Chester*, Greeting. Whereas concerning divers and Weighty Matters, re- "lating especially to Us, and the State of our Realm, We intend to hold our Parlia- "ment at *Westminster*, on the *Quindene* of St. *Hilary*, next ensuing, and there with "You and others our Peers and Barons of the Realm, to consult about the Premises: "We command You, upon the Faith and Allegiance, which You owe unto Us, firm- "ly enjoyning, that at the said time and Place, all other Business laid aside, You be "personally present, there to consult and advise about the Premises, with Us, and o- "ther our Peers and Barons; and that this You omit by no means. *Teste meip-* "*so apud* Westmonast. *primo* Decembris, *An°. Regni nostri* Angliæ 50, Franciæ "*verò* 37.

Per ipsum Regem.

The like Letters were directed (besides the Clergy) *to these Peers following*, viz.

John King of *Castille* and *Leon*, Duke of *Lancaster*.
Edmund Earl of *Cambridge*.
Richard Earl of *Arundel*.
Thomas of *Woodstock* Constable of *England*.
Edmund Mortimer Earl of *March*.
Thomas Beauchamp Earl of *Warwick*.
Hugh Courtney Earl of *Devonshire*.
Hugh Stafford Earl of *Stafford*.
Gilbert Umphravile Earl of *Angos*.
William Ufford Earl of *Suffolk*.
William Montagu Earl of *Salisbury*.
Henry Lord *Percy* Marshal of *England*.
William Lord *Latimer*.
William Lord *Bardolph*.
Guy Lord *Bryan*.
Roger Lord *Beauchamp*.
John Lord *Clinton*.
Gilbert Lord *Talbot*.
William Lord *Botreaux*.
John Lord *De la Warre*.
Henry Lord *Scroop*.
John Lord *Nevill*.
Thomas Lord *Rous* of *Hamlake*.
Richard Lord *Stafford*.
Reginald Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*.
John Lord *Grey* of *Codnovre*.
Henry Lord *Grey* of *Shereland*.
Nicolas Lord *Burnel*.
William Lord *de la Zouch* of *Harringworth*.
Roger Lord *Clifford*.
And the Lord *Almaric* of St. *Amand*.

The *Quindene* of St. *Hilary*, as We said before, was the First Day of the Parliament: At which time the Noble and Puissant Lord, *Richard* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Chester*, together with the Bishops, Lords, Justices, Commons, and others summon'd to the Parliament, assembled at the Palace of *Westminster*, in the Painted-Chamber, where the Prince sitting in the Kings own Place (in absence of the King, who was still but weak) the King sent thither his Letters-Patents, being a Commission to the said Prince to begin the Parliament.

Which Letters being openly read, Dr. [h] *Adam Houghton* Bishop of St. *Davids*, and then Chancellour of *England*, at Command of the said Prince, then and there President, adjourn'd the Parliament, till the next day at Nine of the Clock in the Morning; because divers of the Lords and Commons were not yet come.

[h] *Philipot's Catal. Chancel. p.44. Godw. Catal. Bps p.512.*

The next day the Prince, Bishops, Lords, and Commons met all in the Place aforesaid, where the said Lord Chancellour began his Oration with that of St. [i] *Paul*---Libenter suffertis Insipientes, &c. *Ye suffer Fools gladly, seeing, that Ye your selves are Wise.* Which he apply'd, That they being Wise, desired to hear Him, who was the Contrary. He proceeded with Scripture, and said, That as a Messenger, who bringeth joyfull News, is Welcome, so he ought to be now, since he brought them joyfull News of the Kings Happy Recovery from a Dangerous Sickness.

[i] *2 Cor. c. 11. v. 19.*

Whence he took occasion to argue, that God loved the *King* and the *Realm*; the King, because [k] *Quos diligit, castigat*, whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth; and further from that of the *Psalmist*, [k] *Uxor tua, sicut Vitis, abundans in Lateribus, &c.* Thy Wife shall be as a Fruitfull Vine by the Walls of thine House, thy Children like *Olive* Plants round about thy Table; and thereupon he shew'd, that for Children, no *Christian* Prince living was so happy; which happiness he aggravated from the Words following, "*Ut videas filios filiorum*, Thou shalt see thy Childrens Children; which the King now saw.

[k] *Hebr. c. 12. v. 6.*

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And that God loved the Realm, he proved from the Recovery of ſo Renowned a Prince, the ſaid Recovery happening in the Fiftieth Year of his Reign, the Year of *Jubilee*, the Year of Joy for his ſaid Recovery: Of Joy; becauſe he would thereby impart unto his Subjects Bleſſings as well Spiritual as Temporal, all Bodily Comforts.

Then from a ſimilitude, that althô the Head be ſound, if ſome particular Member of the Body be diſeaſed, the ſame infected Part can receive no Vertue, Benefit, or Salve from the Head; He inferreth, that the King being the ſound Head, and willing to ſhew Grace and Favour to his Subjects, they ought to qualifie themſelves aright by approving their Loyalty ſound and uncorrupted: And therefore he perſwadeth ſuch, as would be partakers thereof, to conform themſelves thereafter, by having Love and Charity, without which he proveth by St. *Paul*, that nothing doth avail.

Thereupon he converts his Diſcourſe to the Lords, amplifying the Matter and ſhewing, what reaſon they had to think the King loved them Dearly, ſince among many other Gracious tokens of his Good will, he had upon their Requeſts, ſince the laſt Parliament, advanced the Lord *Richard* there preſent to be Prince of *Wales*. Then he ſhew'd what cauſe they had to embrace the ſaid Prince, by Offering unto him, as the [1] Wiſe Men did to *Chriſt*, all Honour, by preſenting *Gold* in token of Riches and Renown; and *Myrrhe* in token of his Honourable Scepter: Since even the Pagans were uſed to throw abroad Money at the approach of their Princes. He inſiſted, that the ſaid Prince ſhould without all Rancour be embraced in their Hands and Hearts, even as *Simeon* embraced *Chriſt*, becauſe their Eyes had now ſeen that which their Hearts had much longed for; and likewiſe he ſhew'd, how they ought to obey him, as the Vicar and Legate of God, that they might ſee the true Peace of *Iſrael*, *viz.* here in *England*, the [m] Inheritance of God: Whereof after many Victories, there is no ſmall hope. After which he ſhew'd the cauſe of this preſent Parliament to be; For that the *French* King under Colour of the Truce(granted by the King at the Mediation of the Pope)yet enduring, had allied himſelf to the *Spaniards* and *Scots*, the Kings Enemies, and had prepared great Quantity of Arms and Puiſſant Armies, thereby conſpiring to blot out the *Engliſh* Tongue and Name from under Heaven. In which caſe the King was willing to have their Faithfull Counſel; wherefore the Chancellour willed them to go together, and to give a ſpeedy Anſwer.

[1] *M.S.* Princes of *Cullen*, &c.

[m] *Vox Angeli ad Monachum Regni ſtatum deplorantem ob extinctam Regiam Proſapiam*, Regnum *Anglorum* eſt Regnum Dei, Deus providebit pro ſuo Regno.

This grave Harangue was ſeconded by Sr. *Robert Aſhton* Knight, [n] Conſtable of *Dover*-Caſtle, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, being at this time the Kings Chamberlain, and Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*: He continued, how He had a particular Charge to move them from the King, for the Profit of the Realm, which Words (ſays [o] my Tranſcriber) lay not perchance in the Biſhops Mouth, becauſe they touched the Pope. Yet at the ſame time he proteſted, that the King was ready to do all that ought to be done for his Holineſs: But becauſe divers Uſurpations were by him made upon the King, his Crown and Realm, as by particular Bill in this Parliament ſhould be declared, the King requireth them to ſeek redreſs.

[n] *Philipot's Catal. Treaſ. p.40.*

[o] *M.S. Rot. Par. p.145. n.13.*

Then were appointed Receivers of Petitions for *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, as alſo for *Gaſcogne*, and other Places beyond the Seas, and for the Iſles; and after that Tryers for thoſe ſeveral Petitions.

This done the Commons were willed to repair to the Chapter-Houſe of the Abbey of *Weſtminſter* to treat of theſe Matters, and how Money might beſt be levied for the Kings Service, and certain Lords, there named, were appointed from time to time to confer with the Commons, for their better Direction and Information.

The Lords and Commons grant to the King towards his charges Four pence of every Poll, Man or Woman, paſſing the Age of [p] 14 Years, only Beggers excepted. And beſides this the [q] Clergy grant unto the King toward the Aid of his Wars, 12 *d.* of every Parſon Beneficed, and of all other Religious Perſons 4 *d.* by the Poll, the Four Orders of Fryars Mendicants only excepted. But here it is to be remembred, that the King, becauſe of his preſſing occaſions, not being able to ſtay, till the foreſaid Taxes were levied, borrow'd in ſundry Places ſeveral Sums of Money, particularly he ſent to the City of *London* for 4000 *l.* which [r] Loane becauſe the *Mayor*, *Adam Staple*, was backward in raiſing, he was on the 22[d] of *March* diſcharged his Office by the Kings ſpecial Command, and Sr. *Richard Whittington*, Mercer (of whoſe Riſe by means of his Cat, there are ſuch pleaſant Stories) placed in his ſtead for the Remainder of the Year.

[p] *Ità Sr. Rob. Cotton, Fabian, & Daniel's hiſt. Unde M.S. hic corrigend. ubi* One and Twenty.

[q] *Daniel's hiſt. p.260. Fabian p.261.*

[r] *Fabian ibid.*

The Commons requeſt, that the King would appoint two Earls and two Barons, to receive

receive as well their Subſidy, as the Subſidy of the Clergy, and the Subſidy of Woolls granted in the laſt Parliament, ſo as the ſame may be imploy'd upon the Wars; and that the High Treaſurer do in no wiſe intermeddle therewith. But when afterwards it was made appear, to how great a Sum the Wages of theſe Four Treaſurers would amount, then the Commons changed their Mind, and required, that the High-Treaſurer might be the ſole Menager thereof for the uſe of the Wars.

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Afterwards, *viz.* on the 22^d^ of *February*, certain Biſhops and ſecular Lords, and alſo the Chancellour, Treaſurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, by the Kings appointment, went all to *Sheen* in *Surrey*, where the King then lay ſick, and there in preſence of them all the Articles of the Kings General Pardon were read, with the Anſwers made to the Petitions of the Commons, to which the King agreed, willing that they ſhould be read in the Houſe the next day; on which day he order'd them to be diſſolved. And ſo it was done the next day, being the Twenty-third of *February*, by Authority of the King and Prince *Richard*, the Preſident.

Petitions of the Commons with their Anſwers.

That all Perſons and Corporations may have the Pardon freely without paying any thing for the Great Seal. *Such as for Felony are to ſue, ſhall do the ſame before the Nativity of* St. John *and pay the Fees only.* The Prelates, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Commons, Citizens, Burgeſſes, and Merchants of *England* in this Parliament [f] Petition the King not only for a Pardon in General, and of Fines and Amerciaments before the Juſtices of the Peace, not yet levied in ſpecial; but they alſo ſubjoyn thereto this memorable Requeſt, *That in time to come Your ſaid Prelates, Earls, Barons, Commons, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of your Realm of* England, *may not be henceforth Charged, Moleſted, nor Grieved, to make any Common Aid, or ſuſtain any Charge, unleſs it be* by the common Aſſent of the Prelates, Dukes, Earls, and Barons, and other People of the Commons of your Realm of *England*, and that in full Parliament. *And that no Impoſition be put upon their Woolls, Wooll-Fells and Leather, above the Ancient Cuſtom*; that is to ſay, of One Sack of Wooll, *Half a Mark*, and of One Laſt of Skins, *One Mark* of Cuſtom only; according to the Statute made the *Fourteenth* Year of your Majeſties Happy Reign; ſaving unto Your Majeſty the Subſidy granted unto You the laſt Parliament for a certain time, and not yet levied. To all which the King then gave Anſwer---- *As to that*, That no Charge be laid upon the People, but by common Aſſent, *The King is not at all Willing to do it without great Neceſſity, and for the Defence of the Realm, and where he may do it with Reaſon.* And *as to that*, That Impoſition be not laid upon their Woolls, *&c.* without the Aſſent of the Prelates, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and other People of the Commons of his Realm, *There is* (ſays He) *a Statute already made, which the King wills to ſtand in its full force.* That ſuch, as owe unto the King, may upon their Account be allowed of all ſuch Loanes, as are due to them, or to any of their Anceſtors. *The Treaſurer and Barons ſhall make allowance of due Debt.* That title of Preſcription of any Liberties may as well be allowed, as if it were by Grant, and that Preſcription may be from the Coronation of the King. *The King by Advice will do herein, as he ſhall think beſt.* That the Juſtices of the Peace do not enquire into any Articles, which are to be redreſſed in any Lords Leet, but only concerning the Peace and Labourers, and that they hold their Seſſions Four times a Year. *The Statutes heretofore made cannot ſtand, if this be granted.* That the Patent of *Reynold Chambers* for being Water-Bayliff of the *Thames* may be revoked, becauſe on that pretence he ſuffereth *Kiddles*, *Trinks*, and other unlawfull Nets to be laid, and caſt in the ſaid River of *Thames*. *The Chancellour calling unto him the Citizens of* London, *the Conſtable of the Tower, and* Reynold Newport *ſhall take Order therein.* The Citizens of *London* pray, that the King will confirm unto them their Liberties for puniſhing all Miſdemeanors in *Southwark*, and that Commandment be given, that the Marſhal do not intermeddle within the part of *Southwark*, which is called Gildable. *The King cannot do it, without doing wrong to others.* The Citizens of *London* require Confirmation of the Kings Letters Patents made to them, that no Stranger ſhould ſell any Merchandiſe, or Ware, to any other Stranger, to the end, that the ſame ſhould be ſold again. Then follow the very Words of the Patent. *The King will be thereof informed.* The ſame Citizens pray, that they may place and diſplace Coroners among themſelves, anſwering unto the King, what belongeth thereto. *The King will not depart from his Ancient Right.* That no Alien do remain within the Realm during the Wars, unleſs he be a Merchant or Artificer; and that no *Engliſhman* become any Farmer to any Alien without Licence: In which Act they proteſt, that of Temporal things they owe Obeiſance to none, but to the King. *The King by Advice will take Order therein.* That all Pro-

[f] *Vid. Mr. William Prinne* in his Edition of *S. Rob. Cotton's Abridgm. p. 152*

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visors of things from *Rome*, and their Ministers may be out of the Kings Protection. *The Pope hath promised Redress, the which if he do not, the Laws therein shall stand.* That new Perambulations of the Forest be made according to the old Bounds, out of which if any Forester do attache a Man, that the attached may have his Writ of false Imprisonment. *Many Counties are not grieved, wherefore let such as be, shew their Complaint, and they shall be heard.* That it may be declared, what Pleas the Marshal shall hold, and that Prescription may be as well allowed before the Marshal, as before others the Kings Justices. *They shall hold such as have been in the times of the Kings Progenitors.* That no Man be impeached for hunting within the *Purlieu*, or without the bound of the Forest, and that there be levied no [t] Assartments. *The Charter of the Forest shall be kept, and as to the Assart, the Demand is unreasonable.* That as well the Priest, that taketh unreasonable Wages, as the Giver thereof, may either forfeit double to the King, and that the same may be tryed before the Kings Justices. *The Statute therefore made shall be executed.* That the next Heirs of the Kings Wards may have the Wards Lands in Farm. *There is a Statute therefore made.* That none of the Kings Officers be maintainers of any Quarrels within their Countries, on pain to lose their Offices, and to answer doubly to the Party grieved. *The King hath forbidden his Officers so to do, and if any be grieved he shall be heard.* That if any Religious Person taketh the Profits of any Lands, whereby it may be thought to be within the Compass of the Statute *de Religiosis*, that then the King, or Chief Lord, may enter upon the same. *The King intendeth not to change the Laws.* That the Statutes now made be not Repealed, but by Assent of Parliament, and that the Statute of Purveyors may be executed. *The Statutes cannot be Repealed otherwise; and as for Purveyors the Law made shall stand.* That the Knights Fees for coming to the Parliament may be levied of the whole County; as well within Liberties, as without, except Cities and Towns, and the bound Tenants of such, as come by Writ to Parliament. *Let it be, as it hath been used.* That no Ordinance be made at the Petition of the Clergy without Assent of Parliament, and that no Man be bound by any of their Constitutions made for their Advantage. *Let this be more particularly declared.* That such, as have [u] view of Frankpledge, may have the Correction of Taverners. *It is no Article thereof.* That none of the Commons be appointed Collector of this Subsidy. *The King granteth it.* That the Protection of such, as lie about *Calais*, or in *Picardy*, only to delay such as sue them, may be Repealed, and no such from henceforth granted. *Let the Kings Council be informed of such Covin, and it shall be redressed.* That certain Engines, used to the Destruction of Fish, and called *Wonderecheone*, in the manner of a Drag, being used in Havens and Creeks, may be forbidden. *Commission to certain to enquire and to certifie, shall be made; whereupon Order shall be taken therein.* They pray Remedy against such Debtors, as to defraud their Creditors, make Feoffments by Covin, and thereupon fly into Sanctuary. *Upon the finding of such Feoffments to be so made, the Creditors shall have Execution of such Lands, as tho no such Feoffments were made.* That the King would pardon all Piracies and Felonies done upon the Sea, except such as be Impeached of the Death of Sr. *Henry de la Haye*, or of such as be Impeached at the suit of the Party. *The King will shew Pardon where him liketh.* That divers having in their Charters, *That no Seneschal Marshal, or Clerk of the Mercate, do intermeddle with their Liberties*, are thereby little the Better; for that those Officers do intermeddle, because these Words are wanting, *Tam in præsentiâ nostrâ, quam alibi*: That therefore it be commanded, that none of those Officers do intermeddle. *The King would have them to be allowed according to Law and Reason; as it hath been heretofore used.* That no Customs of Woollen Cloaths granted in 44 *Ed.* 3. be paid, unless the same be Fulled. *The King hath commanded, that no Woollen Cloths be carried out of the Realm before they be Fulled; and that no Customs be paid before such Fulling.* That such Loanes, as were lent in the time of *Thomas Brentingham* Bishop of *Excester*, and Treasurer of *England*, may be now paid. *It shall be so soon as may be.* That no Tythe be paid for Sea-coals. *It shall be, as it hath been.* That no Fines be taken for any Writs according to that of the Great Charter, *Nulli Vendemus Justitiam. Let it be according to the Discretion of the Chancellour, as it hath been.* That no Knight, Esquire, or other be appointed for Sheriffs, Escheators, Coroners, Collectors, or such like, after his Age of 60 Years. *The King will do herein, as him shall please.* That all Charters heretofore granted may be allow'd and confirmed. *They shall be allow'd, as duly heretofore hath been.* That every Professed Person of what Sex soever, being professed of any Religion, and continuing the said Habit to the Age of Fifteen Years, may upon Tryal of the same in any of the Kings Courts, be in Law utterly debarred of any Inheritance, tho he hath a Dispensation

[t] *Vid. Somneri Glossar. in* Assartari, &c.

[u] *Vid. Gulielm. Somneri Glossar. in* Visus-Franci-Plegii.

tion from *Rome:* Which Diſpenſations are the chief Grievance. *The King and the Lords will provide therefore.* That ſome Proviſion be made, that Herring may be better cheap, being now grown to an Exceſſive price. *Indifferent and able Men by Commiſſion ſhall ſee the* [x] *Place, and enquire of the Cauſes, and certifie the ſame, whereupon Order ſhall be taken.* The Commons of *Devon* require, that upon return of the Commiſſion, touching the Cuſtoms of the Stannery there, being now done withall in the Chancery, the reſt of the Liberties of the Stannery may be declared according to the Promiſe of the laſt Parliament, and that the ſame be made in Letters-Patents. *Richard,* Prince of *Wales,* prayeth, that the Declaration made in the laſt Parliament, as touching the Stanneries in *Devon* and *Cornwall,* may be revoked, conſidering, that the ſame was made, neither the Prince, nor any of his Council, nor any other the Officers, being called, or made privy thereto.

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[x] *Ità M.S. ſed* Price *Sr. Rob. Cotton.*

Such as ſtood for the County of *Devon* pray, that they may anſwer to ſuch as alledge, that the ſaid County ſhould ſeek to hinder the Profit of the ſaid Prince. *The Circumſtances ſhall be examin'd by the Council of the King and of the Prince, and thereupon Order ſhall be taken.*

The Counties of *Leiceſter* and *Northampton, Huntington* and *Bedford,* complain of the Erection of three Mills upon the high Stream of the [y] River of St. *Ives,* ſo that neither Ships nor Boats can paſs, and whereby they ſurround all the Grounds about the Towns of *Bugden, Brampton, Godmancheſter, Herford* and *Huntington. Let the Statute in ſuch caſe provided be executed.* The County of *Warwick* deſire, that the Goal-houſe in *Warwick* being very ruinous may be repaired with the profits of the County aforeſaid by the hands of the Sheriffs. *Let them ſue to the Treaſurer, and others of the Council to have Redreſs.* That none ſuch as paſs over Woolls, or have Ships on the Sea, be appointed Cuſtomers or Weighers of Woolls. *The King will appoint ſuch Cuſtomers as ſhall pleaſe him.* The Heirs and Tenants of the Land of the Chief Taxers of the *Fifteen* do pray, that they may be taxed by the Barons of the Exchequer, according to the old Rate, upon the View thereof, without bringing any Writ therefore. *The Taxation being once reaſonably made ſhould ſeem to continue.* Divers Counties adjoyning upon the River of *Severne,* deſire Remedy for the Courſe of the ſaid River between *Worceſter* and *Briſtow,* which is ſo ſtraightned, that the Grounds thereabouts are thereby ſurrounded, that Ships and Boats cannot paſs, and many are drowned in their Beds. *Let certain Lords be appointed to hear and determine this matter.* That if it ſhall happen any Man or Boy to be drown'd with a fall out of a Ship or Boat, or any other Veſſel, the ſaid Veſſel ſhall not therefore be a Deodand. *Being upon the Sea it ſhall be adjudged no Deodand, and being upon a Freſh River the King will ſhew favour.* That every Man may be admitted to prove his Age, and to ſue Livery by the Inſpection of his Body, and other ſufficient ways, where it is not return'd by Office. *The Chancellor upon ſight of the Bodies of ſuch Heirs, and of Offices returns ſhall do what ſhall ſeem beſt to be done.* That the Lord *Latimer,* being in the laſt Parliament by untrue Suggeſtions deprived of his Offices and of the Privy Council, may by Authority of Parliament be reſtored thereto again. *The King granteth thereunto at the Inſtance of certain Biſhops, Lords and Commons. John Hawkwood* Knight requireth of the King ſuch Charter of Pardon, as was granted to Sr. *Robert Knolles.* Sr. *John* [z] *Clifford* Knight requireth the ſame. *The King meaneth, and will ſhew favour to whom him liketh.* That the Statutes of Proviſors made at any time may be executed, and that Remedy may be had againſt ſuch Cardinals, as have within the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York,* purchaſed any Reſervations to the value of Twenty or Thirty Thouſand Scutes of Gold; as alſo againſt the Pope's Collector, who was wont to be an *Engliſhman,* and now is a meer *Frenchman,* reſiding in *London,* who conveyeth Yearly to the Pope twenty Thouſand Marks or twenty Thouſand Pounds; and who this Year gathereth the Firſt-Fruits of all Benefices whatſoever. The Means to obviate theſe Reſervations and Novelties, are to command all Strangers to depart the Realm during the Wars: That no *Engliſhman* do become their Farmer, or do ſend to them any Money without ſpecial Licence, on pain of forfeiting the King's Protection. *The Statutes and Ordinances therefore made ſhall be obſerved.*

[y] Ouſe.

[z] Fifteen years before this *Sr. John Clifford* ſlew *John Copland,* who had taken King *David of Scotland* Priſoner at the Battle of *Durham.* But for his other Merits, now at laſt he obtain'd a Pardon. *Dug. Bar.* 1 *Vol. p.* 341. *vid. hujus Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 8. §. 5. *p.* 626.

Petitions of the Clergy *with their Anſwers.*

That upon Prohibition for *Sylva Cædua* Conſultations may be readily granted. *The Law heretofore reaſonably uſed ſhall continue.* That touching Penſions claimed by one Church or Benefice out of another, there may no Prohibition be granted, and that the Definition thereof may be only in the Ordinaries. *The King will make ſearch in his Common-Pleas-Treaſury or elſewhere, and will thereafter deal therein.* That of every Conſultation conditional, the Ordinary may of himſelf take upon him the true Under-

ſtanding

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ſtanding thereof, and proceed therein accordingly. *The King cannot depart with his Right, but will yield to his Subjects according to Law.* Touching the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Matters by him attempted to be reformed, Order was, that his Temporalities ſhould be ſeiſed into the King's Hands. This done, the Knights and Burgeſſes were willed to ſue forth their Writs for their Fees: And ſo the Parliament ended. On the laſt Day of this Parliament Sr. *Thomas Hungerford* Knight, Speaker of the Parliament, declared, how that during the Parliament he had moved the King in general to pardon all ſuch as were in the laſt Parliament unjuſtly convicted: And how the King willed him to make a Special Bill therefore, which was done to Seven, whoſe Names follow. Firſt the Commons moved for a Pardon for *Richard Lyon*, Merchant of *London*, and for his full Reſtitution; then they made the like Motion for Revocation of the Judgment given againſt *Alice Perrers*, and for her Reſtitution; as alſo for the like Favour to be extended to *John Liſter*, *Adam Bury*, and *Walter Sporior*. *John Peach* of *London* made the like Requeſt for himſelf; and *William Ellis* of Great *Yarmouth* made the ſame Requeſt for himſelf: But nothing was at that time anſwer'd to this Bill, becauſe the Parliament ended that very Day. However before they brake up, the Commons ſhewed, that whereas *Hugh Stafford* of Great *Yarmouth* had been accuſed of divers Extortions in the laſt Parliament, whereupon Commiſſion was granted to the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sr. *John Cavendiſh* Knight, to make Inquiry, and determine of the ſame; and they had ſince ſo done, and by Eighteen Inqueſts had found him Guiltleſs, as the ſame Sr. *John* in open Parliament witneſſed, he might therefore be in *ſtatu quo priùs*: but neither in this Matter was any thing done at that time; becauſe the Parliament ended the ſame Day.

V. But now We are called to another Matter, which that we may make more manifeſt, we muſt fetch a little Compaſs about, ſo to afford a fuller proſpect of the Perſon, who gave the firſt Occaſion to the thing in Hand. We have already ſpoken of one *John Wickliff* an *Oxford* Divine, who flouriſhed toward the Declining of our King *Edward's* Reign. About this time he began to be Famous in *England* for certain Opinions, which he publickly maintained for True and Orthodox, and together with [a] his Eloquence in Preaching and Teaching gain'd [b] Many, and Conſiderable Proſelytes unto them; althô by Others they were condemned as Heretical and Erroneous. It is yet confeſſed on all Hands, even by his [c] moſt inveterate Enemies, that he was in Learning equal, if not ſuperior, to the very Beſt of his Age. One particularly [d] confeſſes of him, That he was *Doctor in Divinity, the moſt Eminent in thoſe Days, in Philoſophy accounted Second unto none, and in School-Learning Incomparable.* And no doubt, if *Sbinko*, Archbiſhop of *Prague*, had not burnt 200 Volums of his Works, we ſhould have ſeen no ſmall Arguments thereof. However from thoſe many various M. SS. of his ſtill remaining in *Bennet* College in *Cambridge*, and the *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford*, it appears, that he held no ſuch Monſtrous Opinions, as ſome have laid to his Charge, as may be diſtinctly ſeen in thoſe ſmall Treatiſes ſet forth *An° Dom.* 1608. by the [e] Library Keeper of *Oxford*. He received his Firſt Education in *Merton*-College, of which he was made Fellow, and where he is ſuppoſed to have Tranſlated the Old and New Teſtament into *Engliſh* from the Original *Hebrew* and *Greek*; with no bad Deſign, as we may preſume; thô Honeſt *Knighton* complains thereof grievouſly, ſaying, *That ſo the Pretious Pearls of the Goſpel are caſt before Swine.* About the Year 1361. He was Maſter of *Bailiol* College, and Four Years after by Archbiſhop *Iſlip* made Warden of *Canterbury*-College, then newly by him Founded (which is now a Part of *Chriſt-Church*) as appears by the ſaid Archbiſhops own Letters, which follow Word for Word from the Original *Latine*, [f] SIMON, *by Divine Providente Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan of all* England, *to the Beloved Maſter* John Wickliff *Greeting. Directing our Eyes to the honeſty of your Life and laudable Converſation, and Knowledge of the Learning, wherewith the* Moſt High *hath endued your Perſon, who are Maſter of Arts, and having great Confidence in your Fidelity, Circumſpection and Induſtry, We ſet you over our Hall of* Canterbury, *lately by Us founded at* Oxford, *as Warden thereof; and do by theſe Preſents commit unto you the Care and Adminiſtration belonging to the Wardenſhip thereof, according to our Appointment in this Part, reſerving unto our ſelves the Receiving of your Corporal Oath, to be by you made unto Us, and due in this Part. Dated at* Magfield *V^to* Idûs Decemb. *An° Dom.* CIↃ CCCLXV.

And from hence it appears, that *Wickliff* did not obtain this Place by any Ill means, as ſome have ſaid; thô it is to be believed, that when by this Archbiſhops Succeſſor he was afterwards ejected, no good Arts were uſed; for as then [g] nothing in the World was laid to his Charge, but that he was a Secular; which ſure he, that ſet him there firſt, knew as well as they.

But

[a] *Hiſtor. Monaſt. D.* Albani.
[b] *Vid. Anton. Wood's Antiq.* Oxon. *l.* 1. *p.* 186. *Fox, &c.*
[c] As Fryar *Wodeford, Walden, Knighton, Walſing. &c.*
[d] *Knighton p.* 2644. *n.* 30.
[e] Mr *Thomas James*, who publiſhed 2 of *John Wickliffes* Treatiſes (*edit. Oxford*, Printed by *Joſ. Barnes*, Printer to the Univerſity 1608.) together with an Apology for the ſaid *John Wickliff*, ſhewing his Conformity to the Church of *England*. Collected out of divers M. SS. ſtill remaining in the *Bodleian* Library.
[f] *Extant apud Anton. Wood's Antiq.* Oxon. *l.* 1. *p.* 184. *ex Regiſtro* Iſlip *dicto fol.* 306.
[g] *Anton. Wood Antiq.* Oxon. *l.* 1. *p.* 183.

But whereas [h] he is accuſed, for that as an Hypocrite he reſorted much to the Orders of Begging Fryars, frequenting their Company, and extolling the Perfection of their Poverty; this muſt ſeem abſolutely falſe and inconſiſtent to any, who hath but once heard of [i] that Notable Treatiſe of his now Extant, which he wrote particularly againſt the *Mendicant* Fryars, containing 50 Chapters.

However this is certain, that his Tenets were not received by the Generality of the Clergy in thoſe Days: For he affirm'd ſundry Doctrines very diſagreeable to the Genius of that Age, as, [k] *That the Pope had no more Power to Excommunicate any Man, than another Prieſt. That if it be given by any Perſon unto the Pope to Excommunicate, yet to abſolve the ſame is as much in the power of another Prieſt, as in his.* He affirm'd alſo, *That the Temporal Power might, and ought to take away from the Clergy, what the Piety of former Times had beſtowed upon them; if they ſhall be found to abuſe the ſaid Goods, or to approve themſelves unworthy thereof*; and that he proved to have been heretofore practiſed in *England* by King *William Rufus*, which thing (ſaid *Wickliff*) if he did lawfully, why may not the ſame be done now? If unlawfully, then doth not the Church err in Praying for him? As for the Sacrament of the Holy *Euchariſt*, he proved againſt the Fryars, who held the contrary Opinion, [l] *That the Accidents of Bread remained not without the Subject or Subſtance*; *i. e.* that the Body of *Chriſt* is preſent not without the Bread. He [m] alſo ſtoutly aſſerted the *Regal Supremacy* againſt *Papal Uſurpation*, he wrote againſt the *Maſs*, *Tranſubſtantiation*, *Merit*, *Adoration of the Hoſt*, of *Saints*, *Images* and *Reliques*, and againſt *Pilgrimages* and *Indulgences*. He likewiſe held, *That the* [n] Roman *Church was no more the Head of all Churches, than any other Church. That no more Power was given to St.* Peter, *than to any other Apoſtle*; and *that the Pope of* Rome *had no more Power of the Keys of the Church, than any Other who was in Prieſtly Orders. That the Scriptures were ſufficient for Salvation*; *and that all other Rules of Saints* (under the Obſervation whereof there are divers Religious Orders) *do add no more Perfection to the Goſpel, than Waſhing a Wall over with Lime, doth make the Wall more perfect.* As for his Arguments they may be ſeen at large [o] in Mr. *Fox* his Acts and Monuments, and more of his Opinions may be conſulted in the Authors quoted in the Margin; thô it is to be given as a Caution, that they all vary one from another, both as to the Number, Order and Senſe of the Articles.

VI. It is ſaid, that he was ſupported and upheld in theſe his Opinions by King *Edward* himſelf; but this is certain, that *John* of *Gaunt*, the Great Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Entitled King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, who had now the chief Government of the Realm, during his Father's Weakneſs, was an Open Favourer and Patron of *John Wickliff* and his Doctrine. But at the ſame time his Opinions were ſo diſtaſtfull to the Clergy, that now there [p] came forth from *Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a Proceſs and Order of Citation for the Author to be brought before the Spiritual Court; the Time and Place being formally aſſigned. When the Duke of *Lancaſter* heard, that his Client *Wickliff* was to appear before the Biſhops, fearing that he being ſingle might be overcome by the Number of his Adverſaries, he took unto him Four Batchelors of Divinity, of Good Learning and Skill in the Scriptures, to joyn them with *Wickliff* for his ſurer Support.

On the Day appointed, [q] which was *Thurſday* the Nineteenth of *February*, Dr. *John Wickliff*, being accompanied with the Four Batchelors in Divinity aforeſaid, and alſo his Mighty Patron, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, going along with him for the greater Honour and Countenance of his Cauſe, went toward the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, the Lord *Henry Percy*, High Marſhal of *England*, going before to make way for his Lord the Duke and the Doctor. And all the way as they went, *Wickliffes* Friends animated him all they could, and bad him not fear, nor ſhrink, or be daunted at the preſence of the Biſhops, *who* (ſaid they) *are all Unlearned in reſpect of You*: And that he ſhould not dread the unuſual Concourſe or Clamors of the People, for they themſelves would aſſiſt and defend him; ſo that he ſhould receive no harm. With theſe Words of the Duke and other Nobles with him, *Wickliff* being much encouraged, came to St. *Pauls*, where there was ſuch a vaſt Throng of People, that the Duke and the Lords with him could hardly paſs thrô the Church for all the Lord Marſhal made way with his Officers. When *William Courtney* Biſhop of *London* ſaw the ſtirr, that the Marſhal and his Men made in the Church among the People, he ſaid unto the Lord *Percy*, *that if he had known before, how he would have plaid the Maſter in his Church, he would have hindred him from coming thither.* At which Words of the Biſhop the Duke diſdaining extreamly, anſwer'd him, *that the Marſhal ſhould play the Maſter there, as he had begun; even althô he ſaid Nay.* At laſt after much crowding they all got thrô, and came into our Ladies Chappel, where

[h] *Hiſtor. Monaſt. D.* Albani & *Fox Acts & Mon. p.*392. *An° ult. Ed.*3.

[i] *Extat in Bibliothecâ Publ. Academ.* Cantabr. *Fig.* 19. 10. 13.

[k] *Fox, Walſing. Knighton, Odor. Rainald. Antiq. Britan. p.*258. &c.

[l] *Wickliffe's Treatiſe* againſt the Fryars *c.* 16. *p.*33.

[m] *Speed l.*9. *c.* 13. §. 118. *p.* 610.

[n] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc ann.* §. 5 & *Walſing. hiſt. p.*188. & *p.*205 *Knighton p.* 2648.

[o] *Fox Acts & Monum.* Johan. Hus *Opera. Walſing. hiſt. p.*200. *ad p.*209. *Hiſt. Monaſt. D.* Albani & *Knighton p.*2644. & *Nicol. Harpsfeldius in Hiſtor.* Wickliffianâ, & *Holinſh. p.*998.

[p] *Fox Acts & Mon. ex Hiſtor. Mon. D.* Albani & *Nic. Harpsfeldus in Hiſt.* Wickliff. *c.*5. *p.*683.

[q] D. Lit. Dom. *Paſcha* 29 Martii.

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where the Duke and other Barons ſat themſelves down with the Archbiſhop and other Biſhops; *John Wickliff* ſtanding before them, according to the uſual Manner, ready to anſwer what ſhould be objected unto him. The Lord Marſhal firſt brake ſilence, deſiring Mr. *Wickliff* to ſit down, and alledging, *that he had many things to anſwer to, and therefore had need of ſome Repoſe.* But the Biſhop of *London* ſaid, *He ſhould not ſit down there; for neither was it according to Law nor Reaſon; that He, who was cited there to appear to anſwer before his Ordinary, ſhould ſit down during the time of his Anſwer, but rather ſtand.* Theſe Words created others, and they brought forth more, the Biſhop ſtanding upon the Privilege of his Place and Function, and the Marſhal on his own, and the Duke's Authority; ſo that many bitter words and Menaces paſſed on both ſides, to the great Offence and Scandal of the People.

But then the Duke began to take the Marſhals part, and warmly chode the Biſhop, who was not a whit behind hand with him; ſo that the [r] Duke was aſham'd to find himſelf worſted by the Biſhop, and threatned, that he would ſhortly bring down the Pride not only of him; but of all the Prelacy of *England*; and to the Biſhop he ſaid, "*Sir, You are too bold; and all in Confidence* * *of your Parents; who yet will not be* "*able to help you, they ſhall have enough to do to help themſelves.* To whom the Biſhop reply'd, *That he ought to be bold in declaring the Truth; but that his Confidence was not in his Parents, nor in any Mortal Man, but in the living God alone, in whom he truſted.* Then the Duke ſoftly whiſper'd to one that ſat next him, *how he had rather drag the Biſhop out of the Church by the Hair of his Head, than take this at his Hands.* However this was not utter'd ſo ſoftly, but that ſome of the *Londoners* overheard him, who being enraged thereupon, cry'd out, *that they would never ſee their Biſhop ſo abuſed; but rather loſe their Lives, then that any one ſhould draw him out of his Church by the Hair.* Upon this Contention that Council was diſſolved before Nine of the Clock, and the Duke with the Lord *Percy* return'd to the Parliament, then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, *Wickliff* being eaſily diſmiſs'd, thô not without a Prohibition, neither to preach, nor write any more in defence of thoſe Articles, which were objected to him.

[r] *Erubuit Dux, quod non potuit prævalere litigio.hiſt.Mon.D.* Albani *ibid.*

* He was a Younger Son to *Hugh Courtney*, ſecond Earl of *Devonſhire* of that Name, and of the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to *Humphry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex* (Eighth of that Name) by his Wife *Elizabeth* Daughter of King *Edward* the Firſt. His Parents were both now living; thô the Earl his Father died on the 2d of *May* this Year.

VII. 'Tis ſaid, that that ſame day before Dinner there was put up in Parliament by the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, the Kings youngeſt Son, and the Lord *Henry Percy* Marſhal of *England*, a certain Bill, as in the Kings Name, importing, *that the City of* London *ſhould no more be govern'd by a Mayor, but by a Captain, as in times paſt: And that the Marſhal of* England *ſhould have the ſole ordering of Arreſts within the ſaid City, as elſewhere, with many other Articles tending to the Diminution of the Liberties of* London. Which Bill being read, there ſtood up a Worthy Patriot, Alderman *John Philpot*, one of the Burgeſſes of that City, who ſpake ſo notably againſt the ſaid Bill, and pleaded ſo ſtrongly in behalf of the Charters and Privileges of that Famous *Metropolis*, that immediately the Bill was flung out of the Houſe, and the Name of Alderman *Philpot* much ſet by.

I can find no Warrant for this indeed in the Records of the ſaid Parliament, which we have faithfully exhibited before, and therefore dare not abſolutely lean to the belief thereof: But whether it was really ſo, or only cunningly nois'd abroad by ſome ſeditious Arts to ſtir up the People; however we find, that the next day the *Londoners* aſſembled in Council to conſider of the Matter, and alſo how far the Power of the Marſhal extended, not forgetting to take notice of the Affronts put upon their Biſhop the Day before.

While thus the Chief Citizens were entertain'd with ſober Debates, and perhaps only prepar'd ſome Petition or Remonſtrance to ſhew unto the Parliament in the behalf of their City; the Commons underſtanding, that One of their Body was then in Priſon in the Marſhals Houſe, which ſtood within their Liberties, being ſecretly animated by ſome conſiderable Beautefeus (whom for ſeveral Reaſons I cannot, with others, believe to have been the Lord *Guy Bryan* and the Lord *Walter Fitz-Walter*) went immediately in great Fury to the Houſe of the Lord *Percy*, where breaking up the Gates, they took out the Priſoner by force, and burnt the Stocks, wherein he had been ſet, in the midſt of the City. Then they ſought for the Lord *Percy*, for whom all Corners and Privy-Chambers were ſearched, and the Beds and Hangings torn in pieces with their Bills and Javelins. But He, it ſeems, was at that time happily out of the way, being together with the Duke of *Lancaſter* invited to Dinner by one *John* of *Ipres*, at his houſe [t] called *Ipres*-Inne in *Knight-Riders* Street, of which the *Londoners* knew nothing, but thought they were at the Dukes Houſe, called the *Savoy*, and ſo poſted thither in great fury. But one of the Dukes Knights obſerving this madneſs of the People, went in great haſte to the Place where his Lord the Duke was, and when for all his Knocking he could not be admitted, he ſaid aloud to the Porter, whoſe name was *Haveland*, "Hark you, "*Have-*

[t] *Stow's Survey of* London. *p.* 260.

"*Haveland*! If you love my Lord, the Duke, and your Life, open the Gate. At theſe Words he was let in, and in great fear told the Duke, that there were infinite Numbers of Armed Men, ſearching for him, ſo that if he had not a Care, that day would be his laſt. At this the Duke leap'd ſo haſtily from his Oyſters, that he hurt both his Legs againſt the Form; Wine was offer'd, but he could not drink for haſte; and ſo fled at a Back gate with the Lord *Henry Percy*, and taking a Barge at the *Thames* never left Rowing, till they came to an houſe near the Mannor of *Kennington*, where at that time the Princeſs-Mother of *Wales* lay, with her young Son *Richard*, before whom he made his Complaint againſt the outragious Inſolence of the Citizens. And the Princeſs promiſed him to take ſuch Order in this Matter, as ſhould be to his Content. At AN. DOM. 1377. An. Regni *Angliæ* LI. *Franciæ* XXXVIII.

The mean [t] while the Commons of *London* had beſet the Dukes Houſe, called the *Savoy*, where a certain Prieſt began to queſtion them about the Reaſon of this their unuſual rage and concourſe. He was anſwer'd by ſome of them, that they ſought for the Duke and the Lord Marſhal, to get them to deliver Sr. *Peter de la Mare*, whom they wrongfully detained in Priſon. To this the Prieſt anſwer'd again more boldly than wiſely, "*That Sr.* Peter (ſaid he) *is a falſe Traytor to the King, and worthy to have been hanged long ſince.* At theſe words, the Rabble cry'd out upon him with a terrible ſhout, ſaying, that he was a Traytor, and ſo falling upon him, wounded him to Death. [t] *Fox Acts & Mon. p. 394.*

VIII. Nor in all likelihood had the Tumult thus ceaſed, had not the Biſhop of *London*, leaving his Dinner at the firſt News of this Diſturbance, come to them at the *Savoy*, and putting them in mind of the ſolemn ſeaſon of *Lent*, with much ado perſwaded them to go home and be quiet.

However, as they were returning to the City, ſeeing they could do no harm to the Dukes perſon, who was now out of their Reach, they began to wreak their Anger on all, that they could find belonging unto him; and taking his Arms, in the moſt ſhamefull manner, they hung them up Reverſed in divers parts of the City, as if he had been a Traytor. Nay when One of the Dukes Gentlemen came riding thrô the City with a Plate of the Dukes Arms about his Neck, theſe Men not enduring ſuch a ſight, flang him from his Horſe, tore away his Cogniſance from him, and had certainly ſerved him, as they had ſerved the Prieſt; but that the Mayor came opportunely to his Reſcue, and ſent him home ſafe to the Duke his Maſter. So hatefull at that time was the Duke of *Lancaſter* to the *Londoners*.

IX. When the Princeſs underſtood, how ill-affected the *Londoners* ſtood unto the Duke, ſhe ſent unto them Three of her Knights, Sr. *Aubrey de Vere*, Sr. *Simon Burley*, and Sr. *Lewis Clifford*, to entreat them to be reconciled unto the Duke. They for their parts anſwer'd, *how for the Honour of the Princeſs they would obey, and with all Reverence be ready to do whatever ſhe ſhould pleaſe to require.* But however this they ſaid, and charged the Meſſengers to tell the Duke as much by word of Mouth, that they were reſolved, that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Sr. *Peter de la Mare*, ſhould be brought to their Anſwer, and judged by their Peers: So that either they might be acquitted, if they were Guiltleſs, or if culpable, receive their due according to the Laws of the Realm. At the ſame time the Mayor and Common-Council of *London* ſent certain [u] of their Chief Citizens to the Old King to make their Excuſe concerning this Tumult, proteſting, *that they themſelves were no way privy thereto, but upon the firſt Knowledge ſought by all means to ſuppreſs the ſame: Which they could not do, becauſe the whole Commonalty was in a Commotion, upon an Information, that their Liberties ſhould be taken from them by Parliament.* The King told them, *that it never enter'd into his heart to infringe their Liberties, it was rather his Deſire to enlarge them.* And therefore he willed them to baniſh all needleſs fear, occaſion'd by too eaſie Credulity, and to return and endeavour to keep the City in Quiet, which they did, being well ſatisfied with this Anſwer. We ſhall not here dwell on the minuter parts of this Story, nor ſhew, what Indignation and Grief the Duke conceived hereat; nor what means and ſuit the *Londoners* were fain to make to the King, his Father, for their Liberties; nor what Rhymes and Ballads were made upon the Duke in *London*; nor how the Biſhops, at the Duke's inſtance, were obliged to excommunicate all his Defamers, nor how at laſt he was revenged of theſe contumelious injuries, having cauſed the Mayor and Aldermen to appear before the King, where they were ſharply rebuked for their Miſdemeanor by the Grave Oration of Sr. *Robert Aſhton*, the Kings Chamberlain, in preſence of the King, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, the Kings Children, and the Chief Nobility of the Realm; nor how they were then and there enjoyned at the Publique Charges of the City, to make a Great Taper of Wax, which with the Dukes Arms ſet upon it ſhould be brought in ſolemn Proceſſion to the Church of St. *Paul*, there to burn continually before the I- [u] *Daniel's hiſt. p. 359, &c.*

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mage of our Lady. Nor how at last in the beginning of the next Kings Reign the Duke and the *Londoners* were fully reconciled together, with the Kiss of Peace, and the said Reconciliation publisht in the Churches of St. *Paul* and *Westminster*, to the great joy of the whole City. Nor shall I speak any farther of *John Wickliffe*, [x] how the Pope wrote to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and to the Bishop of *London* to convene him once more; and how the Princess of *Wales* deliver'd him; nor how lastly he was fain to retire into *Bohemia*, where he spread his Doctrine: For these Matters do neither in their own Nature nor Time agree with our present Design.

[x] *Odor. Rainal. ad hunc an.* § 4. *& Walsingh. hist. p.*201, *&c.*

X. All these things I pass over as Matters either foreign or of small Moment; so likewise I leave in silence the [y] Riot made between the Earl of *Warwicks* Men and the Abbot and Monks of *Evesham*; as also [z] the hurlyburly made at *Laneham* in *Suffolk*, against *Henry Spencer*, the Warlike Bishop of *Norwich*, and other trivial Matters. And haste now to an end of King *Edward's* Life, and our Labour.

[y] *Vid. M.S. Vet. Angl. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.*238.

[z] *Fox Acts & Mon. p.*394.

About this time Sr. *John Menstreworth*, that false Knight, of whose abominable Treason We [a] spake in the Fourty Fourth Year of this King, was suddenly [b] surprised by certain *Englishmen* in *Pampelone* a City of *Navarre*; and being presently sent over into *England*, was now tryed before the Mayor, and other the Kings Justices in the *Guildhall* at *London*, where these things were proved home upon him, namely, "*That being entrusted by his Sovereign Lord the King, and having received considerable Sums of Money, to pay the Kings Souldiers therewith, he had falsly and like a Traytor kept the Money to his own use; also that he had maliciously occasion'd a Dissention and Discord in the Kings Army, and thereby gave the Enemy advantage against them: Whereof being accused unto the King, and fearing the Punishment due unto him therefore, like a false and forsworn Traytor he fled into* France *unto the Kings Enemies, and there was sworn unto the* French *King, and conspired against his Natural Lord and Master, undertaking to direct the* Spanish *Navy, and bring them into* England *to the Confusion and Destruction of his Native Country.* Of all which he was fully convicted, and so on the 12 of *April* was executed at *Tiburn*, and drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd; after which his Head was set upon *London-Bridge*.

[a] *Vid. Hujus hist. l.*4. *c.*7. §.23. *& p.*809, *&c.*

[b] *M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C.* Cantab. *c.*239. *Walsingh. hist. p.* 189. *Fabian p.* 262. *Holinsh p.* 998.

XI. When [c] the Lord *Ingelram de Guisnes*, Earl of *Bedford* and Lord of *Coucy* was returned into *France* from his unhappy Expedition into *Austria*, thrô the exceeding importunity of his Friends, and a sense of Gratitude to the *French* King for his late Princely Supply and Assistance towards his Wars, he was at last utterly overcome, and resolv'd to yield himself absolutely up to the *French* side, wholly quitting his Interest in *England*. However that he might make the fairer shew, and as little as might be, disoblige his Father-in-Law, King *Edward*, he sent his Lady *Isabella* into *England*, to endeavour to pacifie her Father, the King, where she remain'd a while for that purpose with her younger Daughter [d] *Philippa*, the Elder, named *Mary*, continuing with her Husband, the Lord of *Coucy*. For notwithstanding this Change, his Counsellours and Friends told him, that he needed not to fear, he should lose his Heritage in *England*, since the King, his Father-in-Law, could not reasonably expect, that for his sake he should fling up a far greater Heritage in *France*, especially since, thô a [e] Baron of *England*, he was a [f] *Frenchman* by Name, Blood, Arms, and Extraction.

[c] *Froiss. c.* 314. *f.*175. *b & Id.* Gallicè 1 *Vol. c.*267.

[d] *Mill's Catal. Hon. p.*440.

[e] *Dugd.* 1 *Vol. p.*760.

[f] *Froiss.* ibid.

XII. Soon after the *French* King had such Confidence in the sincerity of his Conversion, that he sent him to *Bruges*, to assist his other Commissioners, who had Orders to be there about a Treaty for Peace between the two Realms. Thô as yet none of the Great Lords, either of *England*, or *France* were come thither, save only the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was still there with his Cousin the Earl of *Flanders*, not much concerned about settling any Peace.

But now on the [g] 20 of *February* King *Edward* empowers Dr. *John Gilbert* Bishop of *Hereford*, Sr. *John Cobham* of *Kent*, and Sr. *John Montagu*, Bannerets, and *John Shepey*, Dr of the Laws, to go to *Bruges* to treat with the Earl of *Salebruse*, the Lord of *Chastillon*, and Monsieur *Philibert l' Espiote*, where they met the Popes Legates, who, as friendly Mediators, were present all the while that the Treaty lasted. But when nothing was done here neither, the Legates seeing all things like to break to pieces, in Pious subtlety began to [h] propose a Match between *Richard*, the Young Prince of *Wales*, and the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to the *French* King. Which Proposal coming to the Ears of both the Kings, begat another private meeting shortly after at [i] *Montrevil* by the Sea, where Sr. *Guischard Dangle*, Sr. *Richard Sturry*, and Sr. *Geoffry Chaucer* (the Prince of our *English Poets*) met with the Lord of *Coucy*, Sr. *Nicolas Braques*, and Sr. *Nicolas Brasier*, Commissioners from the *French* King. And here they [k] treated earnestly about the Marriage, which if it might take effect, the *Frenchmen* offer'd many

[g] *Rot. Franc.* 51. *Ed.* 3. *m.*7. *& Ashmole p.* 668.

[h] *Holinsh. p.*998.

[i] *Froiss. fol.*196. ibid *Holinsh. p.* 998.

[k] *Froiss.* ibid.

things,

things, in lieu whereof they would have ſuch things, as they named, or elſe nothing. Particularly, it is ſaid, [l] that they offer'd to leave unto the King of *England* Fourteen Hundred Towns, and Three Thouſand Fortreſſes in *Aquitaine*, on Condition, that he would render back *Calais*, and all that he held in *Picardy*. But to this the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners would not agree, knowing, that if once they parted with that ſure Landing-place, the *French* King would ſoon take away all thoſe Towns and Fortreſſes again: But that while they held *Calais*, as the Key of *France*, in their Hands, they might at any time be able to invade that Realm, and ſometime or other recover all their Former Loſſes. Thus in Effect each Party having chiefly ſpent their time in ſounding one anothers Inclinations, they brake up again, without any other Succeſs, than that they Prorogued the Truce one Month further, *viz.* to *May*-Day following.

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[l] *Sr. Richard Baker p. 138. & Du Cheſne p. 711. c.*

XIII. Now the Old King being ſtill deſirous to add more Honour to his Grandſon and Heir, Prince *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, [m] at a Chapter held at *Windſor*, on the 23[d] of *April*, being the Feſtival of St. *George*, Created him Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the *GARTER*, in Place of the Renowned Prince his Father, late deceaſed.

[m] *Walſing. hiſt. p. 189. n. 20. & M.S. vet. Ang. in Bibl. C.C.C. Cantab. c. 239. Sed ibi St. Gregory pro St. George malé.*

XIV. On the 26 of the ſaid Month of *April*, the King willing now, if it might be, to leave the Kingdom in Peace at his Death (which he look'd upon as not far off) cauſed [n] a Commiſſion to be made (for Holding another Treaty with the *French*) to Dr. *Adam Houghton* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, and Chancellor of *England*, Dr. *John Gilbert* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *William Montagu* Earl of *Salisbury*, Sr. *Robert Aſhton* the Kings Chamberlain, Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle* Banneret, *Aubrey de Vere*, and *Hugh Seagrave* Knights, *Walter Skirlow* Dean of St. *Martins le Grand*, and *John Shepey* Doctor of the Laws; empowering them fully to treat and compoſe all Differences, Wars and Contentions, according to the Inſtructions given them. Theſe Commiſſioners came in good time to *Calais*; while on the other ſide the Lord of *Coucy*, and Sr. *William Dormer* Chancellor of *France*, with their Aſſociates tarried at *Montrevil*; but by reaſon of ſome Suſpition, which the Commiſſioners had, or pretended to have, of each other, or elſe thrô ſome Punctilio of Honour, neither Party would vouchſafe to go to the other, whatever the Legates could ſay or do; nor yet to meet in any Indifferent place, either between *Montrevil* and *Calais*, or *Montrevil* and *Boulogne*; and ſo the time limited by the Truce, *viz.* the Firſt of *May*, elapſed without any Fruit.

[n] *Rot. Franc. 51 Ed. 3. m. 3. Aſhmole p. 668.*

Now when the War was open, [o] Sr. *Hugh Calverley* was made Captain of *Calais*, and ſent thither by the King of *England* with a good Retinue. All things began to threaten Bloody Conſequences of the next Campain, Commiſſions being ſent to the Great Lords throughout all *England* to Array all able Men from ſixteen to ſixty Years of Age, to be ready on Occaſion to defend the Kingdom, and to withſtand any Invaſion that might happen; there being apprehenſions, that the *French* would take Land in ſome part or other.

[o] *Froiſ. ibid. & Walſingh. hiſt. p. 199. n. 30.*

At this time the *Frenchmen* came ſuddenly with conſiderable Forces, and lay down before a ſtrong Fortreſs near *Calais* called *Outwick*, which they [p] began to batter ſo furiouſly with Nine pieces of Great Ordnance, that the Governour thereof *William Weſton* Eſquire, being terrified with the Novelty of thoſe irreſiſtable Engines, yielded up the Place upon Conditions, and ſo departed with all his Men to *Calais*, where Sr. *Hugh Calverly* ſeized upon him, and ſent him into *England* to anſwer for the Fact. He was for the preſent committed to the Tower, but during King *Edward's* Reign was proceeded againſt no further.

[p] *Vid. l. 2. c. 3. §. 11. p. 361.*

The Duke of *Bretagne*, [q] who had been more than a Year with his Couſin the Earl of *Flanders*, ſeeing now the War open again, took leave of the Earl, and went to *Graveling*; whither there went to meet him the Earl of *Salisbury* and Sr. *Guiſchard Dangle*, with a Select Body of Men of Arms and Archers, and ſo conducted him ſafely to *Calais*. The next Day ſome of their Retinue, [r] to the number of about Fifty, ſuddenly of their own Heads took Ship, thinking ſo to paſs ſecurely to *Dover*: But they were preſently ſnapt by ſome *French* Gallies, and every one of them, except two Men and two Women ſlain in the ſight of the *Caliſians*, who were not able to give them any help at that time. Sr. *Hugh Calverley*, who was then Captain of *Calais*, took this in very ill part; eſpecially becauſe the Injury was done to ſuch, as being concerned in the Treaty had the *French* King's Security to come and go without Danger; but ſince it was impoſſible to remedy the Matter, he reſolved to revenge it, and preſently taking with him ſome Choice Troops, he made an Inroad into the *French* Pale, where he ſlew many Men, retook the Caſtle of *Outwick*, and returned ſafe with a great Booty of Artillery and Cattle. And indeed many [s] notable Actions were afterwards done by this

[q] *Froiſ. c. 314. f. 196. & id. Gallicè fol. 267. b.*

[r] *Stow p. 276.*

[s] *Vid. Walſing. hiſt. p. 199. &c.*

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Valiant *English* Knight, of which notwithstanding We are forbid to speak, because they will not fall within the Compass of our History.

XV. When [t] the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sr. *Guischard Dangle* with their Company had tarried now about a Month at *Calais*, having at last got a sufficient Convoy, they set Sail for *England* about the Middle of *June*, and arrived safe at *London*. And from thence the Lords and Knights took Boat, and went to *Sheen* in *Surry* by the *Thame's* side, where at that time King *Edward* lay very sick, and soon after departed this Life, on the XI of the Calends of *July*, that is, on the 21 of *June*, being the Day of St. *Alban* the Protomartyr of *England* and a *Sunday*, in the Year of our Lord MCCCLXXVII, which was the One and Fiftieth of his Reign of *England*, but of *France* the Thirty Eighth, and of his Age the Sixty Fifth. In Memory whereof his Anniversary *Obit* was ordain'd to be held for ever on the [u] 21 of *June* in the Famous Chappel of St. *George* at *Windsor*.

[t] *Froiss. ibid.*

[u] *Ashmole's Garter p.151.*

And thus by the Death of this Great Conqueror, and his Son the *Black-Prince*, we may see, that no Worldly Grandeur can secure us from the Reach of Fate: But---

Monarchs, *altho they bear the Stamp Divine,*
And o'r the World their Awfull Scepters sway;
Tho Subjects their Commands obey,
To Death's High Hand must all their Crowns resign.
The Godlike Heroe, *that from every Field*
Reaps a Full Harvest of Immortal Fame,
To Conquering Fate his sinewy Arms must yield,
At whose First Frown the Fiercest Warrier's tame.
Beauty *it self her Heavenly Lustre vails,*
And all her dazling Glories die,
Those Swelling Charms, puff'd up with Flattery's Gales,
Shrink into Dirt, and wound th' offended Eye;
When Death *attacks the once-relentless* Fair,
Cruel to her, as she to them, whom once she bad Despair.
But Vertue, *Heavenly* Vertue, *that can save*
Th' Owner from wholly passing Lethe's *Lake;*
Vertue can even the Dead Immortal make,
And like some Heaven-born Plant sprouts fresher from the Grave.

Wherefore now it will become us to clear the Reputation of this Mighty Prince from those foul Reflections, which Malice or Ignorance may have cast upon his Declining Age (for till then the Fiercest Envy durst not attack him) and lastly to sum up his Character, and (as in a Looking-Glass) exhibit Him fully and faithfully to the World.

[x] *Walsing. hist. p.189. Stow p. 276. Sr. Rich. Baker p.145. Daniel p.260. &c.*

XVI. Most of our Historians taking it from one another, [x] talk very dolefully of his forlorn Condition at the point of his Death, and tell us, that first his Concubine, as they call her, *Alice Perrers* took the very Rings off his Fingers, and so left him; after whom other Servants went away in like manner with what they could carry. That at last only a poor Priest remaining in the Room, out of *Christian* Piety and Loyal Respect to his dying Master, went boldly up to him, and admonished him to lift up his Heart to God in the Heavens, and humbly with contrition to ask Mercy of Him, whose Divine Majesty he must needs have grievously offended; whereupon the King (say they) being awaken'd somewhat from his former Lethargy, began by Signs (for his Voice had by this time almost wholly fail'd him) as by taking a Crucifix in his hands, and kissing it with many Tears flowing from his Eyes, to signifie a Declaration of his Faith and Repentance; and so with much adoe making shift to pronounce the Adorable Name *JESUS*, with that Sweet and Salutiferous Word He finished his Speech and Life together.

Well might the Death of this Monarch be in such a Penitent Manner, whose Life had afforded so many Instances of Piety and Devotion: But as for Dame *Alice Perrers* her Rifling him of his Rings from his Fingers, it is no way credible, not only from what We [y] said of her before; and that upon her Convention in Parliament in the Year following, there was no such thing laid to her Charge by her most inveterate Enemies; but also because if she did it before Witnesses, it must have come out, and then could not but have been fatal to her; and if not, it could not have been known. And whereas it is said, that this Woman flatter'd the King, that He should still live, untill his Speech fail'd him, whereby he neglected to prepare for his Soul, as he ought to have done; this

[y] *Lib. 4. c. 11. §. 10. p. 872.*

this savours of a Monkish Lie too grosly, and of that Spirit so visible in many of their Writings, which either from any Judgment falling upon a Man, presently attributes unto him some Failure against the Liberties of the Church, or some Saint; or else, when they find the Person to have in any thing thwarted their Interest, is apt to invent some Tale or other, which may insinuate his Dereliction of God. And this use only doth [z] *Odoricus Rainaldus* make of this Story, which none ever had before *Walsingham*, and none since, but from his single Authority. Whereas not only the Silence of all other Authors before his time, as to any such thing, may evince the Falshood of this matter, but the known Piety and Moderation, which King *Edward* used thrô all his Life; and that he could not easily be at this time unmindfull of Death may appear, in that many Years before, thrô a Pious consideration of Human Frailty, he chose the Place of his Sepulture, as [a] we have shewn; and likewise settled the Point of Succession afterwards, and had also so lately seen his Gallant Son go the same way before him; not to mention the many Instances of his Piety, of which we shall speak by and by. And as for that solitary manner of his Death, it is every whit as improbable; for the Court of the Next Heir being then hard by at *Kennington*, and the Three Sons of the King being thereabouts all the while, if Piety and Duty could not have kept his Servants about Him, yet a Care of their own Interest must have caution'd them at this time not to shew too much neglect of the Grandfather of the Young Prince, and of the Duke of *Lancaster's* Father: Not to say any thing of the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Bretagne*, and Sr. *Guischard Dangle*; who, as we shew'd, were just come unto him a little before his Departure. And besides, He was so far from being totally neglected, that every Moment of his Sickness was particularly observed by his Sons and Others: So that on that very Day, whereon he died, before his Soul had left the Body, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*, being certainly informed, that his Case was now desperate, sent certain of their Chief Citizens to *Kennington*, where Prince *Richard* and his Mother resided, to declare unto the said Prince their Loyal Affections to his Sacred Person, and how ready upon his Grandfather's Death they should all be to accept of Him for their Lawfull King and Governour.

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[z] *Vid. hujus Hist. l. 2. c. 6. §. 31. p. 392.*

[a] *Lib. 3. c. 4. §. 14. p. 564. An°. Regni* 1359.

And yet had it been true, that our *Edward* was thus left at his last Gasp by all his Waiters and Domesticks; surely it would be very Hard, Uncharitable, and Unchristianlike, to argue any thing against his Person therefore, or to conclude his Death any whit the more miserable, since then he could not be sensible of what happen'd; and also it is very usual, and ever will be, for the Court to fall away from the *Setting Sun*, and to turn toward the *East*.

XVII. However thus died King *Edward* the Third, of whom (when his Enemy King *Charles* of *France* heard of his Death) he gave this Testimony, [b] *----That He had Reigned most Nobly and Valiantly, and well deserved to be added to the Number of the Antient* Worthies. And soon after he assembled all the Nobles and Prelates of his Realm, with whom he Solemnly performed his Obsequies in the Holy Chappel of his Palace at *Paris*. But in *England* there was great Sorrow made for his Death, and immediately all the Ports were stopped, lest the News thereof should reach *France*, before the Affairs of the Kingdom might be settled.

[b] *Froiss. c. 314. f. 196. Gallicè verò fol. 267.*

A little before the Coronation of King *Richard* the Second, the Body of King *Edward* was removed from *Sheen*, and with a great Pomp of Sorrow, his Three Sons *John* of *Gaunt*, *Edmund* of *Langley*, and *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, and his Son-in-Law *John* the *Valiant*, Duke of *Bretagne*, and all the Barons and Prelates of *England* following the Herse, was brought along thrô the City of *London* with Open Visage to *Westminster*, where it was [c] solemnly interred on the South-side of the Royal Chappel in the Abbey of St. *Peter*, near to the Body of his Beloved Queen *Philippa*, as on her Death-Bed she had requested. Where betwixt two Pillars parallel with the Tomb of King *Edward* the Confessor, He hath his Monument of Grey Marble, upon the Superficies whereof lies his Full Portraiture of Copper Gilt; and upon the Verge of the Tomb these Old Verses are ingraven, beginning on the North-side at the Foot, being *Latine* Rhyme, after the Manner of that Age.

[c] *Sandford p. 175. vid. Keep's Mon.* Westmonast.

Hic

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Hic Decus Anglorum, Flos Regum Preteritorum,
Forma Futurorum, Rex Clemens, Pax Populorum,
Tertius Edvardus, Regni complens Jubileum,
Invictus Pardus, Bellis pollens Machabeum.
Prospere dum vixit, Regnum Pietate revixit:
Armipotens Rexit: Jam Cœlo (Cœlice Rex) Ait!

Tertius Edvardus *Famâ super æthera Notus.*

Pvgna pro Patria.
MCCCLXXVII.

On both Sides of this Tomb are the Figures of all his Sons and Daughters in Solid Brass, *viz.* On the *South-side* in several Niches are *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Joan* of the *Tower*, Entitled Queen of *Spain*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edmund* of *Langley*, *Mary* Dutchess of *Bretagne*, and *William* of *Hatfield*, under which their several Escutcheons of Arms Enamelled are placed: And also under them the Arms of Saint *George*, and of King *Edward* the Third interchangeably on Four large Shields of Brass Enamelled. On the *North-side* were the Statues, and still there remain the Arms of *Isabell* Lady *Coucy*, *William* of *Windsor*, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Blanch* of the Tower, *Margaret* Countess of *Pembroke*, and *Thomas* of *Woodstock*; near unto which Sepulchre they will still shew you the Sword, which it is said this King used in his Wars in *France*, being only Cross-barr'd, Seven Foot long, and weighing Eighteen Pounds.

I will not dissemble, [d] that there is somewhere attributed unto him one Natural Son (besides his Twelve Legitimate Children) named *Nicolas Litlington*, who was Abbot of *Westminster*, and lies buried in the said Abbey before the Altar of St. *Blase*: But there are several Arguments, which with me weigh down the Credit of this single Testimony; as his Age, he being made Abbot immediately after *Simon Langham* sixteen Years before this, whereas usually Old Age is required for such, and he survived King *Edward* but [e] Nine Years. He bare for his Arms [f] Quarterly *Argent* and *Gules*, in the Second and Third a Fret *Or* on a Bend *Azure* Three Flowers de Luces of the Third.

His Character may best be gather'd from his History; but however we shall again represent him in little, according to those lively Colours, wherewith the joynt Concurrence of the best [g] Authors have represented him. He was a Prince the sooneſt a Man, and the longest that held so of any we meet with: His Stature not exceeding the usual Bigness of Men, but of the Middle sort, [h] that is, just six Foot or two Yards High, his Limbs neat and well-made, his Body strong, his shape Exact, his Visage something Long, but exceeding Comely, Gracefull, and Angelical; his Nose long, streight, and Manly, his Eyes sparkling and Majestick, but with so much Sweetness, that it was reckon'd of good Omen to behold his Face, thô only in a Dream. Fortunate he was beyond Measure, especially till the six latter Years of his Reign; Wise and Provident in Counsel, Well-Learned in the Laws, in History, Humanity, and Divinity. He understood *Latine*, *French*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, and High and Low-*Dutch*, besides his Native Language; He was of Quick Apprehension, Judicious, and Skilfull in Nature, Elegant in Speech, Sweet, Familiar, and Affable in Behaviour; stern to the Obstinate, but Calm and Meek to the Humble. Magnanimous and Couragious above all the Princes of his Days; Apt for War, but a Lover of Peace; never puff'd up with Prosperity, nor Dismay'd at Adversity. He was of an Exalted, Glorious, and truly Royal Spirit, which never entertain'd any thing Vulgar, or Trivial; as may appear by the most Excellent Laws, which he made; by those two Famous Jubilees he kept, and by the Most Honourable Order of the Garter, which he first Devised and Founded. His Recreations were Hawking, Hunting, and Fishing, but chiefly he lov'd the Martial Exercise of Justs and Tourneaments. In his * Buildings he was curious, Splendid, and Magnificent, in Bestowing of Graces and Donations, Free and Frequent; and to the Ingenious and Deserving always Kind and Liberal; Devout to God, Bountifull to the Clergy, Gracious to his People, Mercifull to the Poor, True to his Word, Loving to his Friends, Terrible to his Enemies. And because he was so strictly observant of his Faith and Honour, and withall so Valiant, Politick, and Fortunate; his Subjects imagin'd, that to live under Him was

to

[d] *Cod. M. S. Miscell. R. Glover* Somerset. *fol.* 135.

[e] He died 1386. *Keep's Mon.* West. *p.* 52.

[f] *Vid. Keep's Mon.* Westmonast. *p.* 13.

[g] *Walsing. hist. p.* 189. *Henr. Knighton p.* 2630. *Fox Acts & Mon. p.* 394. *Daniel's Hist. p.* 260. *Ric. Dinothi Adverſ. p.* 92. *Sr. Rich. Baker p.* 144. *Stow p.* 269. *& Holinsh. p.* 999. *Weever's Fun. Mon. p.* 466. *&c.*

[h] *Vid. Hakewill's Apology* for Providence *p.* 212.

* He founded *East-Minster*, an Abbey of the *Cistertian* Order, near the Tower, and an Abbey for Nuns at *Dartford* in *Kent*. He likewise Founded Kings Hall in *Cambridge* (now a Part of *Trinity*-College) for Scholars; He built a Fair Church and an Hospital for the Poor at *Calais*; as also St. *Stephens* Chappel at *Westminster*, and augmented the Chappel at *Windsor*, and reedified the Castle; not to mention his other Buildings at *Henley* and *East-Hampstead*, his Fortifications at St. *Johnston* and *Roxborough* in *Scotland*, at *Barwick*, *Dover*, *Calais*, *Windsor*, and

to Reign in Triumphs; and his Renown ran abroad even to Barbarous and Foreign Nations; and all thought themſelves Happy and ſecure, if they were either under his Protection, or any way Confederate with him. The *Turks* and *Saracens* fear'd him; the Oppreſſed *Chriſtian* Princes humbly implor'd his Aſſiſtance; The *Germans* he had at his Command, during the time of his Lieutenancy under *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and might have had them entirely, had he accepted their Proffer of the Empire. The *Flemings* were his Confederates, the *Italians* he oblig'd unto him by the Bond of Affinity; the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Scots* he ſubdued by Force of Arms; he won *Calais*, recover'd *Aquitaine*, *Normandy*, and *Ponthieu*, and took *John* King of *France*, and *David* King of *Scots* his Priſoners; being the Firſt of *Engliſh* Kings, that bore the Arms and Title of *France*. In ſhort He had the moſt Vertues and the feweſt Vices of any Prince, that ever I read of; He was *Valiant*, *Juſt*, *Mercifull*, *Temperate*, and *Wiſe*; the beſt King, the beſt Captain, the beſt Lawgiver, the beſt Friend, the beſt Father, and the beſt Husband in his Days. And after all this his very Enemies will be found to ſay much more of him.

the [a] Caſtle and Town of *Queenborough*, by him ſo called in Honour of his Queen, *Philippa* of *Heinalt*; and laſtly, the [b] City of *Aberconwey* in *Caernarvonſhire* in *Wales*, which he wholly built out of the Ruines of the Old *Britiſh* City, called *Caer-haen*, on the Mouth of the River *Conwey*.

[a] Cambden *in Cantio p.* 236.
[b] *Dr.* Skinner's *Etymol.* Angl. *in voce* Conwey & Aberconwey.

Soli Deo Gloria, Amen.

FINIS.

FINIS.

13